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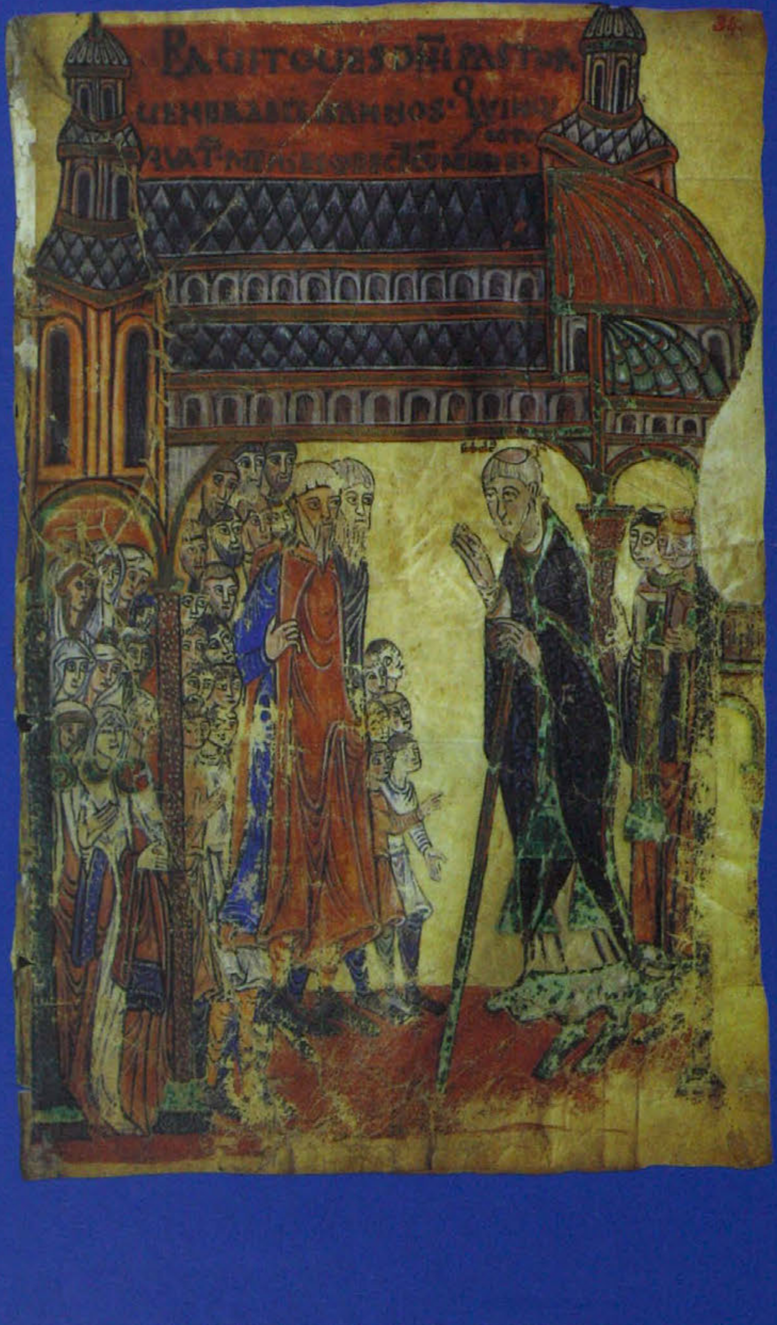
THE WHITE MANTLE OF CHURCHES

ARCHITECTURE, LITURGY, AND ART AROUND THE MILLENNIUM



EDITED BY NIGEL HISCOCK

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The White Mantle of Churches

Architecture, Liturgy, and Art Around the Millennium

When a monk living at the beginning of the last millennium described Europe 'cladding itself everywhere in a white mantle of churches', he precipitated several questions for historians to answer. Was there a surge in church-building at the time? If so, what were the causes of this, and what were the purposes? Does it help to explain our understanding of Romanesque architecture and art? Was there a connection between the 'white mantle of churches' and the millennium? Did people believe the world was coming to an end?

The supposition of apocalyptic expectations at the time was until recently dismissed as romantic myth, but the arrival of our new millennium has brought a revival in interest in the dawn of the second millennium, and new evidence of millennial fears. Yet millennial studies and architectural history largely continue to follow separate, parallel paths. This book therefore aims to add the architectural evidence to the millennial debate, and to examine this formative period in relation to the evolution of Romanesque architecture and art. As our own millennium gets under way with continuing hesitancy between European aspiration and national identity, it is also of interest to compare our time with the Europe of a thousand years ago.

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THE WHITE MANTLE OF CHURCHES

Architecture, Liturgy, and Art
around the Millennium

INTERNATIONAL MEDIEVAL RESEARCH

ART HISTORY

EDITORIAL BOARD

Axel E. W. Müller, Alan V. Murray, Peter Meredith, & Ian N. Wood
with the assistance of the IMC Programming Committee

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Architecture, Liturgy, and Art around the Millennium

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Fig. 149. San Millán de la Cogolla, plan; modified by J. Mann from Jose Esteban Uranga Galdiano and Francisco Iñiquez Almech, *Arte Medival Navarro*, vol. II, *Arte romanico* (Pamplona, 973), p. 187 (fig. 32).

Fig. 150. San Juan de la Peña, lower church, plan; modified by J. Mann from Esteban Uranga Galdiano and Iñiquez Almech, *Arte Medival Navarro*, II, 216 (fig. 39)

Fig. 151. San Juan de la Peña, lower church, nave arcade in east; photo J. Mann.

Fig. 152. San Juan de la Peña, lower church, nave, looking west; photo J. Mann.

Fig. 153. Crypt of San Antolín, Cathedral of Palencia, plan; modified by J. Mann from Gómez Moreno, *El Arte Románico Español* (Madrid, 1934), p. 34.

Fig. 154. Crypt of San Antolín, Cathedral of Palencia, Visigothic shrine; photo J. Mann.

Fig. 155. S. María del Naranco, lower chamber; photo J. Mann.

Fig. 156. Oviedo, Cámara Santa, lower chamber; photo J. Mann.

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Preface to the Series

International Medieval Research (IMR) is a continuing series of collected works originating in papers given at the International Medieval Congress (IMC) in Leeds.

The IMC is an annual conference held each July at the University of Leeds to discuss issues related to the research of the European Middle Ages (*c.* 300–1500). Since its inception in 1994 it has established itself as a key feature of the annual academic calendar for all aspects of medieval studies, attracting scholars from around the world.

The volumes in the IMR Series consist primarily of articles based on papers read at sessions of the International Medieval Congress, complemented by additional contributions that are closely linked with the themes chosen for the original sessions. The emphasis of this series is on the interdisciplinary study of the European Middle Ages, and has so far reflected specific areas of interest, such as Christianizing people and converting individuals, patterns of power in early medieval Europe, and lexicographical project surveys. With the establishment of IMR as a continuing series of publications, eight volumes have already been published, with another five currently in various stages of production. These include a further volume on Time and Eternity, which was the special strand chosen by the IMC for the year 2000. Not surprisingly, this theme prompted a wide range of sessions dealing with millennial issues. Included among these were the three sessions, entitled 'The White Mantle of Churches', which led to the publication of the present volume.

This volume, which is part of a new sub-series on architectural and art historical topics within the IMR Series, has been formed to allow for a larger presentational format of the content and, more particularly, the illustrative material.

Editorial responsibility for the IMR Series lies with the International Medieval Institute at Leeds and its editorial board. Proposals for volumes arising from sessions held at the IMC should be sent to:

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Introduction

NIGEL HISCOCK

The decades which spanned the beginning of the last millennium were formative for European architecture. After the eclectic efflorescence of the first Carolingian architecture, there are few standing remains of importance before the middle years of the tenth century and few which display much architectural consistency until the 980s. By contrast, from the 1020s buildings not only begin to survive in significant numbers, they are recognizably Romanesque, albeit in various regional guises. Yet if this period represents an architectural fulcrum, it was accompanied by historical turning points which saw the east and west Franks continuing their divergence towards separate national identities; in the process, it saw a Saxon kingdom become a German empire, and a French monarchy progress from Carolingian past to Capetian future; it saw a Norman settlement graduate to a French duchy, a Christian tide begin to turn against Moslems in Spain, and a reaffirmation of Benedictine monasticism everywhere, eventually culminating in the rise of the house of Cluny—all events which help to explain a seemingly sudden progression in architectural design.

Moreover, this was a phenomenon that was observed at the time by Rodulf Glaber, a French monk who chronicled the millennial years. In a metaphor which has captured the imagination of many and which has provided the inspiration for, and the title of, this volume, he described Christians attempting to surpass each other in the splendour of their religious buildings, 'as if the whole world were [...] shrugging off the burden of the past, and cladding itself everywhere in a white mantle of churches'.[1] It is a passage to which authors of this volume return in an attempt to understand what Glaber was seeing and what the forces were behind it.

The inspiration for Glaber's *Historiarum libri quinque* was his teacher, William of Volpiano, and its dedicatee Odilo, abbot of Cluny, both leaders of monastic reform, involving the founding and re-founding of monasteries, emanating from Burgundy and spreading to Capetian France, Normandy, Lombardy, Spain, and eventually Lorraine. Long before this the Saxon emperor, Otto the Great, and his brother Brun had promoted episcopal expansion and the monastic reforms of Gorze and Trier, to be continued by Otto's heirs, whence the reforms spread throughout the German world and into Poland, Bohemia, Austria, and Switzerland. When the reform of English monasteries was drawn up, it bore the imprint not only of Gorze but also Fleury, which had already been reformed by Cluny. Lines of influence and contact were pan-European. William, perhaps the most active reformer in France, was a Lombard. The closest confidant of the German Emperor Otto III was a commoner from the Auvergne. When he became Pope Sylvester II, a French pope succeeded a German. Otto III's mother was a Byzantine princess. As our own millennium gets under way with continuing hesitancy between European aspiration and national sovereignty, it is interesting to compare our present time with the politics and culture of a thousand years ago.

Among the most intriguing of attitudes at that time were those in relation to the advent of the new millennium and to the supposed possibility of the world coming to an end. Not surprisingly, the arrival of our new millennium has fertilized the field of millennial studies and the vigorous debate about how the earlier age may be read. It is a debate, however, that has reached a point where millennial theory needs to be tested against architectural evidence.[2]

From the middle of the nineteenth century, the view was put forward and was generally accepted that many ordinary people living towards the end of the first Christian millennium believed that the world would end after the thousand years with the Apocalypse, as foretold by the Book of Revelation. As revolutionary discontent in nineteenth-century Europe grew, so this view became coloured by portrayals of churchmen having used people's millennial and apocalyptic fears in order to exploit them. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the so-called 'terrors school' was challenged by other historians who claimed a lack of written evidence supporting this view, and who also pointed to the existence of different dates and systems by which a millennium could be measured, and to Augustine's teaching against such an interpretation of the 'thousand years' and the end of the world in the first place. The conjecture of apocalyptic expectation and fear was dismissed as romantic myth and, until recently, it has been this revisionist view which has prevailed.

It is noticeable, however, that the debate has had scant architectural content, which is surprising given the evolution of Romanesque architecture before, during, and after the year 1000. One exception is Henri Focillon writing fifty years ago.[3] His book takes the year 1000 as an important moment in the history of architecture and art, which he intended to examine against their social, political, and cultural contexts, before the book was interrupted by his death. He identified apocalyptic fears and the year 1000 as being two ideas which certainly coincide but which are not connected. There is recorded evidence of popular apocalyptic expectation and fear. Architecture does show conspicuous progress with the passing of the millennium, but this is rooted in the different soil of the politics of the time, not to be mistaken for official or popular relief at the passing of the millennium. As for the Church, its interpretation of the Apocalypse was as 'a kind of perpetual calendar of the deep anxieties of the human soul [...]'.[4] Ever since, millennial studies and the architectural history of the period have largely followed separate, parallel paths. A recent exploration of millennial attitudes does not mention architecture.[5] Architectural historians, on the other hand, generally follow Focillon in acknowledging the millennium, citing Glaber's 'white mantle of churches', but assuming that architectural development was the result of political stability and economic progress.[6] Yet it is an assumption which remains untested by a reciprocal examination of millennial issues.

It is an important aim of this book therefore to add the architectural evidence to the current debate. It will attempt to achieve this by taking an interdisciplinary approach, one which will be found within individual chapters and across the volume, bringing together the different disciplines of archaeology, architecture, art history, liturgy, and social and ecclesiastical history. The reader will find that the essays consistently demonstrate continuity in the history of the tenth and eleventh centuries seemingly uninterrupted by the year 1000, a continuity in the power and importance of royal patronage, in ecclesiastical expansion and monastic reform, and in their resultant campaigns of building and rebuilding. This raises questions about the motives of the ruling elite. Was this the result of a determined optimism among rulers to simulate stability and a sense of common purpose as a reaction against popular fears, was it a result of a Church in denial of the possibility of the end of the world, or was it a result of it taking a different view both of the millennium and of the Apocalypse? Focillon observed that the great waves of popular emotion and fear in history are not necessarily romantic illusions, but evidence for their presence must be found in the texts.[7] This he managed to do with regard to millennial anxiety and since then more evidence has been produced. But is this evidence of a causal connection between the millennium and apocalyptic fear, or between both and a cultural reaction to them? Or is it simply more evidence of a coincidence? And what lies beneath the evidence of the written record? What did people really believe? What were they told by their priests? Was there a connection between the millennium and the 'white mantle of churches'? By necessarily engaging with the imponderables of unwritten demotic history, this book ends with a speculative flourish, proposing a resolution of some of these questions and, fittingly, leaving us with much still to ponder.

The sequence of chapters commences with the German lands of the Saxon emperors and the older Saxon kingdom in England, then moves to the Romance world of France, Italy, and Spain, in which Burgundy appears distinct and influential, not only for its monastic centres of Cluny and Dijon, but also Tournus and Vézelay, and the renewal of Roman Autun. The account takes advantage of the comprehensive review during the past twenty years of the history of tenth-century Germany, as well as new research into liturgical texts, recent archaeology, and fresh insights into the emergent elements of Romanesque architecture. The different types of crypt—ring, outer, and hall—are investigated, including the relation of ring crypt to Romanesque ambulatory, and hall crypt to the large vaulted spaces beneath Romanesque choirs. In various chapters, a similar analysis is made of westwork, its metamorphosis from Carolingian block to the cruciform structures of the Ottonians, and to a separate identification of the Burgundian narthex. Likewise the construction of towers is considered in terms of their disposition and significance. Conversely, the *porticus* is confirmed as belonging to the past, except perhaps when flanking the east ends of naves and its possible link with the lower transept. More securely, the early appearance of galleries above nave and choir arcades is charted, together with the alternation of piers with pillars, and the arrival of cushion and historiated capitals, all seminal for mature Romanesque.

In addition to typology, these architectural elements are examined with regard to liturgical function and the wider language of meaning. The question is pursued of the effect of ecclesiastic and monastic reform upon liturgy, and of reform and liturgy upon architecture. What is the nature of liturgical space? What is the nature of its correlation with architectural space? How may liturgy be distinguished, as between ritual, representation, and drama?

Essays in this volume offer further evidence that, in the broader context of signification, the patron is paramount and so is the power of association. This intrinsically involves attitudes at the time to the past and the future, to tradition, renovation, and innovation. To what extent did patrons and their designers choose historical models to emulate, or adapt to their own purpose, and what can this tell us about image, self-image, and image projection? Much is rightly read into the different intentions behind Otto III's *renovatio* and Henry II's, and how these were manifest in royal portraiture. Repeatedly, the temporal is associated with the divine, political renewal, for example, being associated with Resurrection, even the possibility of Glaber's 'white mantle' being associated transcendentally with the Transfiguration. Deliberate connections with tradition and authority are found in the Ottonian emperors associating themselves with Aachen and thence Charlemagne, and with Rome and thence Constantine. The location of person with activity and place is no less significant in the cases of Brun and Cologne, Æthelwold at Winchester, Sancho at Palencia, Henry and Bamberg, or the ubiquity of Robert the Pious, the architecture and sculpture of his refoundations at Autun and Paris, for example, offering interesting comparisons. Alongside associations of place with Jerusalem, Rome, Milan, and Aachen come others with event and ancient rite, as with the detached baptisteries of northern Italy, the cross of churches in Cologne and elsewhere, and the configuration of altars in Bamberg Cathedral representing the temporal geography of Henry II's realm. These are similarly accompanied by frequent architectural references to an antique, early Christian, or Carolingian past, for example, the continuous transept with St Peter's Basilica in Rome, and the re-employment of selected *spolia* conveying associational resonance across space and time. Consequently, another important lesson of this volume will continue to exercise our understanding of the passage of time and the evolution of style, particularized here by the millennium and the Romanesque, as being validated in their broad flow of development yet, at the same time, constantly individuated by local responses to person, place, moment, and event. The result is a developing expectation that an artefact will be multi-faceted, its meaning multivalent.

The origin of this volume lies in a series of conference sessions that were organized at my suggestion by Nancy Wu and me to commemorate the millennium at the International Medieval Congress held at the University of Leeds in the year 2000. Nine of the present essays are a development of papers given at the Congress, the remaining five being additions to the original list in order to provide a more rounded treatment of the subject. I would firstly like to thank Nancy for her work with me, and for contributing excellent speakers to the sessions, for subsequently arranging for their papers to be turned into essays, and for enlisting an equally impressive team of readers for them. My appreciation is also due to Axel Müller, both as Director of the Leeds International Medieval Congress and as my contact with the Editorial Board of International Medieval Research. I am also grateful for the support and helpful comments of the Board, and for the advice and opinion of many scholars including, under unusually demanding circumstances, Susan Boynton, William Clark, Jerrilyn Dodds, Paula Gerson, and Holger Klein. I am no less indebted for the advice of Elizabeth Valdez del Alamo, Edson Armi, Clyde Brockett, Lynn Courteney, Eric Fernie, Alexandra Gajewsky-Kennedy, Dale Kinney, Christina Nielson, Amy Remensnyder, and Leslie Tait.

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NOTES

1. Rodulfus Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories*, ed. and trans. by J. France (Oxford, 1989), pp. 1–253 (pp. 114–17).

2. The historiography of the millennial debate is large and growing. For a summary of it, and of the debate itself, see R. Landes, 'The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Historiography, Medieval and Modern', *Speculum*, 75 (2000), 97–145. See also the same author, Chapter 14 below.

3. H. Focillon, *The Year 1000*, trans. by F. Wieck (New York, 1971).

4. Focillon, *The Year 1000*, pp. 40, 50, 54–60, 70, 72–74, 80–81.

5. Landes, 'The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000'.

6. For example, R. Oursel, *Living Architecture: Romanesque* (London, 1967), pp. 14, 47; R. Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 193, 213–14. Stalley quotes Glaber from C. Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art 300–1150: Sources and Documents* (Toronto, 1986), pp. 124–25, who uses G. Coulton's translation of 1910. See also L. Grodecki, *L'architecture ottonienne: au seuil de l'art roman* (Paris, 1958).

7. Focillon, *The Year 1000*, p. 39.

Historiarum Libri Quinque: Book Three, Chapter Four

RODULF GLABER

Just before the third year after the millennium, throughout the whole world, but most especially in Italy and Gaul, men began to reconstruct churches, although for the most part the existing ones were properly built and not in the least unworthy But it seemed as though each Christian community were aiming to surpass all others in splendour of construction It was as if the whole world were shaking itself free, shrugging off the burden of the past, and cladding itself everywhere in a white mantle of churches. Almost all the episcopal churches and those of monasteries dedicated to various saints, and little village chapels, were rebuilt better than before by the faithful.

> [Igitur infra supradictum millesimum tercio iam fere imminente anno, contigit in uniuerso pene terrarum orbe, precipue tamen in Italia et in Galliis, innouari ecclesiarum basilicas, licet plereque decentur locate minime indiguissent, emulabatur tamen queque gens christicolarum aduersus alteram decentiore frui Erat enim instar ac si mundus ipse excutiendo semet, reiecta uetustate, passim candidam ecclesiarum uestem indueret Tunc denique episcopalium sedium ecclesias pene uniuersas ac cetera queque diuersorum sanctorum monasteria seu minora uillarum oratoria in meliora quique permutauere fideles] [1]

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[1] Rodulfus Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories*, ed and trans by J France (Oxford, 1989), pp 1–253 (pp 114–17)

1. The Ottonian Revival: Church Expansion and Monastic Reform

NIGEL HISCOCK

When Rodulf Glaber recorded that nearly three years after the beginning of the second millennium the world had shaken, cast off its past, and invested itself with the white mantle of churches, he was writing in the years leading up to 1040.[1] Despite numerous potentially apocalyptic events before and after the millennium of the Incarnation in the year 1000, and again before the millennium of the Passion in 1033, the world had not come to an end after all.

Glaber's celebrated passage appears in chapter 4 of book 3 of his *Historiarum*, a work inspired by William of Volpiano, who had been his teacher when Glaber was a monk at the abbey of St Bénigne at Dijon. It was here where he wrote the first two books, and possibly started the third, before fleeing the abbey in some disgrace around 1030. He turned up at Cluny during the abbacy of Odilo, to whom he dedicated his work in spite of having to move on again under another cloud around 1035. Arriving a year later at St Germain in Auxerre, he revised book 1 sometime before 1040 and completed books 3 and 4, adding book 5 before his death around 1047.[2]

The first book outlines the reigns of the three Ottos and the invasions of Moslems, Vikings, and Magyars that had troubled them. Book 2 describes various prodigies around the millennium of the Incarnation. These included a giant whale off the French coast, a great dragon-light in the sky, a hurricane and a hail of stones, the eruption of Vesuvius, a fiery plague, and famine, among other worrying omens. Book 2 ends with an account of heresies in Italy and the words of John warning that 'the Devil would be freed after a thousand years'.[3] Books 3 and 4 record events during Glaber's time at Dijon and Cluny, with book 3 covering the reigns of the German emperor Henry II and French king Robert II following the millennium of the Nativity. A comet appeared which, although regarded as portentous, Glaber does not connect with any fear of the Apocalypse itself, and, in any case, he misplaces it, for if it was Halley's Comet, it appeared in 989. Many saints' relics were revealed, the Holy Sepulchre was sacked and heresy broke out in France, yet none of these events is identified as portentous.[4] Book 4 commences with the announcement of more prodigies at the approach of the millennium of the Passion in 1033. Many famous people died, the seasons fell into 'perpetual chaos', with rains and famine for three years reducing people to cannibalism. Yet as the millennium of the Passion dawned, the rains abated, the sky shone, breezes blew, the earth became green, and there followed three years of plenty.[5] However, as Glaber describes it, the sequel to this second of millennial dates hardly heralded an age free of fear or misdeeds, for books 4 and 5 record solar eclipses and one of the moon, which were seen as terrible omens, and famine returned. In spite of this, far from mending their ways, people returned to civil strife, avarice, and simony.[6]

Apprehension over the prospect of the Apocalypse and the Day of Judgment was to be expected in any age, without their necessarily being linked to a particular date. It might be described as part of the Christian condition

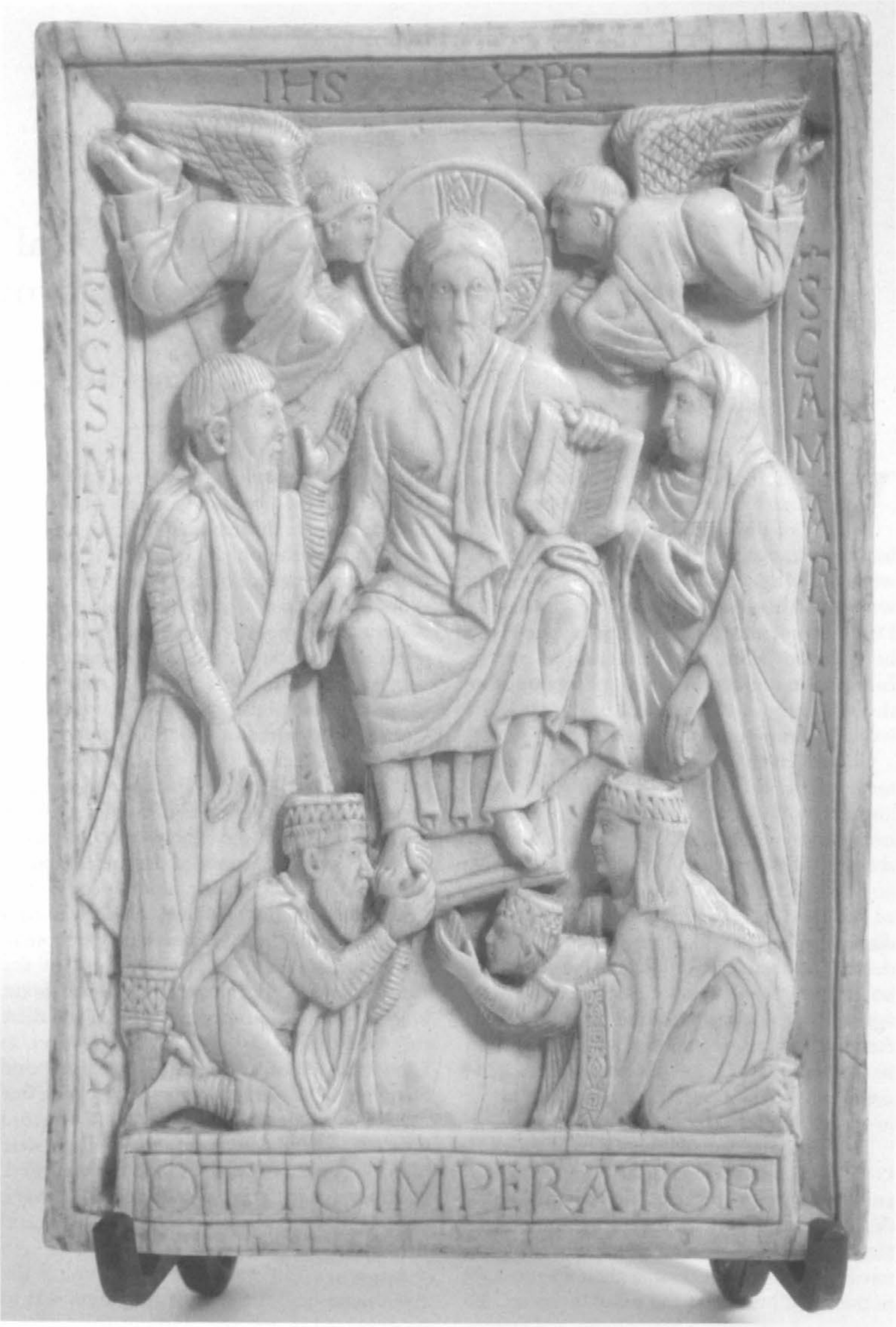

Fig. 1. Christ, Otto II, Theophanou, and Otto III, ivory, 983; Milan, Castello Sforzesco, Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Applicata, A. 15.

Nevertheless, anxiety in the middle of the tenth century had been such that Adso of Montier-en-Der felt compelled to write his *Libellus de Antichristo*, held to be the most important of medieval works on eschatology, and he dedicated it to the sister of Otto the Great.[7] Around 970, the young Abbo of Fleury heard a sermon in Paris which predicted the Antichrist's arrival after 1000, to be followed by the Last Judgment. There was also a prophesy of the world coming to an end when the commemoration of the Annunciation fell on a Good Friday. The Annunciation coincided with the Passion in 970 and again in 981 and 992, which doubtless intensified people's fears. Even with the passing of these dates, Abbo still wrote to King Hugh of France and his son Robert the Pious around 995 pointing out these predictions. Coupling them with conflicting dates being used for the beginning of Advent, Abbo believed a council should be called to agree an official position.[8] To this might have been added further uncertainty over the dating of the millennium itself: should it be marking the Incarnation or the Passion, and how long after the passing of either of these dates might it take for the last trump to sound?

Whether or not this council ever met is not known, but a recent discussion of millenarianism has pointed to evidence that such fears and predictions as may have been current at the time were met by clerical opposition and suppression. Supposedly unwilling to contemplate its own end, the Church regarded as subversive any suggestion that the world might be coming to an end. Following the example of Augustine, it discouraged connections being made between worldly incidents and John's Revelation, a book which the Greeks had tried to ban altogether. This being the case, the magnitude of popular fears is not even known since chronicles were written by churchmen and no credence appears to have been given to such fears in any official utterance. As for Glaber, although he does connect millennial events with the end of the world twice, he is otherwise neither explicit nor consistent; rather he observes that people's failure to turn to God for deliverance from plague and famine showed a 'hardness of heart and stupidity of mind'.[9]

Missing from this particular millennial discussion, however, is any reference to building activity. Instead, the evidence presented is confined to the history of events and contemporary reactions to them. For example, the reporting of a serious earthquake at St Vlaast in 1000 appears to be the only contemporary source to attribute such an occurrence apocalyptically to the millennium. Ademar's *Historia* makes no such connections and Abbo held to the view that mankind cannot know when the end of the world will come.[10] This would seem to support the contention that the policy of the Church towards millennial anxiety was containment and discouragement. On the other hand, building activity is usually taken to be a more positive indicator of faith in the future.

Accordingly, the primary purpose of this chapter is to add the evidence of the architectural record to the millennial debate. By re-examining the revival of European life during the tenth century under the influence of the Ottonian emperors, it will follow the chronology of that revival and of the architecture which resulted from it through the millennial dates of the Incarnation and the Passion, and beyond.[11] In so doing, it will attempt to provide a context for the rest of this volume and thus serve as an introduction to it.

The Ottonian Revival

Although Glaber associated his white mantle of churches with 'the whole world, but most especially [...] Italy and Gaul', it will be seen to have enveloped the German world just as much.[12] That the European revival of the tenth century reached so far beyond the German homeland is nevertheless largely to be attributed to the extension of Ottonian influence. To the east, the Saxon monarchy first resisted threats from the Magyars and the Slavs militarily, then attempted an eastward expansion through missionary work. To the south, Italy submitted to the overlordship of the Saxons from 951 when Otto the Great accepted the kingdom of Lombardy and married its widowed Queen Adelheid. Further south, the symbiosis between Saxon rulers and popes was such that, whilst the Saxons could only take the title of emperor after being crowned by a consenting pope, they wielded sufficient power over the papacy for twelve out of twenty-five popes to have been appointed, and five deposed, by them in less than a century from 962. To the south-west of Germany, the Ottonian overlordship of Burgundy was consolidated when Otto rescued its king in 939, whilst Lorraine to the northwest was effectively a duchy of the Saxon realm—Otto's own brother, Brun, for example, ruling there as archduke from 954—though this was often contested by the French. As for the kingdom of France, Otto extended his hegemony over this as well through the dukes of Lorraine and intermarriage, culminating in the middle decades of the tenth century. At one point, both contenders for the French crown were married to sisters of Otto. When the matter was resolved in 950, the kingdom remained under the influence of the duke of Lorraine, who was soon to be Otto's brother, with Otto as overlord. Although the reins became progressively loosened, it was only towards the end of the century, in 987, with the election of Hugh as the first Capetian king following the death of the last Carolingian, that the assertion of French independence from Ottonian dominance became sustained. Thus it may reasonably be argued that the European revival that started in the tenth century followed the Ottonian, and that it is possible for the historical division between, for example, the east Franks and the west Franks to be overdrawn.[13]

The dynasty of the Ottonians goes back at least to Duke Henry of Saxony, who had been elected King Henry I of Germany in 919. When he died in 936, his eldest legitimate son, Otto, succeeded him and, for his coronation, the Frankish ceremony at Charlemagne's palace chapel at Aachen was consciously revived. Like Charlemagne's reign, Otto's, which lasted until his death in 972, earned him the sobriquet 'Great'. By 955, he had brought Burgundy under his control as well as the duchies of the German homeland. He had finally defeated the Magyars and had entered Pavia on a mission to free Adelheid, the usurped queen of Italy, from jail. Upon doing so, Otto married her and became king of Lombardy. His first marriage, which was arranged by his father, to Edith, a granddaughter of Alfred the Great, served as an alliance with the older Saxon monarchy of Wessex. Adelheid was a descendant of Charlemagne.[14]

Within another six years Otto was back in Italy at the request of the papacy to defend Rome against the marquis of Ivrea. Before setting out, however, in 961 he had his son Otto crowned at Aachen and his brothers Brun and William placed in control of the realm. As a result of his success in Rome, Otto himself was crowned there later that year, with the title *imperator augustus* and, on a further expedition to Rome by him to settle the papacy, his son Otto was crowned co-emperor in 967 and was married in Rome to Theophanou, niece of the Byzantine co-emperor John Tzimisces, in 972. This was the outcome of a long struggle by Otto the Great for recognition as emperor of the West by the Byzantine emperor which had seen him spend ten of his last twelve years campaigning against Greeks in the Byzantine territories of southern Italy. The Greeks had lost Sicily to the Moslems, which Otto answered by threatening Greek provinces on the mainland. But a change of emperor at Constantinople brought recognition for Otto by diplomatic means with the marriage of his son to Theophanou. Otto returned to Germany and died shortly afterwards.[15]

The ten-year reign of Otto II (fig. 1) was a miniature of his father's, starting with the need to pacify German lands again and ending with military failure in southern Italy. The climax of his reign came in 980. Germany was secure once more, as it had been under his father in 955, and Theophanou gave birth to his own son Otto, whereupon Otto II left for Rome following another appeal for help by the pope. On the way, he stopped at Pavia and was reconciled with his mother Adelheid, from whom he had been estranged. Once in Rome, in 982 he went one better than his father in accepting the title *Romanorum imperator augustus*. His final destination, magnetically, was southern Italy, to control the Greeks and expel the Moslems. His army, however, was overwhelmed by the Moslems and, having narrowly escaped capture by both the Moslems and the Greeks, he arranged for his infant son to be elected king. While planning a counter-attack, Otto II died suddenly the following year. He was buried in St Peter's Basilica where, only sixteen years earlier, he had been crowned emperor.[16]

The premature death of Otto II in 983 left his son Otto aged just three. Following a succession crisis, during which the infant was in effect briefly abducted, the emperor's widow Theophanou proceeded to rule on her son's behalf until her death in 991. Adelheid then took over until the fourteen-year-old took charge for himself in 994. Once again the papacy had to be brought under control. Following the murder ten years earlier of the pope who had been appointed by Otto II, and the death of his successor, Theophanou had had to make the journey to Rome in order to assert the imperial authority. After her death, the papacy appealed to Otto III, just as it had turned to his father a little over a decade earlier and his grandfather over thirty years before. As a result, Otto III arrived in Rome in 996 when he appointed his cousin's son as the first German pope. Taking the name Gregory V, the new pope crowned Otto as the new emperor. Following his father's example, Otto became *Romanorum imperator augustus*. His appointment of Gregory, however, did not prevent Gregory from being deposed shortly afterwards and so Otto found himself back in Rome in 998 to restore his cousin. Gregory died the following year and Otto nominated Gerbert of Aurillac as the new pope. The year was 999.[17]

Church Expansion

The patronage of the Church by the Ottonians was central to their rule, for it provided them with an additional source of support to that offered by their fractious magnates, and another sphere of influence in the pursuit of royal control. It was also evidently underpinned by the idea of sacral kingship. Contemporary chronicles, it has been pointed out, describe how Otto the Great is saved from his evil enemies by God as a sign of divine will. His receiving of the Holy Lance and other relics is another sign and thus an encouragement to his allies to follow him and his enemies to repent. As a demonstration of taking God's place on earth, the churches that Ottonian rulers and their families founded and rebuilt created settings for the enactment of royal-religious ceremonial before their subjects. Gospel books and liturgical manuscripts were commissioned, at least one depicting Otto III in the place habitually occupied by Christ,[18] which also associated them as brethren of particular religious institutions. The result of this patronage was a substantial expansion of the Church and a revival in monasticism.[19]

One example of this was the importance accorded the royal chapel. It provided the Ottonian court not only with clerical officials for royal correspondence and diplomatic missions, but also with a source of supply of future bishops from among its chaplains, many of whom were related to the royal family. In a period of under thirty years from the beginning of Otto III's majority in 994, two out of every three episcopal appointments came from within the royal chapel. Liudprand, author of the *Historia Ottonis*, was a court chaplain before becoming bishop of Cremona in 957, as was Adalbert, who was consecrated as the first archbishop of Magdeburg eleven years later.[20]

Adalbert's see had been a monastery founded by Otto the Great in 937, and when it became the new archbishop's cathedral in 968, Otto founded another to house its displaced monks. The purpose of the archbishopric was to serve as a focus of royal power in the heart of Saxony and as a base for missionary work among the Slavs along its eastern frontier. To the same end, between 968 and 976, other new bishoprics were established in Saxony and beyond, reaching Prague and Poznań.[21]

In addition to the creation of new sees and other foundations, such influence over the Church as the Ottonians managed to secure also came through the making of appointments and grants of various kinds, usually in return for service. In this way, the affairs of Church and state were increasingly brought together. The clearest example of this was the appointment of Otto's youngest brother Brun as archbishop of Cologne, then duke of Lorraine, and his son William as archbishop of Mainz, whilst Trier's archbishop was another kinsman.[22] Otto also promoted William and Brun as his joint chiefs of staff at court,[23] thereby concentrating both Church and state power in the same persons and placing them under his control, although more successfully it seems with Brun than with William.[24] The matter of episcopal appointments was less clear-cut. Whilst bishoprics could be jealous of their right to conduct free elections, a churchman wishing for preferment might attach himself to a member of the royal family, since the monarch might propose a candidate or select one from a chapter's list. The opportunity for exerting influence and bestowing patronage was certainly there.[25]

During the reigns of Henry I and his son Otto the Great, the monarchy frequently made gifts of land to churches and monasteries, often converting them into holdings of huge estates. From late in the tenth century, however, royal grants increasingly took the form of rights and exemptions; the former, for example, consisted of permission to hold markets and mint coins, and even extended to comital rights; the latter evolved from simple immunity from legislation to active rights to administer and adjudicate. The net effect was to increase both the income and the power of the Church, in return for which royal service was expected.[26]

Bishops and abbots were liable to be summoned to advise the court or represent it on diplomatic missions. Bishoprics, as well as churches and monasteries with specific royal connections, could be called upon to supply not only codices from their *scriptoria*, but armour and weapons from their workshops and soldiery from their estates. Bishops of Lorraine helped defend the empire's western frontier. Most of Otto II's troops for his Italian campaign in 982 were recruited from royal churches and monasteries.[27] Perhaps the largest element of service to be levied, however, was in provisioning and housing the court on its royal progress. Notwithstanding the Ottonians' attachment to their residence in Quedlinburg and to other royal centres in Saxony, the realm had no fixed capital, it was very large to administer, and, for a government not given to much writing, governance was generally conducted in person. Transcending the practical, however, it has also been argued that the itinerant monarchy of the Ottonians expressed the idea of sacral rule; their journeying enabled them to present themselves ubiquitously as God's ruler on earth by the wearing of the crown at religious festivities, by ceremonial entries into cities, by presiding over the foundation and consecration of churches, by dispensing justice and determining policy. It has been estimated that at least half their reign was spent on the road, often, as already shown, on route to Italy. Once Otto III had consecrated Gerbert of Aurillac as pope, he donated lands to him to hold on behalf of St Peter which, together with other papal territories, was intended to allow emperors to pass between Germany and Rome unhindered. Consequently, the support required by the travelling court was massive and continual, and it fell to royal churches and monasteries to feed, accommodate, and supply it, as well as maintain roads and bridges in their vicinity.[28]

The growing sense of unity and purpose of Ottonian rule, and the stimulus to its economy which this created, in turn produced widespread church building. This was partly a result of the revival in monasticism, which will be examined shortly, and partly a consequence of the creation of new sees, both of which attracted royal, noble, and episcopal patronage, which is the subject of the next chapter. Economic progress also brought increased prosperity to cities, such that during the tenth and early eleventh centuries most cathedral cities in Germany were busy building or rebuilding churches within their walls. Cologne, for example, boasted ten in a cruciform layout across the city, with similar arrangements noted in Utrecht and Bamberg.[29] The interdependence of Church and monarchy might also be seen architecturally in the importance attached to the westwork of those churches which, it has been pointed out, had royal connections. Despite continuing differences surrounding their function, because they may have had several and because each may have changed through time and from place to place, it is likely that one function was to provide a setting for special offices involving the royal presence.[30]

If church building and church appointments were variously a result of royal patronage, as part of its policy to bind together the interests of Church and state, Gerbert of Aurillac was also a conspicuous beneficiary of this policy. Progressing from teacher at the Reims cathedral school in 972 to pope in 999, his career demonstrates how the different realms of France, Germany, Lombardy, Italy, even Spain, and Rome intersected in the decades leading up to the millennium. It also shows how it was possible, with the patronage of all three Ottos, for a French commoner to become one of the most influential figures of his day and traverse these still-difficult times to reach the highest level of Church and state. Finally, it also illustrates the importance of learning to the tenth century revival, with Glaber describing him as 'acutely intelligent and deeply learned in the study of the liberal arts'.[31]

Having spent his early years in the abbey at Aurillac and three more studying in Catalonia, probably at Ripoll, as a *protégé* of the count of Barcelona, Gerbert accompanied the count to Rome in 970 when he was presented to the pope. As a result, he was sent to Otto the Great who invited him to teach the young Otto. Instead Gerbert managed to persuade the emperor to allow him to continue his own studies which, on the initiative of Archbishop Adalbero of Reims, he proceeded to do at the cathedral school of Reims.[32] There he studied dialectic under Garannus in return for giving him lessons in mathematics. In 972, Gerbert began teaching in the school, where he became head until 989.

This teaching did not prevent him becoming Adalbero's secretary as well.[33]

Gerbert revised the school's curriculum along lines laid down by Cassiodorus for the liberal arts and started collecting Boethius's works on dialectic. His expertise in the mathematical subjects of the liberal arts, known as the *quadrivium*, had already been noticed by the pope on Gerbert's arrival in Rome, and he is also said to have excelled in the *trivium* studies of grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric. It is clear from his letters that he was an avid exponent of distance learning and a collector of books.[34] Between 979 and 985, he wrote to a monk at his boyhood abbey of Aurillac, sharing his thoughts on the value of philosophy, and three times to another at Fleury, explaining certain passages in the *De arithmetica* and *De musica* of Boethius.[35] While away from Reims, he wrote to his employer Adalbero requesting a copy of Caesar's *Historia* from Adso, the abbot of Montier-en-Der and author of the *Libellus de Antichristo*. Three years later in 986, he wrote directly to Adso to bring other manuscripts with him to Reims. In the years up to 999, Gerbert repeatedly sent requests for the delivery and return of books, also for copies and translations of works on the liberal arts both collectively and by subject, naming treatises on rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, as well as one on ophthalmy.[36]

Whilst Gerbert partly based his teaching on the writings of late antiquity, he was ahead of his time in dividing philosophy into its theoretical and practical branches, reviving the use of the abacus, and, in so doing, introducing a form of Arab numerals to the West. He also made a working model that demonstrated the motion of the stars. Likewise, when he discovered a copy of the *Codex Arcerianus*, containing treatises by Roman land surveyors, Gerbert based his own *De geometria* upon it. His regard for the practical basis of teaching undoubtedly came from his contact with the Arab world while studying in Spain, an association which led writers a century later to suspect him of dabbling in Arab wizardry.[37] In his own day, his teaching could hardly have been more influential, with many later bishops and abbots numbering among his pupils and carrying his teaching into some of the most important schools in the West.[38]

Yet Gerbert was no cloistered academic but an active and intriguing agent in the politics of Church and state, falling victim more than once to the machinations of others. On a journey to Italy with Adalbero in 980, Gerbert met Otto II at the royal court at Pavia and was taken by him to Ravenna to debate with another scholar the classification of the sciences. As a result, Otto kept Gerbert with him after Adalbero returned to Reims and shortly afterwards made him the abbot of Bobbio in Lombardy. This was not a success and when Otto died three years later, Gerbert had to beat a retreat back to Pavia where Adelheid was in residence. With Otto's son still an infant, both Adelheid and Theophanou asked Gerbert to win the support of the German church, which Gerbert succeeded in doing, returning in the process to Reims in 984.[39] In 987, at the urging of Adalbero and Gerbert, Hugh Capet was elected the king of France, whereupon Gerbert became the king's chief secretary and adviser, as well as tutor to his son Robert.[40] In 989, however, it was to be Gerbert's misfortune not only that Adalbero died but that he did so in the middle of an armed conflict between Hugh and the duke of Lorraine. During this time, Hugh's appointed successor to Archbishop Adalbero defected and was deposed by Hugh. When Reims came under attack, Gerbert had to take charge of both city and see, before fleeing, and when he was appointed by Hugh as the new archbishop in 991, this was rejected by the pope. Despite the support of Hugh and the French bishops, Gerbert was eventually excommunicated in 995 and forced to take his case to Rome the following year. Pope Gregory, who had only recently been installed by Otto III, decided against Gerbert. On his return home, Gerbert met Otto III, probably at Pavia. When Hugh died later the same year, his son and successor Robert the Pious followed the pope's ruling, even though this went against his former tutor. Realizing his position was hopeless, Gerbert had already left for Germany where he was invited to the court of Otto III at Aachen.[41]

Otto was very proud of his Greek lineage and spoke Greek. His first tutor had been John Philagathus, a Greek from southern Italy, who was sent to Constantinople in 994 in search of a Byzantine bride for Otto in emulation of his father.[42] John was succeeded as Otto's tutor by Bernward, a fellow Saxon to his father's side of the family. He was to become one of Otto's advisers and was appointed by him to the see of Hildesheim.[43] On the arrival of Gerbert at

Aachen in 997, Otto invited him to be his tutor. In the following year, when Otto went to Rome to restore his kinsman, Pope Gregory V, he took Gerbert with him and persuaded Gregory to appoint Gerbert to the archbishopric of Ravenna, the second most powerful ecclesiastical post in Italy. It was in the very next year that Gerbert's final promotion took place when, on the death of Gregory, he became the new pope.[44]

When Otto had invited Gerbert to be his tutor, Gerbert accepted with the words, 'I do not know what more evidence of the divine there can be than that a man, Greek by birth, Roman by empire, as if by hereditary right seeks to recapture for himself the treasures of Greek and Roman wisdom.'[45] Two months later he wrote to Otto: 'Ours, ours is the Roman Empire. Italy, fertile in fruits, Lorraine and Germany, fertile in men, offer their resources. [...]'[46] As a first step towards restoring the prestige of the Roman Empire, Otto's seal read *Renovatio imperii Romanorum*. For Gerbert's papal name, Sylvester was chosen because the first Sylvester was pope when the Emperor Constantine had initially promoted the Christian church within the Roman Empire. Otto proceeded to set up his palace on the Aventine Hill and revive various Roman and Byzantine honours and offices.[47] To increase Otto's control over Italy, Gerbert was given territory to command from Rome to Ravenna, placing a Saxon in charge of Rome and other Germans elsewhere, to the point where Otto, as already noted, could pass between Rome and Germany without crossing any land held by an Italian.[48]

Ottonian policy towards the Church resulted in influence flowing both ways. Among Gerbert's pupils, for example, were a score or more of archbishops, bishops, and abbots. Fulbert became head of the school at Chartres, then bishop;[49] Bruno, who was a student and possibly librarian at Reims, and not to be confused with Otto the Great's brother, was consecrated bishop of Langres; Heribert became abbot of Brogne and archbishop of Cologne. In addition, Heribert was chancellor to Otto III, whose circle also included Odilo, the abbot of Cluny, and Bernward, bishop of Hildesheim, as well as Gerbert.[50]

With his government entrusted to his elders, Otto spent the years 999 and 1000 on pilgrimage to southern Italy and eastern Europe before returning to Aachen. There he opened the tomb of Charlemagne to gaze upon his illustrious predecessor. Otto was still only twenty years of age. If Aachen stood as one pole of his imperial world, Rome was the other, and the Romans must have been understandably proud of the renewed importance the emperor was giving to their city. Yet to the Romans, local politics were always more important than imperial. When Otto made the journey back there in 1001, they rebelled over his settlement of a local revolt. Otto was forced to take refuge in Hadrian's Mausoleum before retreating to Ravenna. In the following year, like his father, he suffered a sudden, premature death, dying of a fever, with much of his grandfather's work in disarray. His funeral took place at Aachen.[51] When Gerbert died the following year, there may have been those around the centre of imperial power, now so swiftly voided, who may well have felt the world was coming to its end. Yet these were the very years, around 1002, to which Glaber, writing a generation later, so poetically ascribed the spreading of his white mantle of churches. On the other hand, it may already be seen that the process of renewal had begun long before the millennium and was to continue long after it.

In general terms, notwithstanding the eclipse of Otto III's reign and the brief hiatus before the election of his successor Henry II,[52] the momentum otherwise generated by the Ottonian revival continued to gather strength throughout the eleventh century, with the Salian emperors in Germany, the Capetian kings in France, the Normans in northern and southern Europe, and Benedictine monasticism everywhere. More particularly for this study, among Gerbert's pupils and Otto III's circle were to be found leaders of a monastic revival that had developed throughout the tenth century, men who were both reformers and rebuilders of churches and monasteries either side of the millennium. Gerbert's pupil, Fulbert, who was bishop and master of the cathedral school of Chartres, rebuilt its cathedral when it burnt down (fig. 2); another pupil, Heribert, the archbishop of Cologne and Otto III's chancellor, built Deutz Abbey across the Rhine from his see in the city; Odilo, the abbot of Cluny, oversaw completion of the second church at Cluny and many other monastic houses in France; whilst Bernward, Otto III's former tutor, his adviser, and bishop of Hildesheim, built St Michael's Abbey not far from his cathedral.[53]

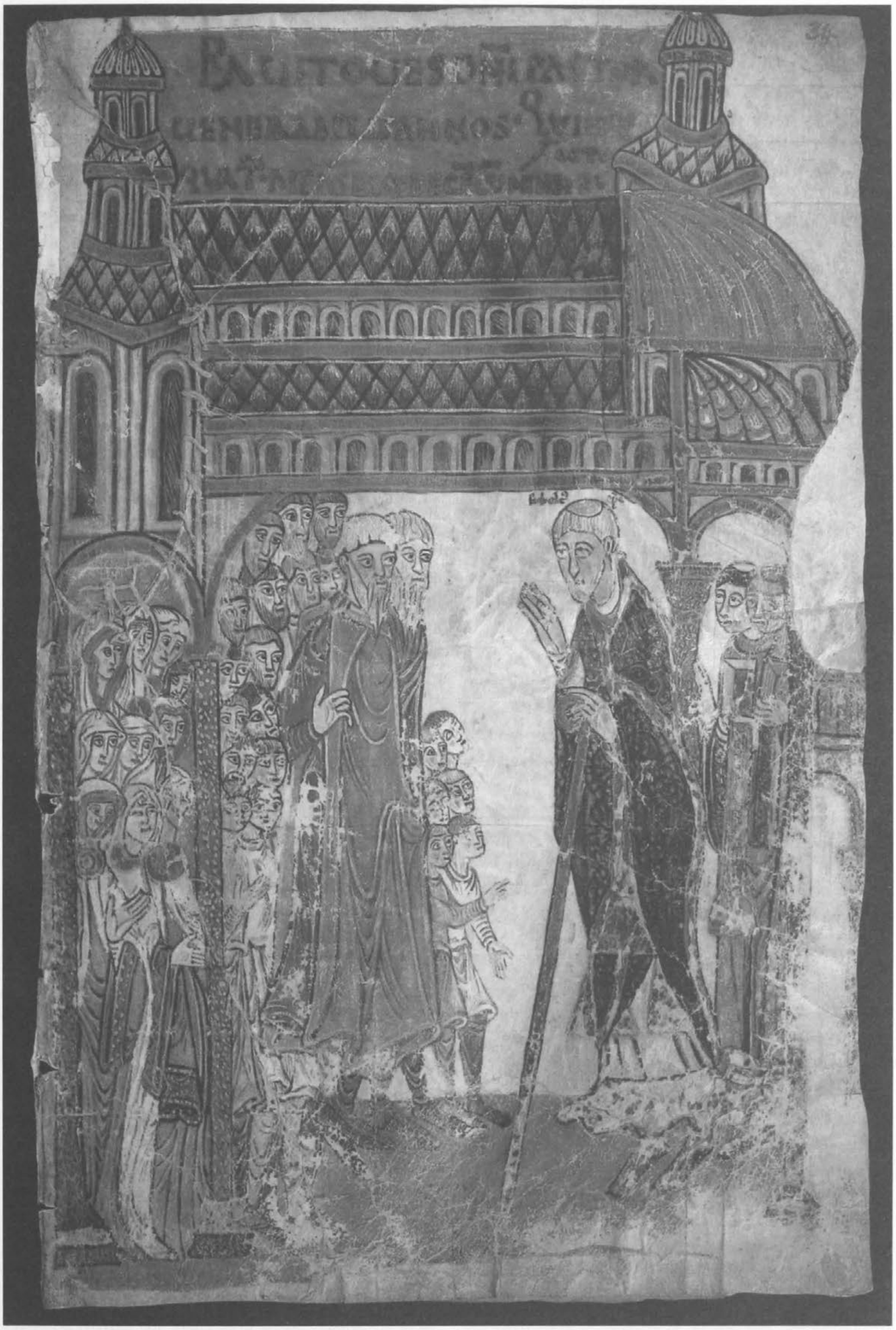

Fig 2. Fulbert preaching to his people at Chartres Cathedral, *Obituary of the Chapter of Notre Dame* XIc; Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, MS N.A. 4, fol. 34

Monastic Revival

During the ninth century, western monasticism had been greatly reduced by a combination of attacks by foreign invaders and the disintegration of the Carolingian Empire from within. While Magyars attacked from the east, Moslems from the south, and Vikings throughout Europe, Louis and his heirs fought each other for the remnants of Charlemagne's empire. Monastic communities were scattered, their libraries were destroyed, and buildings were left to return to nature as burnt-out ruins. Much of the Church lapsed into corruption, many bishops were neglectful, and monasteries were often no better. Many monasteries protected themselves by persuading powerful churchmen and magnates to take up residence with their families and preside over their communities as lay abbots. Despite books remaining in plentiful supply in monastic and cathedral libraries, few monks could read, and of those who did, many understood little. Public speaking was poor, ignorance and superstition were rife.[54]

Yet by the middle of the tenth century, Otto the Great's patronage of the Church and his policy of incorporating churches and monasteries more into the affairs of state were already beginning to result in a massive increase in their wealth and power. It also provided the impetus for new foundations and re-foundations across the realm, with Otto and the royal family setting an example. It was within months of his coronation in 936 that Otto agreed to the establishment of a convent at his father's burial site at Quedlinburg and less than a year before he founded the first monastery at Magdeburg which, as previously noted, he replaced with another as soon as this became the cathedral of his new archbishopric. In similar fashion, his son Otto II was to found a monastery at Memleben where both Otto I and Henry I had died, a foundation which was also later endowed by Otto III. Not surprisingly, a large concentration of houses was located in the Ottonian homeland of Saxony and these included an unusual number of convents connected with female members of the royal family, of which Quedlinburg was only the first and Gandersheim was another. In 961, the convent of the Virgin and St Peter was founded at Gernrode by Gero, one of Otto's chief commanders on the eastern frontier, whereupon Otto granted it royal protection. Royal support of course was not confined to Saxony or to making new foundations, as shown by the example of Adelheid with her interests in Burgundy. In recognition of her support for the abbey of Cluny and for other Cluniac monasteries, Adelheid's name was entered in the abbey's necrology and its abbot, Odilo, wrote an epitaph for her. This has been taken to indicate her fraternal membership of the community, to which Henry II was also to be admitted, as well as other royalty in the eleventh century elsewhere.[55]

That royal grants of property and privileges to monasteries were made in return for royal service was very much a mixed blessing for the monastic communities. Increasingly, the obligations which fell upon abbots sometimes had the effect of secularizing and separating them from their monks. Many supplied a royal need from the assets of their communities, with abbatial encroachment commonly resulting in confiscation of communal property. This led progressively to endowments being made specifically to their congregations and to the gradual division of resources and activities between the abbatial and the communal. Whilst such measures might offer material protection for a monastery, its spiritual life could nevertheless be compromised, especially regarding its vow of poverty and the shedding of worldly goods. Thus whilst the abbot might be absent on court business, or leading abbey troops into battle somewhere, discipline among the monks often became weakened to the point when, as the tenth century progressed, calls for reform began to appear in contemporary chronicles.[56]

Yet as early as 909 a council of bishops had met at Trosley and decided to restore proper rule, and this was followed by similar councils during the rest of the century. Discipline was to be informed by learning, making teaching a necessity and therefore the opening of monastic schools and the collecting and copying of books.[57] Monastic reform, which entailed a return to the Rule of St Benedict, was variously implemented across Europe, since the founding, re-founding, or reforming of each house might arise as a result of royal or noble influence, or from its own particular circumstances. Large reform movements were to develop as the product of concerted policy, but there were also many cases where local reform was led by individuals and bore an affinity rather than an allegiance to one of the main monastic centres.

In the year after the first council met, in 910, the abbey of Cluny was founded in Burgundy, its first abbot Berno insisting on the strictest observance of the Benedictine Rule as modified by the ninth-century Synods at Aachen. This required more time being devoted to the *opus Dei* and to the teaching of novices. Under the abbacy of Berno's successor, Odo, which lasted from 927 to 942, Cluny reformed or founded seventeen other houses. During the abbacy of Mayeul from 948 to 994, the number rose to thirty-seven, and during that of Otto III's counsellor Odilo, from 994 to 1048, Cluny was in control of sixty-five houses. This was achieved with the help not only of Adelheid, but also of Hugh Capet and his son Robert the Pious, who actively supported the reform. In addition to Cluny's own houses, the abbey also reformed many others in France, Italy, and Spain, which nevertheless retained their independence.[58]

Some of the first monasteries reformed by Cluny were of course older than Cluny and its intervention sometimes caused hostility. In 930, Gerbert's abbey at Aurillac, which had been founded at the beginning of the century, was reformed by Odo who had previously been its abbot. Although his efforts were initially resisted by its monks, when they relented, he moved on to reform Fleury the same year. Fleury housed Benedict's remains and was even older. Consequently, despite Odo's reform, it remained the more important abbey for some time, enjoying the status of sister house with Cluny and exercising its own reforming influence.[59]

One of the movements in which Fleury was involved originated in Lorraine at Gorze. This was not the first centre of reform in Lorraine. One had already been established with the refounding in 914 of Brogne, where Otto III's chancellor Heribert was to be abbot and from which many other monasteries were to be reformed in Flanders and northern France.[60] Gorze however was similarly in need of reviving. Having been deserted, then sacked by Magyars, its ruins were handed over in 933 by the bishop of Metz, who grudgingly restored various properties to it. This, it has been suggested, may have been done to enable the abbey to make its contribution to royal service, as was the case elsewhere. Heribert was to receive his training at Gorze and so was Gerbert's employer, Adalbero of Reims. Like Cluny, the Gorze reform marked a return to the Rule of St Benedict, with emphasis placed on the liturgy and a willingness to reform existing monasteries and found new ones.[61] And just as Hugh and Robert Capet furthered the reforms in France, so the Gorze reforms were personally advanced by Otto the Great, his brother Brun, and his son William, followed by Otto II, Otto III, and Henry II. This included both re-foundations and new foundations, one difference with Cluny being that houses of the Gorze reform remained under diocesan control and, as already noted, their abbots were liable for royal service. The reforms were also practical, as well as religious, in nature with importance being given to restoring the efficient management of estates and to the restitution of estates wrongfully alienated by the nobility.[62]

The first monks who helped with the refoundation of Gorze came from Metz and included Anstaeus,[63] who was joined by Einold of Toul, later its abbot, and John of Vandières. In 934, St Maximin's Abbey at Trier was reformed from Gorze, and when Otto founded his monastery at Magdeburg in 937, it was established by monks from St Maximin; then in 941, the canons at Metz were replaced by monks from Gorze. About five years after this, monks were invited from Gorze by the pope to reform St Paul's Basilica outside Rome, so much had Gorze's reputation grown. In 948, Otto gave his brother Brun Lorsch Abbey to reform. Brun also became abbot of Corvey and in 953 archbishop of Cologne. He was the leading scholar in Germany; he knew Greek and attracted Greeks to his school; and he introduced teaching in the liberal arts to Otto's court. Shortly after 955, he took over St Pantaleon's Abbey in Cologne, which was near to ruin, and re-founded it with an abbot from St Maximin in Trier. In 955, John of Gorze was called upon by Otto the Great to refute an attack on Christianity by Abd-ar-Rahman, and in 959 he took over as abbot of Gorze on Einold's death. In 959, Otto granted a charter to St Emmeram's Abbey at Regensburg, and when it was later reformed, in 975, the local bishop sent one of the monks from St Maximin, Trier, as the new abbot to oversee the reform. Even later, in 996, Otto III granted St Emmeram's Abbey his protection and it also benefited from a close association with his successor, Henry II.[64]

Thus, with imperial support, the reforms spread from Lorraine into Flanders, then Germany and beyond, to the extent that

German monasteries came to be reformed exclusively from Gorze and Trier. It was through Regensburg, for example, that the reforms spread from Trier and Einsiedeln and thence to Bavaria. Henry II's reforms furthered such practical concerns as estate management and economic control, reinforcing them with stricter customs. While still the duke of Bavaria, he ordered the reforms of Niederaltaich and Tegernsee in 995 and 1001 respectively and, after his accession, Prüm in 1003, Hersfeld and Lorsch again in 1005, and Reichenau in the following year; then, incidentally, before reforming Fulda and Corvey once more in 1013 and 1014, he created the bishopric of Bamberg in 1007, founding its cathedral in the same year.[65]

By the time Dunstan was exiled from England in 955, his abbatial retreat in Ghent had been undergoing the Gorze reform, as had fifty other houses in Flanders. This particular reform, together with Fleury's, was to influence a similar movement in England which Dunstan initiated with Æthelwold and Oswald on his return.[66] Oswald had studied at Fleury before returning to England in 958 and between 960 and 992 these three churchmen were variously bishops of Worcester and Winchester and archbishops of Canterbury and York. Having founded Ramsey Abbey in 969, Oswald attracted Abbo of Fleury to Ramsey to be in charge of its teaching between 985 and 987, before Abbo returned to his monastery to become abbot in 988.[67] For his part, Æthelwold had been ordained with Dunstan before joining him at Glastonbury, where Dunstan was abbot of the first English monastery to be reformed under continental influence.[68] According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, Æthelwold 'made many monasteries' and rebuilt others destroyed by Vikings.[69] Among his many monasteries was the derelict abbey of Abingdon, which he was given to reform and rebuild in 955 assisted by monks from Glastonbury. The year after being consecrated bishop of Winchester in 963, Æthelwold replaced the canons at Winchester's Old and New Minsters with his monks from Abingdon. In 966, he revived the abbey at Peterborough, followed by Ely in 970, among others, and he founded Thorney in 972. Exchanges with the continent continued when he sent one of his monks to study at Fleury, while bringing others from Fleury and Corbie to teach chant to English monks.[70] Around 973, King Edgar called a council in Winchester to regularize the English reform, by which time the three churchmen had reformed more than thirty-five abbeys. The council, attended by monks from Fleury and Ghent, led to Æthelwold's *Regularis Concordia*, an ordinance of new monastic rules which acknowledges the help provided by the continental monks and displays strong Gorzean influence.[71]

That monastic reform could also be a matter of individual effort is attested perhaps most of all by the example of William of Volpiano, a Lombard whose career spanned the decades either side of the millennium of the Incarnation, almost until that of the Passion. Much is known of his life from his pupil Glaber, who wrote not only the *Historiarum* under William's inspiration but also one of two brief biographies of him,[72] the other coming from the chronicler of St Bénigne.[73] William was known to Otto the Great from the time of his birth in 961 as a result of his father's service at court. Otto gave him the name of his own younger son William and his wife Adelheid received him at the font. As a young man, he was brought to Cluny by Mayeul around 985 where he excelled and was soon put in charge of his own cell. In 991, it was William who persuaded Odilo, Mayeul's eventual successor as abbot, to take the habit at Cluny.[74]

By this time, William had already been sent to reform and rebuild the abbey of St Bénigne at Dijon in Burgundy. As early as 982, Bishop Bruno of Langres, one of Gerbert's former pupils, had sent Adso, the abbot of Montier-en-Der, to reform the abbey, unsuccessfully as it turned out, and so in 990 Mayeul sent William with twelve monks, led by Bishop Bruno, once again to put the house in order. In 995, William travelled to Rome for confirmation of the abbey's status and, on his arrival in 996, discussed his plans with the newly elected Pope Gregory V. This was at the time of Otto III's coronation. While in Rome, William was said to have found inspiration for rebuilding his abbey, especially in St Peter's *confessio* beneath his basilica. On his way back to Burgundy, William stopped in Ravenna to visit the church of S. Vitalis and seems to have enlisted artists and craftsmen for his project in Dijon. The year 1001 saw the foundation-laying at St Bénigne and in 1018 the abbey was dedicated.[75]

In the meantime, William had been invited by the duke of Normandy to reform the monasteries of his domain, which William commenced with the help of some of his monks from St Bénigne. In 1001, he arrived in Fécamp, after its church had been rebuilt, to complete the conventual buildings and, in the following year, helped to found the abbey at Le Bec. In 1003, he was in his native Lombardy founding the abbey at Fruttuaria on lands belonging to his family, whereupon he returned to Dijon in 1006 to oversee the reconstruction of his abbey, before travelling back to Normandy to continue his work there. In 1008, St Ouen in Rouen went over to William after an earlier reform from Brogne. The revival of Jumièges followed in 1015, as did the foundation of Bernay in 1017 as a dependency of Fécamp. During this time, in a new twist to the movement of reform, William was invited to reconstitute monasteries of the Gorze reform in Lorraine, including St Èvre in Toul in 1005, Gorze itself around 1013, and St Arnulf in Metz shortly afterwards. In 1024, a change of abbot at Mont St Michel saw its abbey come under William's influence, and in 1025 he was asked to reform St Germain-des-Prés in Paris upon its re-foundation by Robert the Pious.[76]

The reformation of rule in these monasteries was perpetuated either by William himself, who was abbot, often simultaneously, at Dijon, Fécamp, Fruttuaria, St Germain-des-Prés, Gorze, and elsewhere, or by William placing his own disciples in charge. Thus he brought Theoderic from Dijon to be prior at Fécamp, then abbot of Jumièges and Mont St Michel, as well as guardian of Bernay. The abbot of St Ouen had been a pupil of William, and when William decided to leave Fécamp and end his days in Fruttuaria, another of his pupils, John of Fécamp, became abbot in 1028 until his death in 1078. Soon after this, nearing seventy, he left Fruttuaria to visit his abbeys at Dijon, Gorze, and Fécamp where he died in 1031.[77]

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of William's activities, for in addition to the influence he exerted over his own monks and the houses which he personally founded or re-founded, several of these houses enjoyed their own influence over others. In Burgundy, William's disciples built several churches around Dijon, whilst in Lombardy other new houses followed the founding of Fruttuaria, sometimes with William's kinsmen in charge, and from here the reform spread through northern Italy to monasteries in Switzerland, Austria, and Germany.[78] In Normandy, William's reform of St Ouen spread to churches nearby[79] and his earlier reforms in the duchy are likely to have carried to England. For example, William the Conqueror was to take Bernay's abbot Vitalis to Westminster, while Lanfranc, who was head of the school at William's foundation of Le Bec and abbot of St Stephen's at Caen, became the first archbishop of Canterbury under the Normans and effectively chancellor of England.[80]

Such was the enthusiasm for reform and rebuilding throughout the tenth century, it seems difficult to interpret this simply as evidence of millennial anxiety, or of official suppression of it. To return to Gerbert, for example, despite all his vicissitudes, not a word can be found in his letters that the year 1000 was expected to be different from any other.[81] On the contrary, the optimism of the age may be typified by a letter which he wrote for his master Adalbero in 987: 'The season changes, and the good land, long barren through no fault of its own, brings forth marvellous flowers and fruits. For, behold, the little cell of the blessed Martin revives the host of monks, long dead up to now.'[82]

It would seem therefore that it was the monastic revival, more than any millennial impulse, that produced 'the white mantle of churches', and its coincidence with the millennial years is surely to be explained by the progress of that revival, not only in general terms but also perhaps as occurring in two overlapping waves. Following the depredations of the ninth century, the monastic world at the beginning of the tenth has been characterized as one of desolation, obsolescence, and corruption. The renewal this prompted in turn produced reform and with both came rebuilding and new building. At first, construction was evidently hurried, with buildings thrown up to meet immediate needs, not always having been designed in the accepted sense, sometimes raised by unskilled hands and therefore simple, even primitive, often either wooden or the result of quarrying other ruins, and often destined to fall within decades to fire or storm. From the middle of the century, the problems of alienation of monastic lands and of secularization created by the demand for royal monasteries to service the itinerant court caused the plunder of communal assets and was accompanied by the erosion of monastic discipline, both provoking in turn the need for further reform. This might partly explain why it was common for monasteries to need reforming more than once. As the new millennium approached, the renewed necessity for reform, together with the increased wealth and stability generated by Ottonian rule, could well explain a second wave of monastic building, usually replacing earlier construction on a larger scale, generally raised in stone, and both planned and supervised by churchmen, some of whom were acknowledged at the time as being builders and even architects.[83]

Architecture of the Monastic Revival

The role of William of Volpiano in the rebuilding of his abbey of St Bénigne was described by Glaber from his recollection of having been a student of his at the abbey in the final years of its reconstruction. 'Immediately with great ingenuity of mind, he began to make marvellous preparations for the rebuilding of this church. [...] and he immediately hastened to complete the work of rebuilding the basilica in the way he had decided.'[84] According to the chronicler of St Bénigne, William 'hired the master craftsmen and dictated the work itself'.[85] At Adso's monastery of Montier-en-Der (fig. 3), Hugh was employed by the local bishop in the restoration of churches.[86] Oswald gave instructions at his abbey at Ramsey, founded in 969, by showing a plan of 'a beautiful design'.[87] While he was at Winchester, Æthelwold was described as *theoreticus architectus*.[88] When Anstaeus moved from St Arnulf in Metz around 933 to the newly re-founded abbey at Gorze, he produced 'a very beautiful plan' which showed his skill in architecture in 'the symmetry and proportions of the buildings'.[89] Somewhat enigmatically, for his foundation at Deutz in 1002, Heribert imparted to his architects 'the science of all building'.[90] The nature of this 'science' and why it was not already known to his architects is not obvious, but it is possible that it represented Heribert's brief to his builders. When Adalbero of Reims visited building operations at Mouzon Abbey, he conversed about the site and the buildings 'as if keeping something secret'.[91] At the abbey of St Martin in Tours, Hervey 'indicated to the masons where to lay the foundations of the incomparable work', having received guidance from the Holy Spirit.[92] At St Bénigne in Dijon, the 'form and subtlety' of William's 'ingenious work' was endowed 'with a mystical significance'.[93]

Such claims of course could be the result of nothing more than a chronicler's flattery and may not necessarily convey the patron's or designer's actual intention. For Ramsey Abbey, however, Oswald is recorded as initiating the foundations of the church in the shape of a cross, as a sign of salvation.[94] Æthelwold devised his abbey church at Thorney to be 'tripartite in its unity, to the praise of the Trinity'.[95] At Winchester, the addition of a tower to the New Minster in the 980s ran a convoluted course consisting of completion by the king, followed by its division into six stages by the abbot to signify that number of perfection which 'is made up of the sum of its parts' and, the record might have added, was equated with the six days of creation for the same reason.[96]

It might still be claimed that these attributions are more a chronicler's interpretation than a record of the designer's intention. Yet the accounts of Ramsey Abbey and New Minster were written only a generation after the event and therefore within living memory, whilst the description of Thorney Abbey's design was written into its foundation charter and is therefore contemporary with the building campaign.[97] As for William of Volpiano, one account of his construction of St Bénigne was written by a pupil of his, who had been resident at the time of its completion; the other was written by the chronicler of St Bénigne, who apparently joined the abbey within a few years of its consecration, and so both were in a position to know his exact role in the work.[98]

But if these projects were endowed with 'mystical significance', they were also evidently designed to express magnificence, for the record does suggest that people were in fact 'aiming to surpass all others in the splendour of construction'. When Glaber described William rebuilding St Bénigne in Dijon 'much wider and longer than before'[99] and Hervey deciding that St Martin in Tours 'should be enlarged and made more lofty',[100] this again was no chronicler's flattery, for progressive enlargement is precisely what is revealed by archaeology (fig. 4). Each structure at Tours was significantly bigger than its predecessor and even the rebuilding started by Hervey in 1003 is thought to have been rebuilt again sometime after 1063. Cluny also exemplifies this process. The first church was started by Berno in 910 and completed by Odo. Yet in 948, Mayeul began raising a second adjoining it to the south to a design some

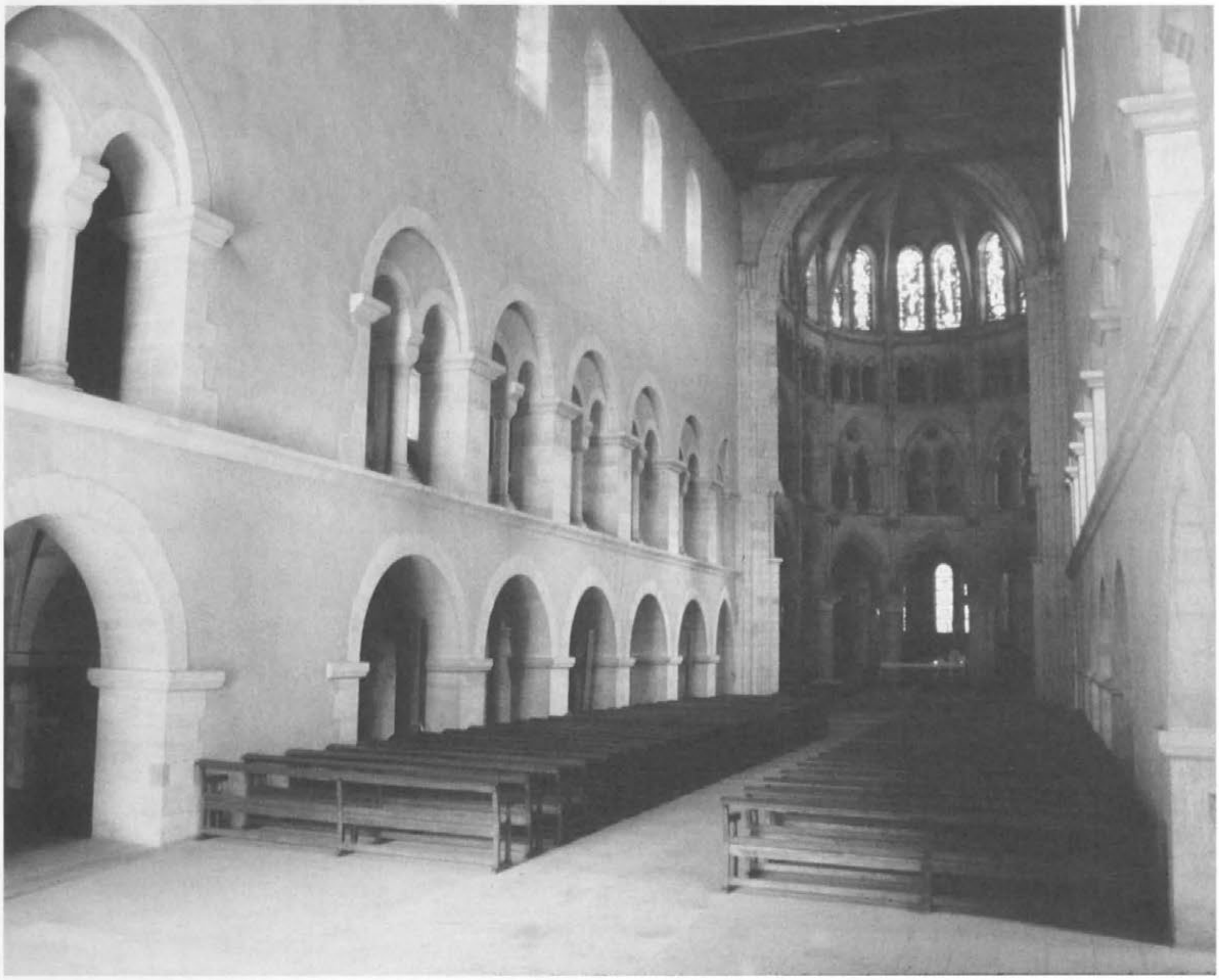

Fig. 3. Montier-en-Der, Abbey of Sts Peter and Paul; rebuilding commenced by Adso in 980s, consecrated 998, choir early thirteenth century; photo N. Hiscock.

47 m long and 13 m high (figs 5, 6), and even this was to be replaced a century later by Hugh's massive edifice to the north.[101] In 955, Brun, Otto the Great's brother, reformed and started to rebuild St Pantaleon's Abbey in Cologne (figs 7, 8, 30). No sooner had it been dedicated in 980 than the westwork was replaced with a larger version, possibly by Otto II's widow, Theophanou.[102] Æthelwold added a westwork in 974 to the Old Minster in Winchester, yet this was replaced almost immediately in 980 by a twin-towered work, whilst the east end was greatly enlarged by his successor in 994 (figs 9, 10).[103] Similarly, the third basilica at Ripoll, where Gerbert probably studied, was consecrated in 977, having been laid out with triple apses, double aisles, and clerestories above bold masonry arcades (figs 11, 12). In 1032, it was consecrated again following the addition of a narthex flanked by towers and a massive east transept with no fewer than seven apses.[104] The rebuilding of St Rémi at Reims that started shortly after 1005 was on such a large scale that it had to be curtailed before its dedication in 1049, yet its central span still exceeds 12 m (figs 13, 14).[105]

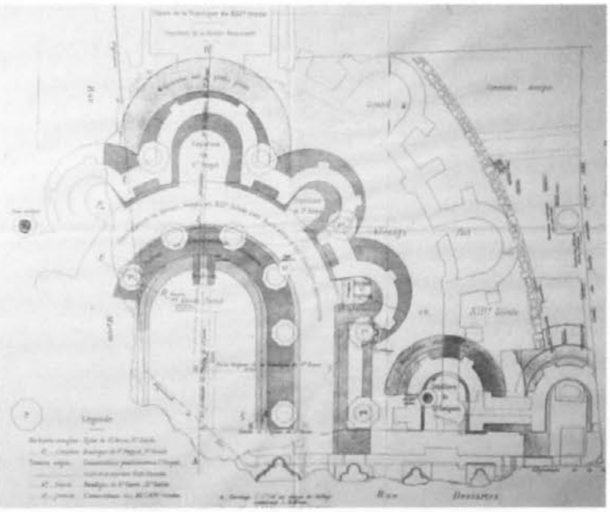

Fig. 4. Tours, St Martin's Abbey, chevet archaeology, fourth, fifth, eleventh, and thirteenth centuries; after S. Ratel.

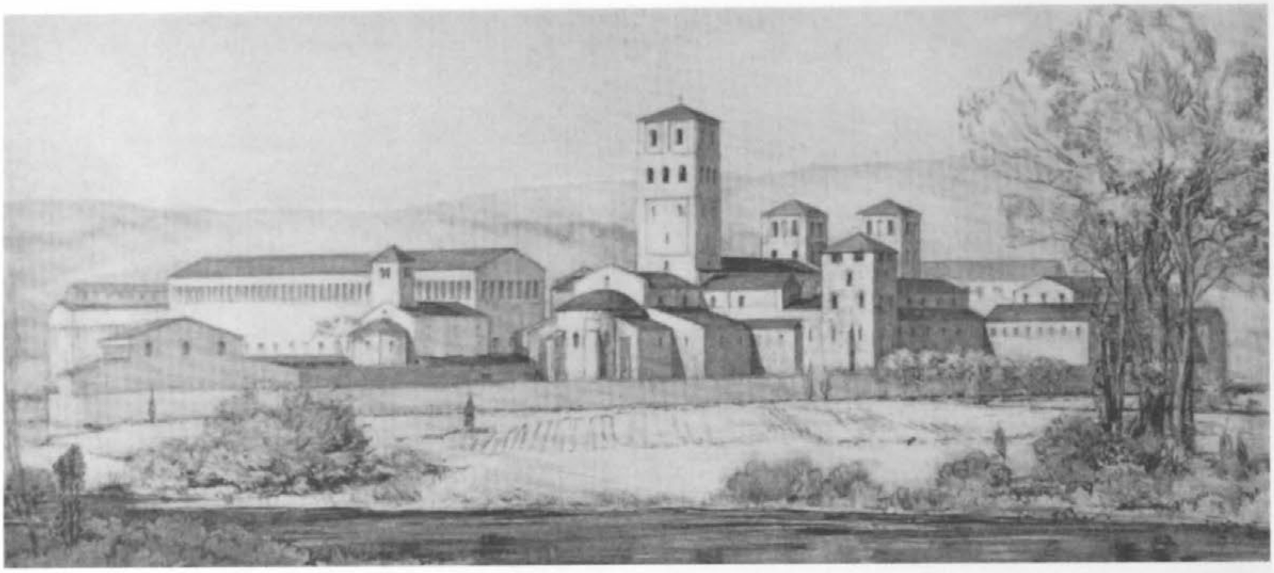

Fig. 5. Cluny II, reconstruction 1043; after K. Conant (1959).

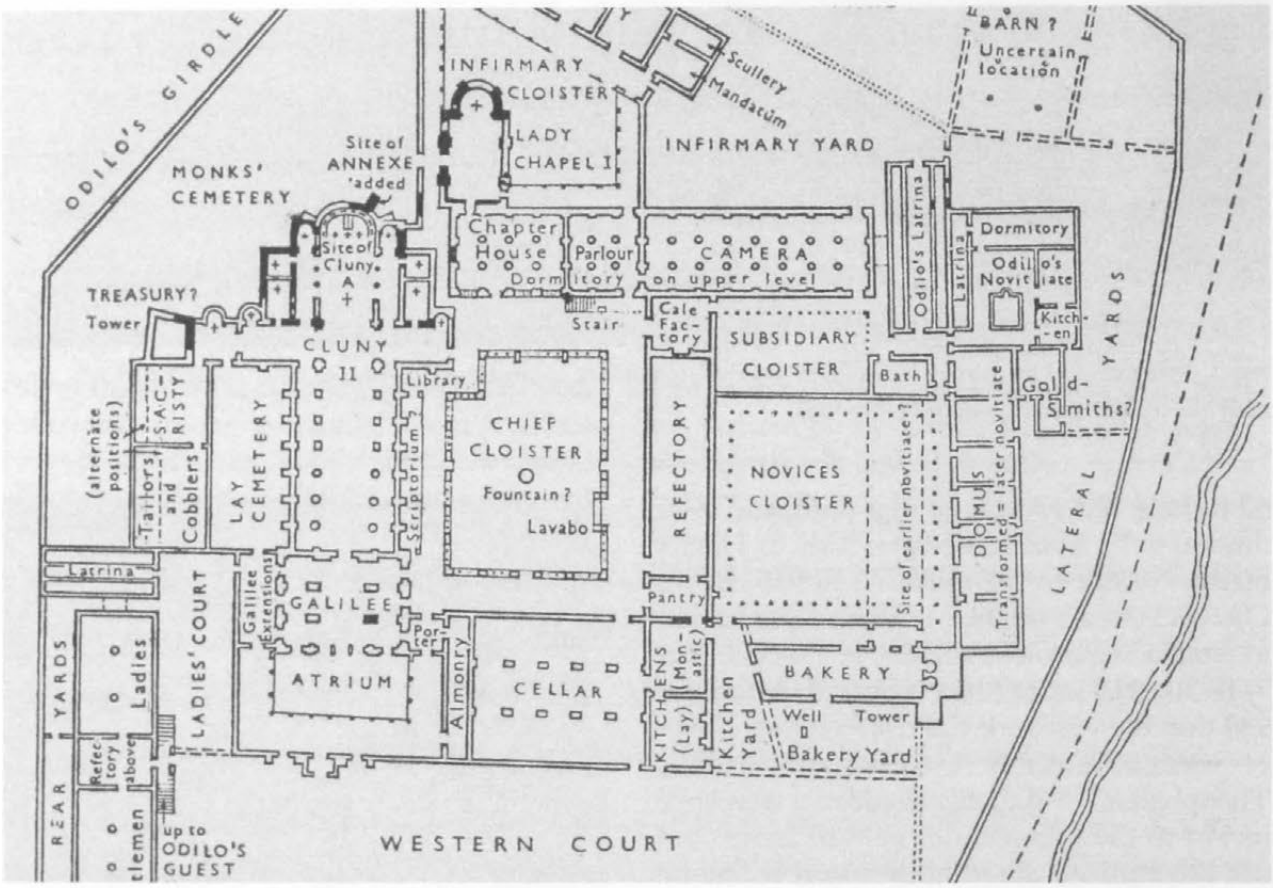

Fig. 6. Cluny II, plan 1050; after K. Conant (1959).

Given the growing influence of Cluny, it is understandable that the design of its second church has been described as being very influential, with similarities presumed in other projects by Odilo as he completed Mayeul's work on the mother church. It comprised a cruciform layout of choir, transepts, crossing, and nave, with apsidal terminations to the sanctuary and choir aisles (fig. 6). Two more apses projected eastwards from the transepts alongside large rectangular chambers opening into the choir aisles and transepts. The nave also had aisles, probably barrel-vaulted, and at the west end stood a large nine-bay *galilaea* incorporating twin towers.[106] However, at the time of its construction between 948 and 981 and for the

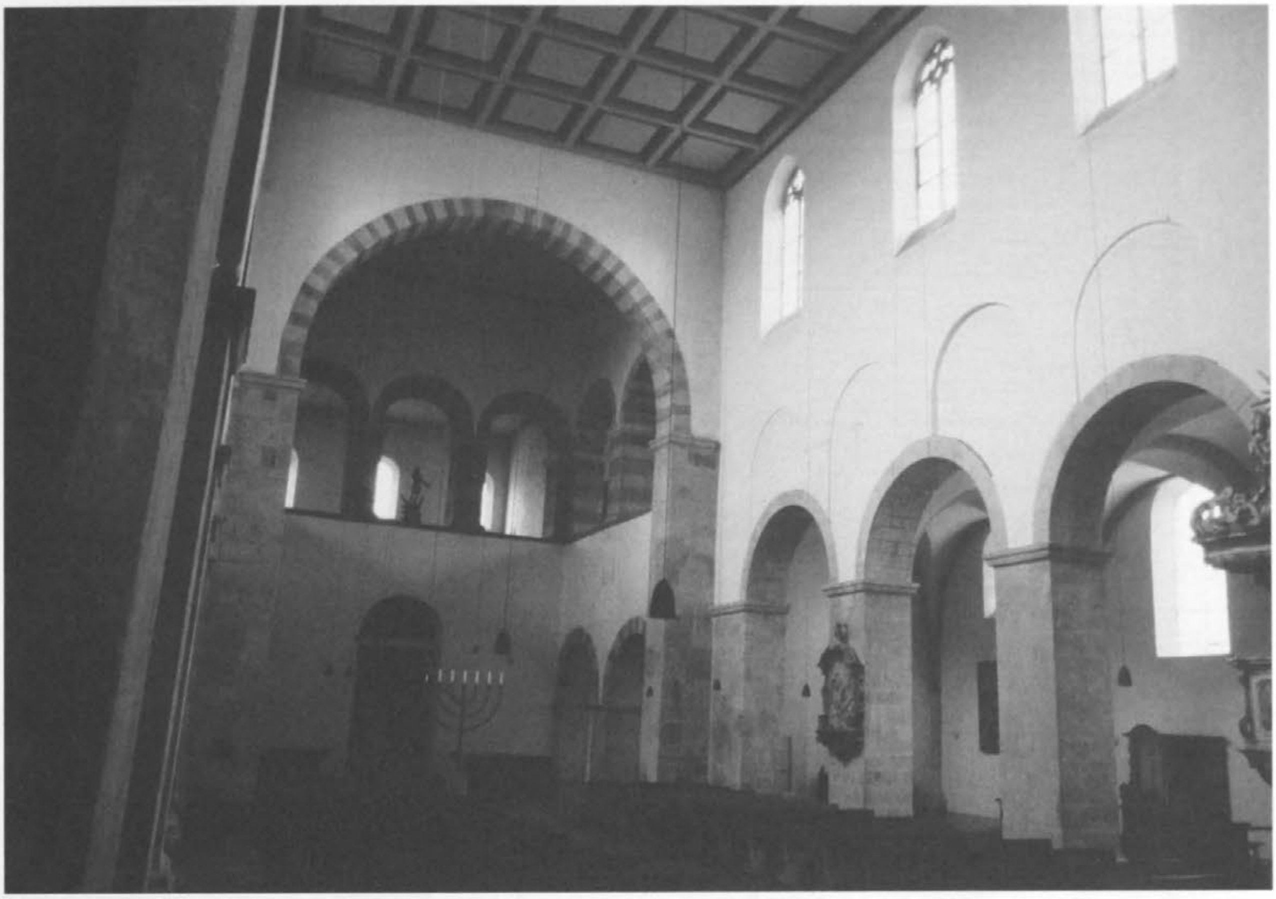

Fig. 7. Cologne, St Pantaleon's Abbey, interior of westwork; photo N. Hiscock.

rest of the tenth century, the architecture of the monastic revival appears to have been extremely varied. Much of it, furthermore, was the outcome of the Gorze reform, not the Cluniac. For example, Anstaeus was a monk at Gorze from around 933 and both Adalbero and Heribert studied there. Dunstan spent his exile in the 950s at St Peter's Abbey in Ghent, which was being reformed by Einold of Gorze, before returning to England where he taught Æthelwold, whose *Regularis Concordia* displays Gorzean influence. Adso was a pupil at Gorze before taking over studies at the Gorzean abbey of St Èvre in Toul, whence he was sent to rebuild the abbey at Montier-en-Der, where Hugh was engaged in rebuilding churches.[107]

An impression of this architectural variety may be gained by surveying the work of others, besides Odilo, who were also connected with the imperial court. Successive modifications of St Pantaleon's Abbey in Cologne (figs 7, 8), where both Brun and Theophanou were

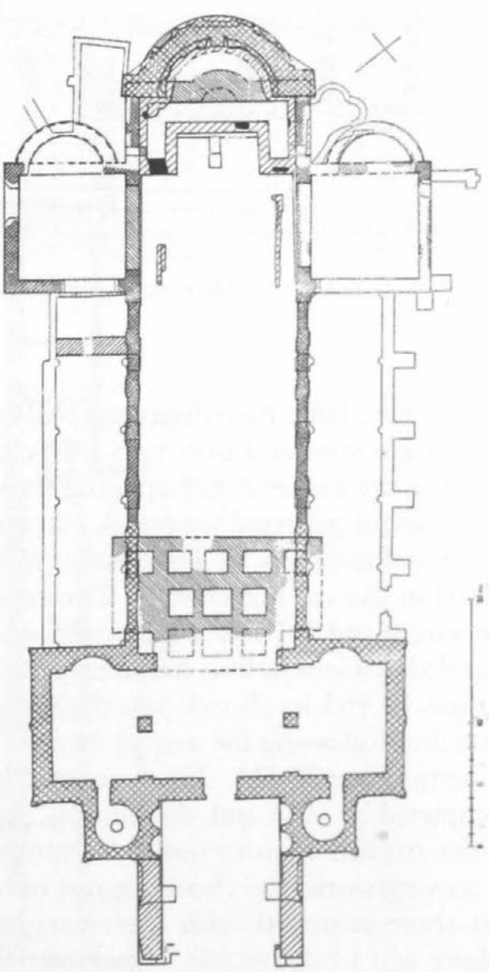

Fig. 8. Cologne, St Pantaleon's Abbey, plan; after B. Singleton.

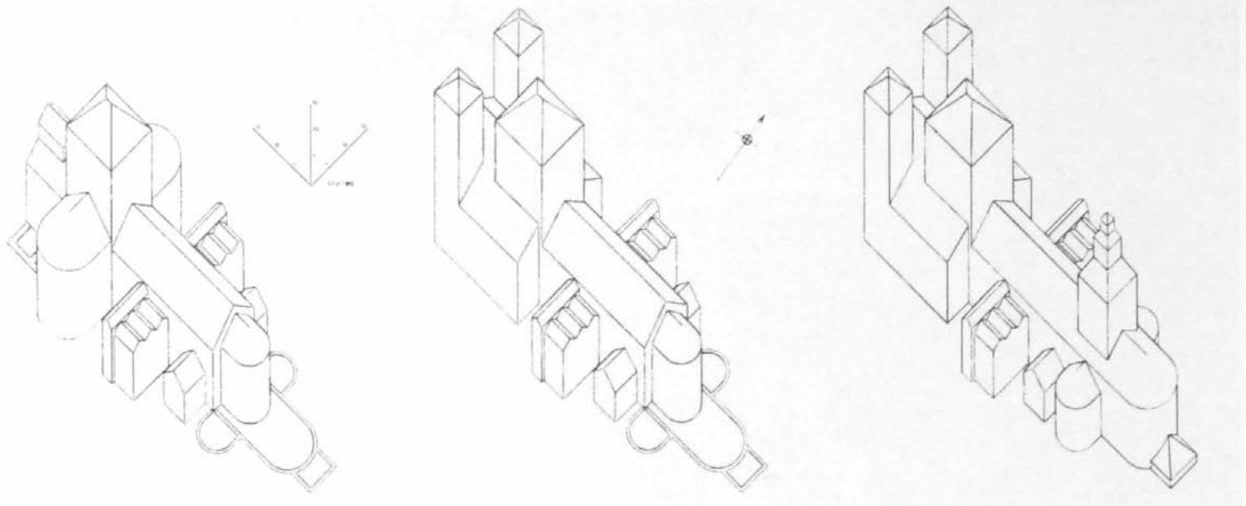

Fig. 9. Winchester, Old Minster, structural development c. 974–94, after B. Kjølbye-Biddle.

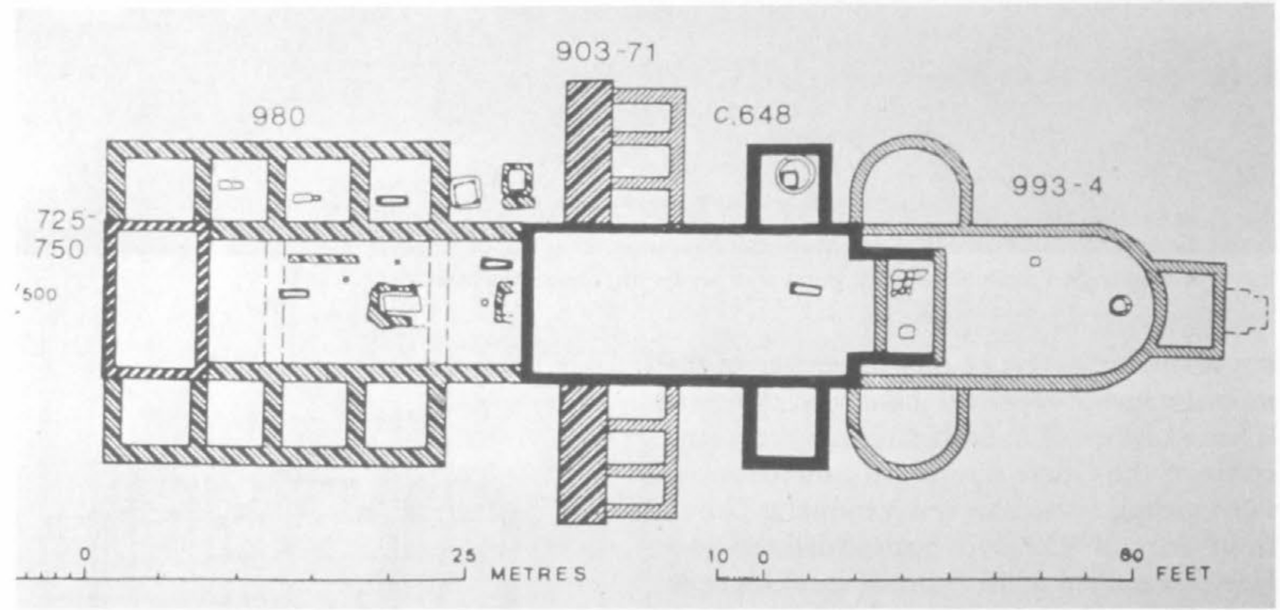

Fig. 10. Winchester, Old Minster, plan, seventh–tenth centuries; after B. Kjølbye-Biddle.

buried, have left a nave displaying shallow blind arcading inside and out, two side chambers flanking the east end and opening into it, and a full-height galleried westwork incorporating tower and transepts.[108] The present aisles were added in the twelfth century. The convent of the Virgin and St Peter at Gernrode, which was founded by Gero in 961, has already been mentioned. In 963 its church was dedicated to St Cyriakus following the arrival there of one of his arms (figs 23, 24, 25). Construction was completed by 1014 and, discounting alterations in the twelfth century inside its transepts and to its westwork, the church is not only aisled but three-storeyed with clerestory, arcaded gallery, and a main arcade. This divides the nave into double compartments either side of a square pier, with a single column at the mid-point of each bay.[109] In complete contrast, Archbishop Heribert of Cologne founded Deutz Abbey in 1002 in memory of Otto III (figs 15, 16). Situated on the opposite bank of the Rhine from the city, it stood as an elliptical rotunda, surely in emulation of St Gereon across the river, inscribed internally with six large niches and with a projecting apsidal sanctuary and westwork at the opposite end. It was dedicated in 1020 and Heribert was buried in it the following year.[110]

Different again was Bernward's abbey of St Michael at Hildesheim which was under construction at the same time (figs 19, 27, 28).[111]

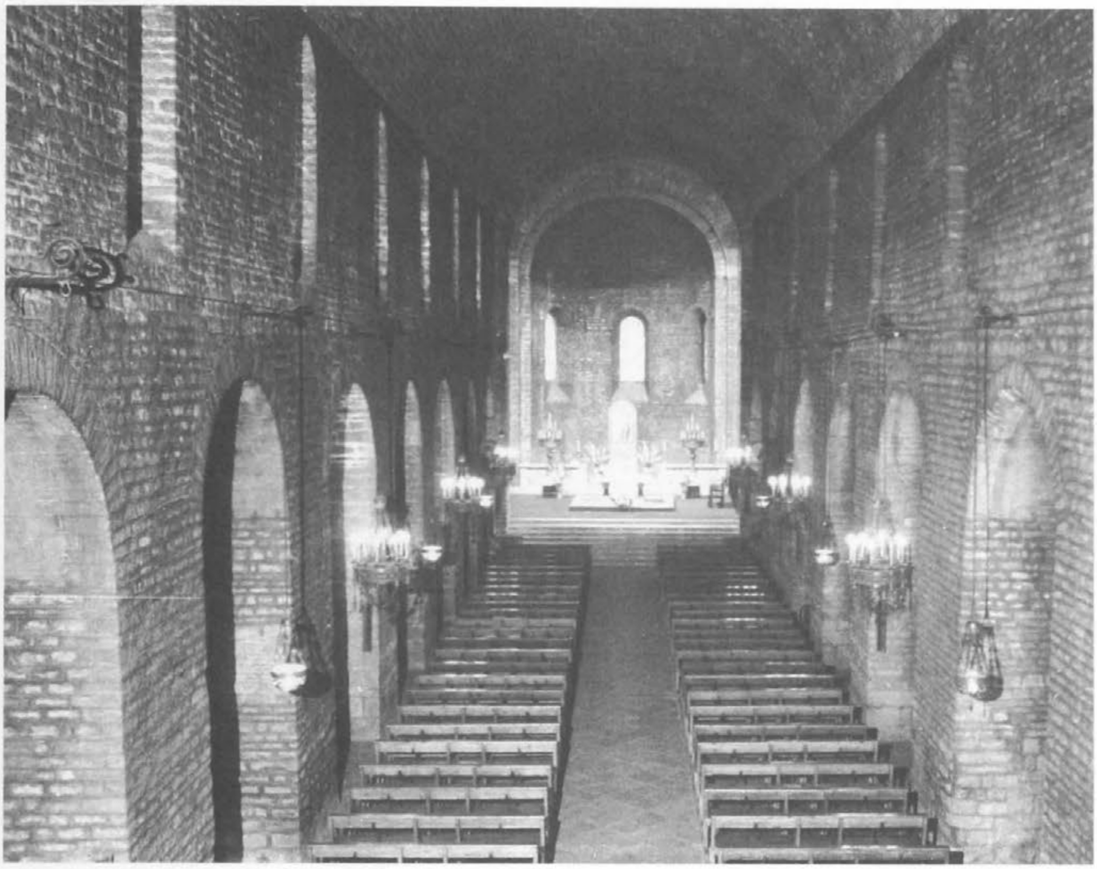

Fig. 11. Ripoll, S. Maria's Abbey, interior; photo J. Mann.

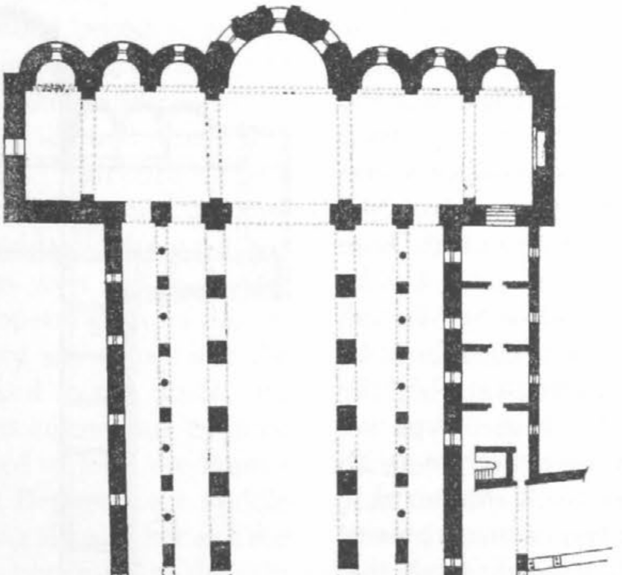

Fig. 12. Ripoll, S. Maria's Abbey, plan, after J. Cadafalch

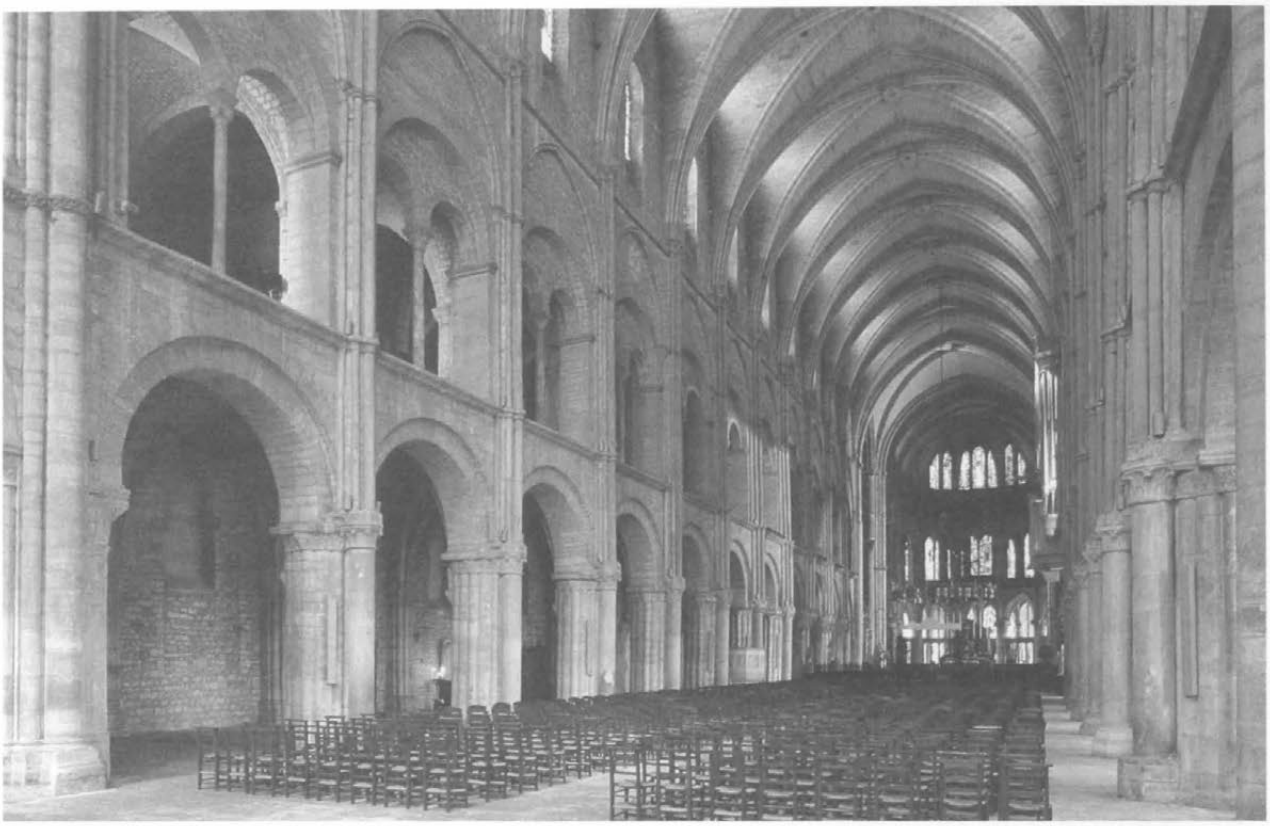

Fig. 13. Reims, St Rémi's Abbey, commenced 1005, recommenced to reduced scale *c.* 1034; vault shafts, upper clerestory, and vault late twelfth century; photo M. Thurlby.

In 1001, Bernward had travelled to Rome for the settlement of a diocesan dispute, when he was received by his erstwhile pupil Otto III and Gerbert, now Pope Sylvester II. While in the city, he is thought to have seen the inspiration for the bronze work he was to produce for his abbey on his return to Hildesheim. In 1007, Bernward journeyed to the abbey of St Denis outside Paris, which had been reformed by Mayeul for Hugh Capet, and to St Martin's Abbey in Tours, which was being rebuilt by Hervey. Three years later, Bernward laid the foundation of his own abbey; the crypt was consecrated in 1015 and the church in 1022, shortly before Bernward's death and burial in the crypt. The first abbot was formerly provost of St Pantaleon and other monks from that abbey had taken up residence at Hildesheim some years earlier.[112] The result is an aisled, double-ended basilica in the fullest sense, with transepts, crossing-towers, and apses at both ends. In this regard, and despite being only two-storeyed, it appears to be a development of the layout exemplified by Gernrode, also in Saxony, as does the design of its nave arcades. Where square piers divide Gernrode's nave into two main bays with a single intermediate column per bay, the corresponding piers at Hildesheim

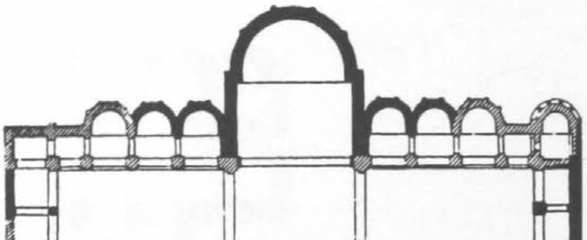

Fig. 14. Reims, St Rémi's Abbey, plan, after C. Radding and W. Clark.

divide its nave into three bays between the two crossings, with two columns set to each bay.

In France, tenth-century architecture appears similarly varied when considered alongside Cluny II. At the time of Gerbert's letter to Adalbero in 983 requesting that Adso bring certain manuscripts with him to Reims,[113] Adso was embarking on the reconstruction of the derelict abbey at Montier-en-Der between Reims and Dijon (fig. 3). It was consecrated by Adso's successor in 998 leaving its substantial nave aisled and three-storeyed, with ground and gallery arcades consisting of square piers and bold, round arches. At the west end there originally stood a form of westwork.[114]

It was while reconstruction was nearing completion at Montier-en-Der, in 990, that William of Volpiano was sent by Mayeul to the abbey of St Bénigne at Dijon as a result of its having fallen into neglect, both materially and spiritually. Attempts to repair the church brought about further collapse and, following William's visit to Rome in 996 and his return by way of Ravenna, having apparently engaged various artisans to help in the rebuilding, the foundation-laying took place in 1001 and the consecration followed in 1018 (figs 77, 78). In Glaber's words, it was deemed 'proper to rebuild the whole church from its foundations'[115] and the massive complex of aisled basilica, rotunda, and chapel must have seemed unlike any other project at the time.[116] According to a reconstruction from excavations and the surviving crypt of the rotunda,[117] the nave was long, with an apse at its west end and deep transepts at its east end opening into a colonnaded apse and ambulatory, and thence into the rotunda. This was flanked to the north and south by large stair turrets connecting its three floors: the lower dedicated to John the Baptist and housing the tomb of Benignus; the middle dedicated to Mary, housing altars to her and the apostles and opening into her chapel to the east; and the upper dedicated to the Holy Trinity. Each storey was filled with two concentric rings of pillars, the outer numbering sixteen, the inner eight, thereby associating the space of the rotunda with the geometry of the octagon. If William found inspiration for this in the apostle's *confessio* at St Peter's Basilica when he visited Rome, as has been suggested,[118] he would also have found that the two circular tomb-chambers attached to the *bema* of St Peter's were each inscribed with eight niches, while S. Vitalis in Ravenna, which he visited on the way back to Burgundy, is octagonal in design. Be this as it may, the rotunda of the Pantheon in Rome is similarly inscribed with eight niches, including the entrance, its dome is crowned with an *oculus* open to the sky, as was the dome over William's rotunda, and, after the Pantheon's seventh-century conversion to Christian use, both buildings were dedicated to Mary and All Martyrs.

No such precedents are apparent among William's foundations in Normandy. When he was invited by Duke Richard II to bring his reforms to the duchy, William arrived first at Fécamp in 1001 after the abbey church had already been rebuilt by Richard's father.[119] In 1013, it was Judith, the wife of Richard II, who founded Bernay as a cell of Fécamp, and, after her death in 1017, the work was continued by her husband, when William erected the nave over three years from 1025. The crossing, choir, and transepts were completed sometime after 1060 (figs 17, 18).[120] The design of Bernay could hardly differ more in scale or layout from that of St Bénigne, which was being consecrated in 1018. It does bear some resemblance, however, to Cluny II in that its layout consists of a Latin cross of choir, transepts, and nave with square aisle bays, a tower originally over the crossing, and apses originally to the sanctuary, choir aisles, and transepts. It lacks, however, Cluny's *galilaea* and the rectangular chambers which projected from its transepts. Even more closely does Bernay's plan compare with that of the royal abbey of St Germain-des-Prés in Paris.[121] This was re-founded by Robert the Pious in 1025 under William's direction while William was building Bernay's nave (figs 92, 94). St Germain's layout is also cruciform and parallel-apsed, perhaps recalling the triapsidal plan of the Paris type going back to the Merovingian revival.[122] Unlike Bernay, however, St Germain-des-Prés is only two-storeyed; it has a tower porch at the west end and an eastern arm consisting of a single bay rather than the two at Bernay. As a result, the bays either side of the choir appear to have served as apsidal chapels projecting from the transepts, in place of choir aisles, with outer apses beside them projecting less by opening directly from each transept arm without an intervening bay.

Although William was trained at Cluny and his reforms are regarded as Cluniac in spirit, the many houses over which he had control

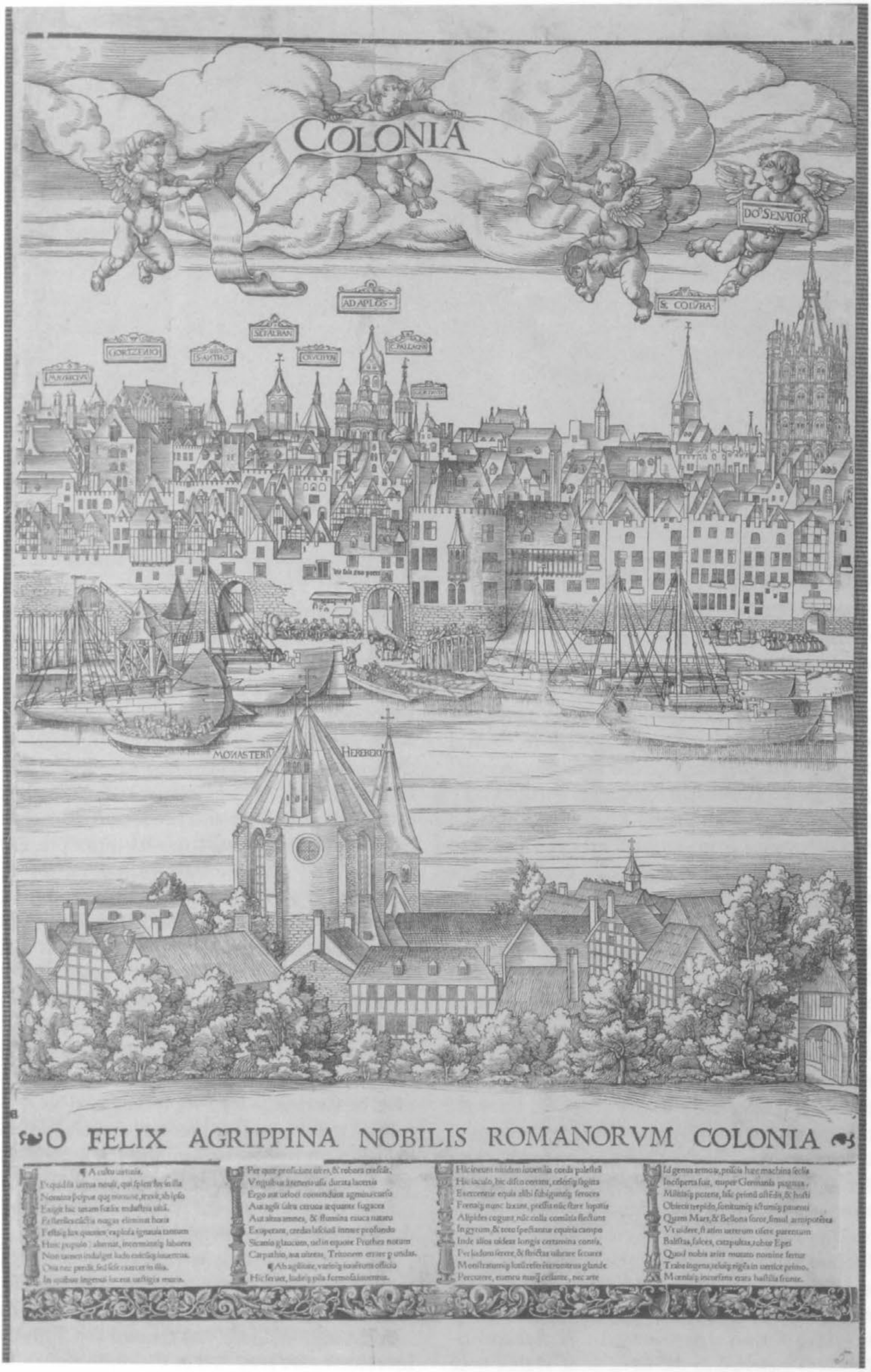

Fig. 15. Deutz, St Mary's Abbey, view 1531; after A. Woesnam.

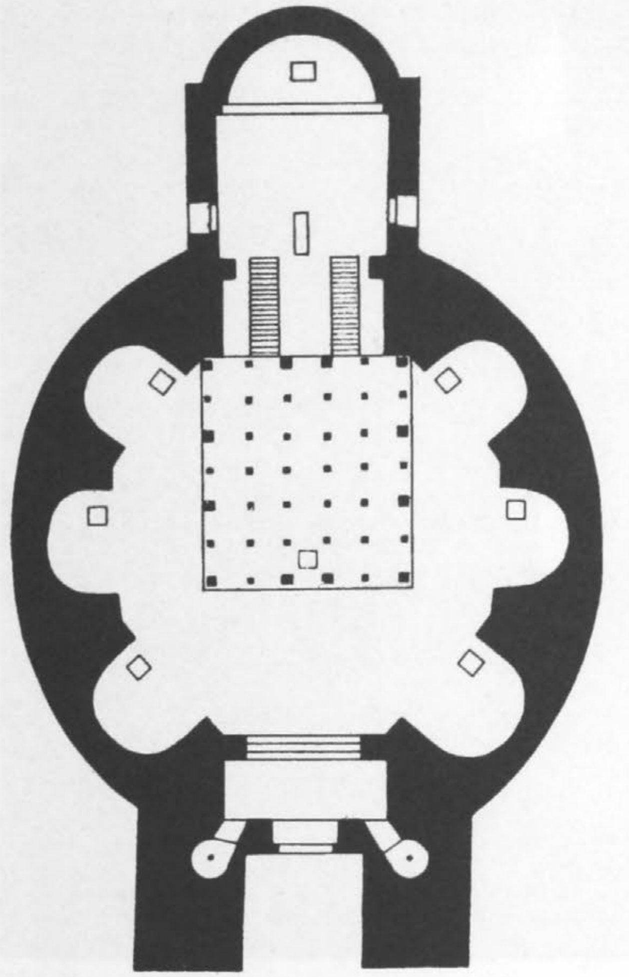

Fig. 16. Deutz, St Mary's Abbey, plan; after H. Kubach and A. Verbeek.

remained outside the formal institution of the mother house and followed their own separate paths after his death.[123] Architecturally, this independence can be seen in the singular layout of Jumièges, with its ambulatory and colonnaded apse, also a nave articulated into major and minor bays with compound piers alternating with columns. Pairs of columns also stand on the axis of the transepts in an arrangement partly to be followed at St Stephen's Abbey in Caen, where construction began in 1062 to a layout which seems otherwise to be a development of Bernay. Although William reformed Jumièges in 1015, construction of the church did not commence until 1037, after his death, by which time other influences may well have been at work in its design. Cluny II, therefore, can hardly be regarded as an exact prototype for William's churches. Nevertheless, with the exception of Jumièges, there is a general resemblance and it was during these early decades of the eleventh century that Cluny's influence continued to grow under Odilo's abbacy and William was in Lorraine reconstituting abbeys of the Gorze reform.

Whilst this survey has confined itself to the architecture of Germany, France, and England, even greater diversity was to be found further afield in Spain and Italy.[124] Yet the extent to which Cluny's influence was spreading may be gained from the *Consuetudines Farfensis*. This was a guide to liturgical customs at Cluny for use of the abbey at Farfa in Lombardy. It constituted part of the reform of the abbey by Abbot Hugo, who requested the help of Odilo and who stayed at Cluny around 1030. One chapter of the document even provides a dimensioned description of the monastic buildings of Cluny II and its church, although Cluny's influence here appears to have been more liturgical than architectural. Farfa was an imperial foundation and it has been shown that the design of its church owes more to the imperial architecture of Lorraine than to Cluny.[125]

Conclusion

It was apposite of Glaber to have noted that the building activity around the millennium included episcopal churches and monasteries, for it is evident that the causes of his white mantle of churches are diverse. As new sees were created in Saxony and beyond, partly for the mission amongst the Slavs, new church building was bound to follow. Patronage of the Church was also central to the consolidation of Ottonian and Capetian rule and resulted in numerous royal foundations, with the added imperative for the Saxon rulers to endow churches and monasteries to service their itinerant court. Whilst much monastic reform in Germany was consequently practical in order to facilitate the provision of service and to retrieve monastic land-holdings, the various reform movements emanating from Gorze, Fleury, Cluny, and elsewhere were nevertheless essentially religious, usually supported by the monarchy, and did spread across Europe from England to Italy and from Saxony to Spain.

The evidence of this monastic revival shows that a wave of rebuilding and new building occurred in the latter half of the tenth century, coinciding with the reforming activities of many individuals, who were often known to each other and operative at the highest levels of Church and state, and was a movement which

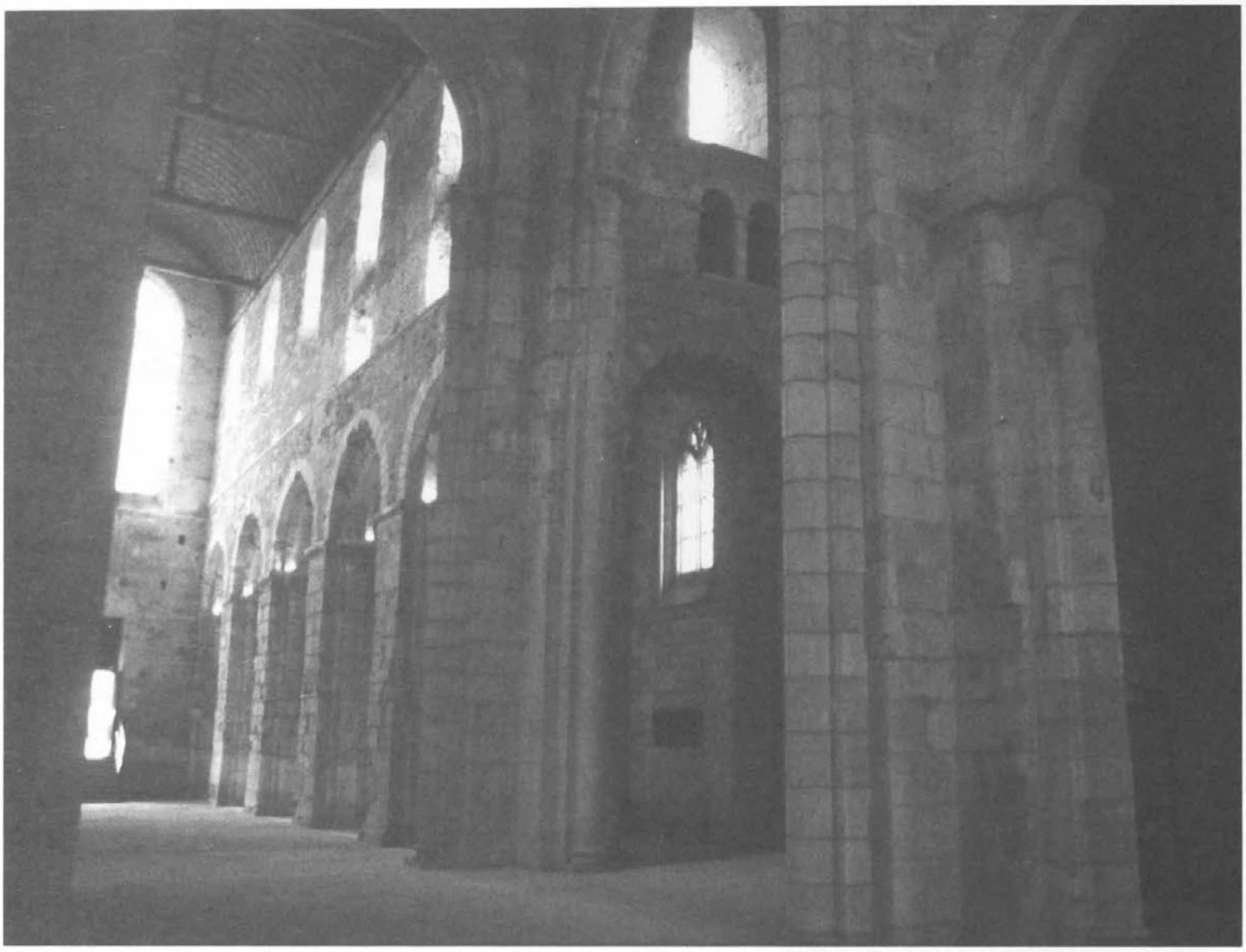

Fig. 17. Bernay Abbey, interior, photo N. Hiscock.

gained strength as the new millennium approached and passed. The scale and vigour of the building activity, it is argued here, appears to have far surpassed the actions of a Church that is simply in denial of a supposed apocalyptic fate, but rather signifies a positive faith in renewal and the future. Interestingly enough, the individualism of reforming activities in the tenth century appears to be reflected in architecture that is equally individualistic, when Brun's abbey in Cologne is set beside Heribert's abbey at Deutz and William's in Dijon. Yet as monastic reforms became consolidated in the new millennium, it was not long before a rather more consistent architecture emerged. This may be seen in Germany where the double-ended basilica, exemplified by Bernward's abbey in Hildesheim, became a model for the Rhineland for over a century. It may also be seen in France in William's abbeys at Bernay and St Germain-des-Prés in Paris, with regard to the architecture of Normandy, Norman England, and northern France, and finally in St Rémi at Reims and St Martin in Tours which pointed the way to Toulouse and Santiago.

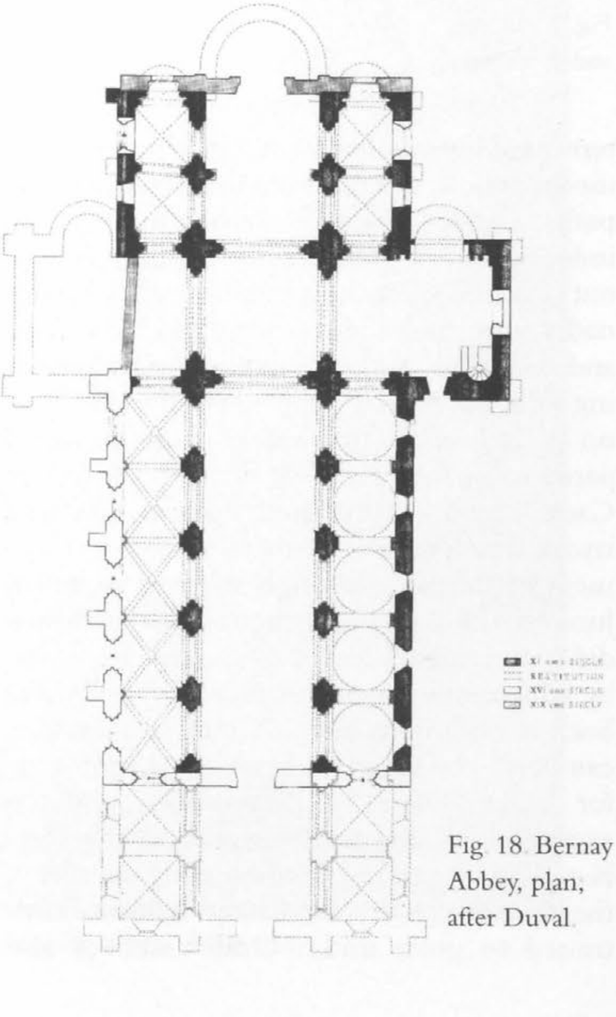

Fig. 18. Bernay Abbey, plan, after Duval.

NOTES

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5. Glaber, *Historiarum*, 4. Proem., 4, 5, in *The Five Books*, pp. 171, 185–93, 195–97.

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7. W. Ullmann, 'Imperial Hegemony', in *The Rise of the First Reich: Germany in the Tenth Century*, ed. by B. Hill (New York, 1969), pp. 102–18 (p. 111); K. Leyser, *Medieval Germany and Its Neighbours, 900–1250* (London, 1982), p. 8; Landes, 'The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000', p. 118.

8. Landes, 'The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000', pp. 123–25.

9. H. Focillon, *The Year 1000*, trans. F. Wieck (New York, 1971), pp. 60–61; Glaber, *Historiarum*, 1. Proem., 4; 2. 6, 12; 4. 4, in *The Five Books*, pp. 3, 45, 69, 93, 184–93; Leyser, *Communications and Power*, pp. 225–26; Landes, 'The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000', pp. 104–05.

10. Landes, 'The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000', pp. 125, 131, 136.

11. For a discussion of the millennial debate in relation to building activity, see Landes, Chapter 14 below.

12. The sections below entitled *The Ottonian Revival* and *Monastic Revival* are a development of material in N. Hiscock, *The Wise Master Builder: Platonic Geometry in Plans of Medieval Abbeys and Cathedrals* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 25–32. Glaber, *Historiarum* 3. 4, in *The Five Books*, p. 115. See also G. Althoff, *Die Ottonen: Konigsherrschaft ohne Staat* (Stuttgart, 2000).

13. T. Reuter, 'The "Imperial Church System" of the Ottonian and Salian Rulers: A Reconsideration', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33 (1982), 347–74 (p. 369); idem, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages, c. 800–1056* (London, 1991), pp. 157, 163–64, 166–70, 265–66, 274; John W. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany: c. 936–1075* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 23–24, 35, 36.

14. Z. Brooke, *A History of Europe: From 911 to 1198*, 2nd edn (London, 1947), pp. 23, 27–31, 35–39; G. Barraclough, *The Origins of Modern Germany* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 51–53; Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries*, p. 14. For Henry's legacy to Otto and Otto's succession, see Leyser, *Medieval Germany*, pp. 11–42; idem, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 10–22, 28–29. For Otto's election and coronation, see J. Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986), p. 287; Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, p. 98; Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 148; Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries*, p. 4. For Otto's early crises, see Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, pp. 17, 21–24, 32–35, 38–41; Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 151–56, 169–70; Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries*, pp. 16–25.

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16. Brooke, *A History of Europe*, pp. 51–54; C. Brooke, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages, 962–1154* (London, 1964), p. 167; Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 176–77, 268–69; Leyser, *Communications and Power*, pp. 169–70.

17. Brooke, *A History of Europe*, pp. 56–61, 64; Brooke, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages*, pp. 169–71; Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, pp. 43–45; Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 184–86, 274; Leyser, *Communications and Power*, pp. 161–64.

18. See the portrayal of Otto III in the Aachen *Gospel Book*, Aachen Domschatz fol. 16^{r}; Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, p. 78. See also Garrison, Chapter 3 below.

19. J. Wollasch, 'Kaiser und Könige als Brüder der Mönche: Zum Herrscherbild in liturgischen Handschriften des 9. bis 11. Jahrhunderts', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 40 (1984), 1–20 (pp. 17–20); Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, pp. 78–79, 84–85, 88, 90–91, 95; Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries*, pp. 35, 47–50.

20. Leyser, *Medieval Germany*, p. 73; Reuter, ' "Imperial Church System" ', pp. 352–54; idem, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 196–97; Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries*, p. 33; Leyser, *Communications and Power*, p. 151.

21. Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 164; Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries*, pp. 8, 37–39, 170.

22. Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 156–57.

23. G. Barraclough, 'The Monarchy and Its Resources', in *Rise of the First Reich*, ed. by Hill, pp. 67–85 (p. 83).

24. William opposed Otto's plans to create the archbishopric at Magdeburg, which Otto consequently delayed until William's death in 968. Barraclough, *Origins of Modern Germany*, p. 59; Brooke, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages*, p. 167; Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries*, p. 38.

25. Reuter, ' "Imperial Church System" ', pp. 350–51, 355. See also Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries*, pp. 27–35.

26. Reuter, ' "Imperial Church System" ', pp. 358–65; Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries*, p. 34.

27. Reuter, ' "Imperial Church System" ', pp. 364–65; idem, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 210, 214; Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries*, pp. 34–35, 75–76.

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29. See also Plant, Chapter 2 below.

30. Leyser, *Medieval Germany*, p. 100; Nelson, *Politics and Ritual*, p. 303; Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 240–42; Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries*, pp. 153, 189, 191. For references to westwork in Germany, see Plant, Chapter 2 below; for westwork in Lorraine and Germany, see Sanderson, Chapter 4 below; and for an interpretation of counterparts in Burgundy, see Krüger, Chapter 8 below.

31. Glaber, *Historiarum* 1. 4, in *The Five Books*, p. 29.

32. O. Darlington, 'Gerbert, the Teacher', *American Historical Review*, 52.3 (1947), 456–76 (pp. 460, 463); Focillon, *The Year 1000*, p. 130; B. Hill, 'Sources', in *The Rise of the First Reich*, ed. by Hill, pp. 9–66 (pp. 30–31); A. Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1978), p. 159.

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35. Lattin, *The Letters of Gerbert*, letters 3, 4, 5, 51.

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37. F. Picavet, *Gerbert, un pape philosophe, d'après l'histoire et d'après la legende* (Paris, 1897), p. 31; W. Ball, *A Short Account of the History of Mathematics* (London, 1915), pp. 136–37; T. Heath, *A History of Greek Mathematics*, vol. I (Oxford, 1921), pp. 365–66; D. Smith, *History of Mathematics*, vol. II (New York, 1958), p. 75; Lattin, *The Letters of Gerbert*, p. 155 n. 1; Focillon, *The Year 1000*, p. 131; E. Grant, *Physical Science in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1971), p. 14.

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39. Lattin, *The Letters of Gerbert*, pp. 6–7; Hill, 'Sources', p. 31; Focillon, *The Year 1000*, p. 144.

40. Brooke, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages*, p. 169; Hill, 'Sources', p. 31.

41. Brooke, *A History of Europe*, pp. 60, 105; Lattin, *The Letters of Gerbert*, pp. 11, 14–15; Brooke, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages*, pp. 169–70; Focillon, *The Year 1000*, pp. 153–54; Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 265–66.

42. Brooke, *A History of Europe*, p. 61; Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 279.

43. F. Heer, *The Holy Roman Empire*, trans. by J. Sondheimer (London, 1968), pp. 43–44.

44. Lattin, *The Letters of Gerbert*, p. 16; Brooke, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages*, pp. 169–71.

45. Lattin, *The Letters of Gerbert*, letter 231.

46. Lattin, *The Letters of Gerbert*, letter 232.

47. Brooke, *A History of Europe*, p. 61; Brooke, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages*, p. 171; Barraclough, *Origins of Modern Germany*, pp. 61–62; Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 278–79.

48. Barraclough, *Origins of Modern Germany*, p. 60; Schramm, 'Otto III and the Roman Church', p. 41.

49. Darlington, 'Gerbert, the Teacher', pp. 473–75.

50. *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. VI (Paris, 1742), p. 44; Darlington, 'Gerbert, the Teacher', p. 473; Lattin, *The Letters of Gerbert*, p. 183 n. 1; Barraclough, *Origins of Modern Germany*, p. 60.

51. Brooke, *A History of Europe*, p. 64; Brooke, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages*, p. 172; Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 178–79, 186.

52. See Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 186–87.

53. E. Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser in ihrer kirchlichen und allgemeingeschichtlichen Wirksamkeit, bis zur Mitte des elften Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols (Halle, 1892–94), II, 372–80; Kassius Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny: Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter*, 2 vols (Rome, 1950–51), I, 105, 120; H. Beseler and H. Roggenkamp, *Die Michaeliskirche in Hildesheim* (Berlin, 1954), p. 114.

54. *Histoire littéraire*, VI, 4–10; Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser*, II, 369; Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 241; Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries*, pp. 85, 90–91; Leyser, *Communications and Power*, p. 206. The extent of monastic decline in the ninth and tenth centuries and the supposed radicalism of subsequent reforms have recently been questioned. As a result of examining charters of monasteries at Gorze, St Èvre in Toul, and St Maximin in Trier, it is postulated that there was greater continuity before and after each reform than previously assumed in the membership of each community, in familial ties with the nobility, and in land transactions. Furthermore, whilst the historical accounts of reforms were written by the reforms' advocates, their reality was likely to have been somewhat different, with particular reforms, for example, sometimes being but one in a series that took place over a period of time and which could involve the restoration of earlier practices, rather than the introduction of any new rule. See John Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons in the Gorze Reform: Lotharingia c. 850–1000* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 9, 11–21, 59–60, 71, 75, 77–83, 113, 132–47, 171–72, 176–80, 218, 227.

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56. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries*, pp. 85, 90–102, 118–19.

57. *Histoire littéraire*, VI, 6, 18–20.

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59. Sackur, I, 89–91, 140; Darlington, 'Gerbert, the Teacher', p. 457; A. W. Klukas, 'Liturgy and Architecture: Deerhurst Priory as an Expression of the Regularis

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61. Sackur, I, 150–52; Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, I, 51–53, 120; Brooke, *A History of Europe*, p. 116; Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries*, pp. 129–30; Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, pp. 71, 75, 77–80. For an outline of some of the issues in the study of the Gorze reforms, especially in relation to architecture, see Sanderson, Chapter 4 below.

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63. See below.

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65. Brooke, *A History of Europe*, p. 116; Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, I, 103; Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries*, pp. 105, 111, 120–24, 223. For Henry II and Bamberg, see Garrison, Chapter 3 below.

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81. Lattin, *The Letters of Gerbert*, pp. 28–29.

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101. Sackur, ii, 372–73; K. Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture 800 to 1200* (London, 1959), p. 112 fig. 31.

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107. Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser*, ii, 391; Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, i, 79, 88, 105; Klukas, 'Liturgy and Architecture', pp. 82–84; Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, p. 142.

108. On the subject of side chambers at the east end, see Gittos, Chapter 5 below. Those at St Pantaleon might be regarded as *porticus* and have also been classified as lower transepts, although the nave has no crossing here. For a discussion of this and St Pantaleon's westwork, see Plant, Chapter 2, and Sanderson, Chapter 4, below.

109. C. Günther, *Stiftskirche Gernrode* (Berlin, 1990), pp. 2–4. See also Plant, Chapter 2 below.

110. Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, i, 120; Singleton, 'Koln-Deutz and Romanesque Architecture', pp. 54–55.

111. See also Plant, Chapter 2, and Sanderson, Chapter 4, below.

112. Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, i, 122; Beseler and Roggenkamp, *Die Michaeliskirche in Hildesheim*, pp. 21, 113; Hill, 'Sources', pp. 48, 56–57; Focillon, *The Year 1000*, p. 82.

113. See above.

114. B. Koppe, *Die fruhromanische emporenbasilika in Montier-en-Der* (Koln, 1990), pp. 13, 15.

115. Glaber, *Vita sancti Guillelmi*, viii, in *The Five Books*, p. 275.

116. For interpretations of the design of the rotunda, see Hiscock, *The Wise Master Builder*, pp. 149–50, also Malone, Chapter 9 below.

117. Carolyn Marino Malone, 'Les fouilles de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon (1976–1978) et le problème de l'église de l'an mil', *Bulletin monumental*, 138 (1980), 253–84 (fig. 19).

118. Chevallier, *Le vénérable Guillaume*, p. 81.

119. Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser*, ii, 45–46; Herval, 'Un moine de l'an mille', pp. 33–34.

120. G. Rivoira, *Lombardic Architecture, Its Origin, Development and Derivatives*, vol. ii (London, 1910), p. 67; Williams, 'William of Dijon', p. 538; Herval, 'Un moine de l'an mille', p. 40; Grodecki, 'Guillaume de Volpiano', p. 31.

121. See Johnson, Chapter 10 below.

122. I am most grateful to William Clark for this observation. For an examination of St Germain-des-Prés, see Johnson, Chapter 10 below.

123. Grodecki, 'Guillaume de Volpiano', pp. 26, 28; France, 'Rodulfus Glaber', pp. 502, 505.

124. See McClendon, Chapter 12, and Mann, Chapter 13, below.

125. J. Hourlier, 'St Odilo's Monastery', in *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. by N. Hunt (London, 1971), pp. 56–76 (pp. 58, 72); C. McClendon, *The Imperial Abbey of Farfa: Architectural Currents of the Early Middle Ages* (New Haven, CT, 1987), pp. 3–4, 101–02.

2. Architectural Developments in the Empire North of the Alps: The Patronage of the Imperial Court

RICHARD PLANT

The buildings dealt with in this chapter provide one of the strongest possible refutations of Rodulf Glaber's famous claim for an architectural revival at the millennium centred particularly on Italy and France. As I hope to show, the architectural situation in the northern part of the Ottonian Empire, an area which today encompasses modern Germany, part of Belgium, the Netherlands, and Switzerland, was as vigorous as anywhere in Europe, and the level of architectural activity was as high before the millennium as after. This short survey will mainly be concerned with buildings from the second half of the tenth century and will conclude shortly after the millennium in order to include the important, and much discussed, abbey church of St Michael in Hildesheim, often taken as the paradigm building of our period (fig. 19).

The Ottonian line of kings, later emperors, from Saxony, succeeded to the Carolingian East Frankish realm in 919, when Henry I became king.[1] He was succeeded in direct line by three Ottos—hence the designation Ottonian—and, when that direct line failed on the death of Otto III, by the head of the Bavarian branch of the family, who became Henry II (1002–24). In 955 Otto the Great (936–73) defeated the Magyars at the battle of the Lech, an event perhaps of more symbolic than practical importance, but a battle following which, according to the Saxon chronicler Widukind, his followers proclaimed him emperor.[2] The victory was also mentioned by the pope as a reason for crowning Otto I as emperor in Rome in 962 and, although this was not the first involvement of the Ottonians in Italian affairs, confirmed the wider interests of the German crown. This was further demonstrated when Otto II (973–83) married a Byzantine princess, Theophanou, even though she was not born to the purple, and perhaps, in aspiration at least, reached a peak when Otto III (983–1002, crowned emperor 996) like an emperor of old built a palace in Rome, on either the Aventine or the Palatine hill. Otto I had been crowned in 936, as his father had not, at Charlemagne's palace chapel in Aachen, and a steady crescendo of interest in the imperial and sacerdotal nature of their rule is legible in the artistic works produced for these emperors.[3] Their architectural works are the subject dealt with here, along with that of the figures most closely associated with the emperors, the bishops and great men of the northern part of the empire.

While the area we are dealing with is now made up of several nations, there were a number of divisions of a different sort in the tenth century. There was a linguistic frontier between Germanic and Romance speakers, areas which probably regarded themselves as culturally, even ethnically, separate such as Saxony, and political boundaries, which occasionally coincided with these last. The area of Lorraine, for example, shifted between the eastern and western Frankish realms in the tenth century, being incorporated into the eastern realm after 925. There is also the distinction, for architectural purposes occasionally quite important, between areas which had and had not been in the Roman Empire.

An important factor which must be taken into consideration in the discussion of church

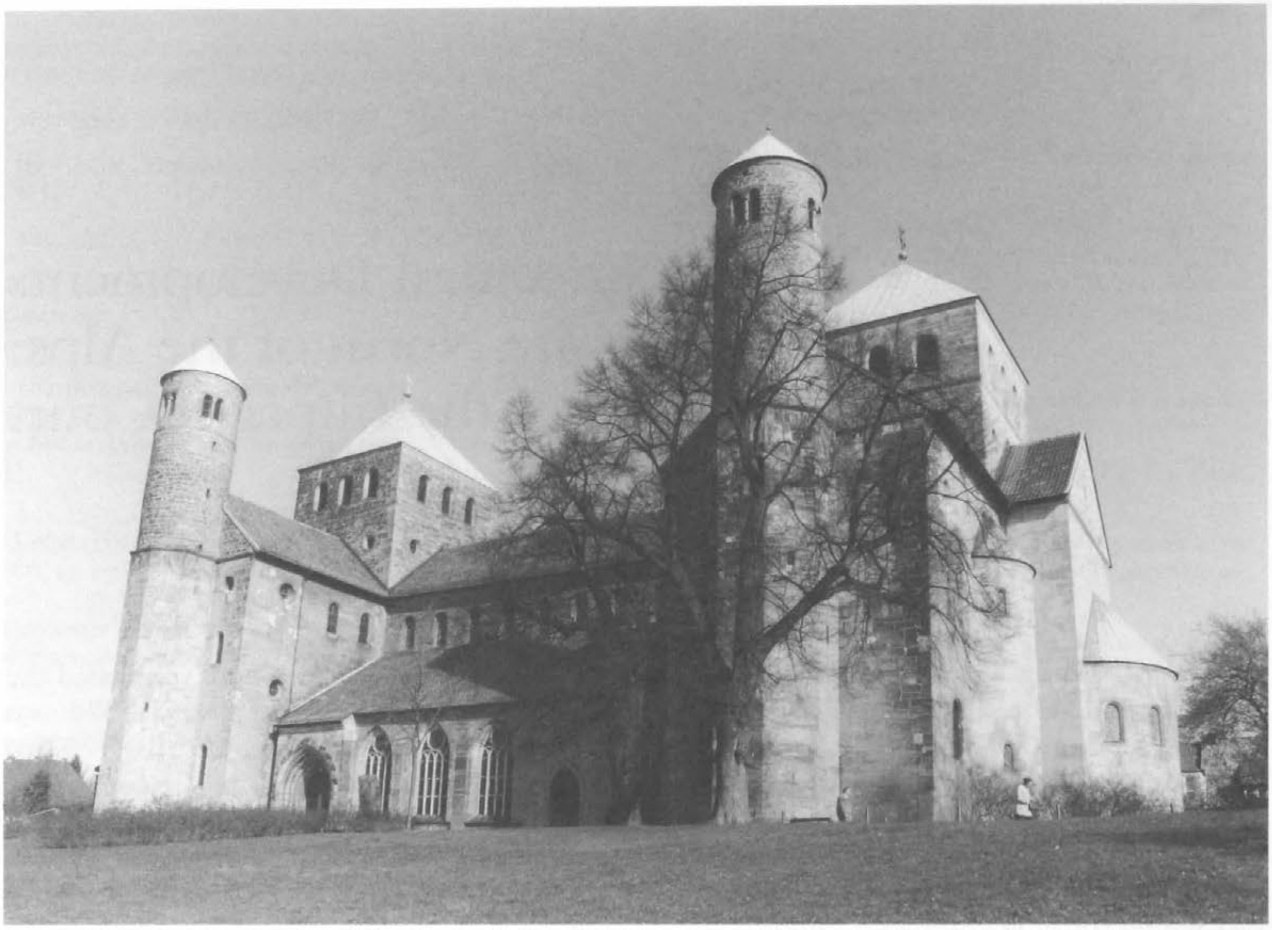


Fig. 19. Hildesheim, St Michael's Abbey, exterior from south-east; photo R. Plant.

architecture in the empire is the so-called imperial church system. It has been argued that, faced with an occasionally rebellious aristocracy, the Ottonian kings sought to control the regions of their empire through bishops who they appointed and who, clearly, could not set up alternative dynasties. The imperial bishop *par excellence* was Brun, archbishop of Cologne and duke of Lorraine, and also brother of Otto the Great, whose work is referred to elsewhere in this volume. Some recent scholarship has undermined the systematic nature of this arrangement,[4] but it remains true that the bishops, with whose work we shall principally be dealing when it is not work of the emperors themselves, were usually appointed by the emperor, or at least with his consent.[5] They were often drawn from the court chapel, and some served as chancellors. They frequently had considerable influence over the governance and economy of the cities in which they had their seat and in which they built, controlling markets, mints, and tolls.[6]

This architecture is often called Ottonian, after the ruling dynasty, and there is often a stated or unstated assumption that it largely owes its vitality to the flowering of the empire in the tenth century and the renewed impetus in church patronage which this brought. Indeed two of the main studies of the architecture of the period, Hans Jantzen's *Ottonische Kunst* and *L'architecture ottonienne* by Louis Grodecki,[7] implicitly acknowledge this in their titles. Jantzen goes further; in his introduction he claims that 'The beginnings of German art are inseparably tied to the development of the empire'.[8] Both authors, however, stray beyond the end of the Ottonian period into the era of the Salian emperors, that is, after the death of the last Ottonian Henry II in 1024. The most important collection of more recent German scholarship, however, *Vorromanische Kirchenbauten*, ends precisely at the change of dynasty,[9] though this does not in itself mark a particular change in architectural direction.

Grodecki's *L'architecture ottonienne* is subtitled 'on the threshold of the Romanesque', and the status of the buildings of this period in the history of medieval architecture, and the relationship of Ottonian to Romanesque are difficult problems, depending largely on how one defines the term Romanesque.[10] Grodecki's work was the last book-length art-historical synthesis of the architecture of this period, though large parts of the book have been superseded, not least by new archaeological discoveries. That the *Nachtragsband*—essentially new discoveries and reinterpretations—of *Vorromanische Kirchenbauten* is almost as long as the original, though published only fifteen years later, is a telling indication of how much work has been done. Much recent German scholarship has been focused on regional studies, most impressively in Kubach and Verbeek's four-volume study of Romanesque and pre-Romanesque architecture in the Rhine and Meuse.[11] A number of these studies address wider issues, however, and dealing with the material in a short study is made problematic by both the number of buildings known at least in part and the quantity of publications.[12] However, there is little standing fabric, and much of what we know is based on either archaeological or documentary evidence. Neither of these types of record are, of course, free from ambiguity, and the reconstructions of certain buildings have altered wildly over the years; the Stiftskirche at Quedlinburg is a case in point. The most dramatic example is the reinterpretation of the remains at Magdeburg of what was once considered to be, and widely published as, the palace of Otto the Great.

Church Building

This short survey will firstly deal with buildings individually, the circumstances of the rebuilding discussed with each individual case, starting in Saxony and moving south and then to the north-west. This will be followed by a more general discussion of features of the buildings, crypts, western structures, masonry technique, pier alternation, and so forth, and conclude with a discussion of symbolism in church architecture. The Ottonian rulers were themselves from Saxony, as were many of their leading men, and this had profound influence on their patronage of ecclesiastical institutions. Saxony was far from the Carolingian heartland, and was a society partly maintained through conquest and conversion. It is therefore the eastern frontier with which we shall begin.

The cathedral of Magdeburg is a good place to start if we are looking for imperial involvement in church affairs (fig. 20).[13] There had been a palace in Magdeburg since 930, and Otto I founded an abbey in 937, colonized by monks from St Maximin in Trier, in which his first wife, Edith, who was English, was buried in 946. In 955 after the battle of Lech he petitioned the pope to have Magdeburg made the seat of a new archbishopric, and work seems to have commenced on a new church, probably above the old church, more or less immediately after this.[14] The emperor was buried next to Edith, on the north side of the cathedral after his death in 973.[15] Since the alignment of the gothic rebuilding of the cathedral is different from that of its predecessor, it is possible that Otto's grave, now in the middle of the choir, has not been moved.[16]

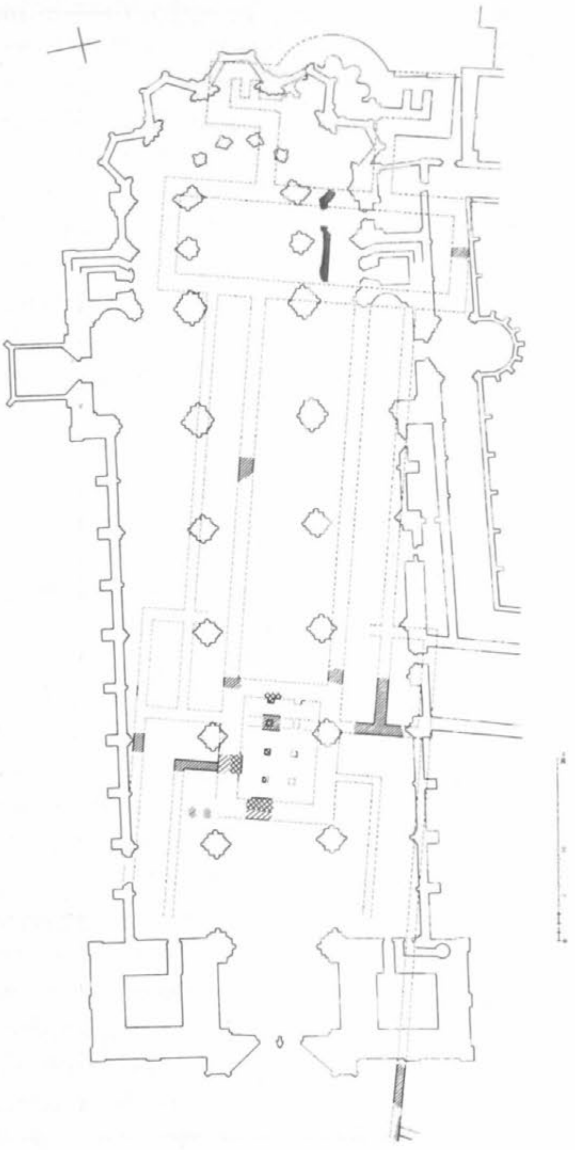


Fig. 20. Magdeburg Cathedral, plan; after W. Jacobsen, L. Schaefer, and H. Sennhauser, facing p. 254.

The creation of a new archdiocese, despite the commanding position in which Otto found himself, did not run entirely smoothly. It was resisted by Archbishop William of Mainz, his own natural son, from whose authority the territory was being removed, and the bishop of Halberstadt. As a result the new creation was only enacted in 968, when both bishops had died.[17] In the new archdiocese of Magdeburg were to be set up the dioceses of Meissen, Merseburg, Zeitz (which was replaced by Naumburg in 1028), Havelburg, and Brandenburg. The latter two disappeared in the wake of the Slav revolts of 983. Although Brandenburg and Havelburg had been founded some years earlier in 948, the formation of the new archdiocese and its suffragans was, sentimental attachment to Edith and interest in his own spiritual health apart, a product of Otto's interest in missionary activity to the east.

Otto's involvement extended beyond the establishment of the see, as he provided both relics and materials for the building.[18] It is therefore unfortunate that we know so little of the building; the plan most often published of the Ottonian cathedral church has a square west choir which was perhaps added by Archbishop Tagino (1004–12) and an apsidal east choir with flanking towers which probably was the one consecrated in 1049 under Archbishop Hunfried. We do know that the building was basilical, almost certainly with an eastern transept and possibly a western one as well, though the evidence is less clear. If there were a western transept, one would expect a western choir since the two almost always went together; this, however, would have rapidly been replaced by that built by Tagino.[19] To the west of the church there seems to have been an atrium. There was a crypt under the eastern choir, known only from a documentary source,[20] and the arcades were supported by columns. Thietmar speaks of 'precious marble, gold, and gems' brought to Magdeburg, some of the marble columns have been reused again in the gothic choir, and others are found elsewhere in the building and claustral complex. There are also a number of capitals surviving; an antique Corinthian capital was excavated to the south of the cathedral,[21] and a number of capitals were reused as bases to marble columns, also spoils, in the refectory. These appear to be of fifth-century Byzantine workmanship and are particularly close to those of the Basilica Euphrasiana in Poreč on the Istrian peninsula.[22]

The choice of reused columns as supports is not usually interpreted as a purely functional one. There were other tenth-century churches built using columnar spoils; S. Miguel de la Escalada in Spain is one example, but there the materials were presumably reasonably local. This was clearly not the case in Saxony, where such an expression of *romanitas* and antiquity would have been striking. Marble columns were not the usual support in this period and, if anything, became even less common during the Romanesque period. Otto's precise motives will always be unclear and were, in any case, probably mixed; the diversity of the materials makes it unlikely that they came from a single site. The imitation of Early Christian structures in Rome may have been one factor, a sense reinforced by the probable source of the materials. Equally Otto may have been proclaiming his interest in Italian affairs; his first Italian expedition had been in 951, when he married Adelheid, the heiress to the Lombard throne, and become king. The spoils brought to Magdeburg were probably, as the saints' relics certainly were, from Italy. However the extraction of precious building materials from antique buildings also had an important prototype, Charlemagne's work at Aachen, and this must surely have inspired Otto, who was crowned in the chapel there. The dark tonality of the stones reused in the gothic apse has suggested a direct dependence on Charlemagne's use of antique spoils, though the original position of various reused elements cannot be pinned down.[23] The connection between Magdeburg and Aachen has perhaps been overstressed, partly because of the interpretation of some archaeological finds near the cathedral as Otto's palace, a view which has recently been refuted.[24] There is one final aspect of the use of *spolia* worth noting; according to Thietmar, Otto 'ordered that relics of saints should be enclosed in all of the columns'.[25] This, to us, rather bizarre action may have had some indirect Byzantine precedents and was occasionally followed thereafter, at St Michael in Hildesheim, and at St Godehard in the same city, where vases for relics were found within the capitals.[26]

Given the rather poor state of our knowledge about the cathedral, it is hard to establish its influence on other churches in the empire, and unwise to impose reconstructions of it based on what we know from elsewhere. What we know of the other cathedrals in the archdiocese of Magdeburg is limited; as was mentioned, new sees were established at Zeitz, Merseburg, Brandenburg, Havelburg, and Meissen. Of these we know little of the tenth-century architecture. The first church of which we have any remains at Merseburg, which was briefly abandoned as a bishopric in 981 before being revived by Henry II in 1004, is the church begun by the bishop and chronicler Thietmar in 1015. It is possible that the earlier phase did not produce a cathedral church, as there was already a stone church built by Henry I and it was an impoverished diocese,[27] though there may have been some alterations to it.[28] At Meissen, founded in 968, a bishop was buried in the church in 1015. Again, however, the church of which we have some remains is certainly from the eleventh century.[29]

The cathedral church of Halberstadt collapsed, from old age allegedly, in 965 and its replacement was consecrated in 992.[30] The plan reproduced that of the previous church almost exactly, although it was slightly longer. It may be that this conservatism was intended as a reminder of the old church and of its former rights, since Halberstadt was the principal loser in the diocesan reorganization which followed the foundation of the archdiocese of Magdeburg. The loss of some of the territory of Halberstadt was bitterly disputed and was a contributory factor in the temporary suppression of the Merseburg bishopric.[31] The new structure was built on the foundations of the old, with a ring crypt of a type familiar from the late Carolingian era, as found at Corvey, arranged on two storeys, and a continuous transept. There was also a square western choir of two storeys, the upper dedicated to St Michael and the Angels. One cannot be absolutely certain about the conservatism, or recollective nature of the structure, of course, and the new church had alternating supports in an a-b-a-b rhythm (column-pier-column-pier, etc.), possibly quite an up-to-date feature, as will be discussed later. This alternation had the unusual variant of having a middle pier longer than the other, square piers. The columns carried Corinthian capitals.

Let us now return to imperial patronage; there was a string of royal palaces spread across Saxony, and at Tilleda[32] and Werla[33] fairly simple aisleless chapels have been uncovered. Most prestigious among these royal sites were perhaps the complex of churches and palaces at Quedlinburg, the palace where the Ottonians regularly celebrated Easter. Originally Henry I had his palace at the site of what is now the church of St Wiperti, some way from the later palace, and Collegiate church, on the Burgberg, and there he built a relatively modest aisleless church.[34] However, Henry I chose to be buried in a chapel up on the Burgberg itself, where, after 936, an important women's collegiate church was founded by Henry's widow. The foundation retained close imperial connections, and its first few abbesses were from the imperial family.[35] This church has been one of the more hotly debated areas of archaeological reconstruction, as the church has undergone a series of rebuildings, the present structure being a heavily restored building dating from after a fire in 1070. The original canonesses' church appears to have had an aisleless nave and galleried transepts, the galleries housing, perhaps, the cannonesses' choir.[36] To this was added the still partially existing *confessio,* an ornately decorated, apsidally ended space with niches in all its walls, perhaps for relics. The *confessio* also lay directly to the east of the king's tomb, which was later joined by that of his wife Queen Matilda after her death in 968. The church appears to have been rebuilt by Abbess Mathilda (d. 999, the daughter of Otto I) towards the end of the century, though the east end was not dedicated until 1021, with an aisled nave. This building had transepts with apses, but no galleries, a rectangular choir with an eastern apse, and a crypt, parts of which survive. The crypt overlay the *confessio,* destroying its vault, and also entailed the removal of King Henry's tomb, perhaps to the crossing.

Another new foundation, in 979, was St Mary's abbey church at Memleben, site of an Ottonian palace where both Henry I and Otto the Great died. The foundation of the abbey by Otto II was intended to mark where his father and grandfather had died, and was perhaps intended as his own burial place, though it was also obviously intended to play a part in the missionary activity to the east. The failure of some of this policy led Henry II, along with other alterations to the ecclesiastical structure of the eastern frontier, to subjugate the monastery to Hersfeld, to Thietmar's disgust.[37] The church there is not entirely destroyed; parts of the south aisle wall, south-west transept, and western apse

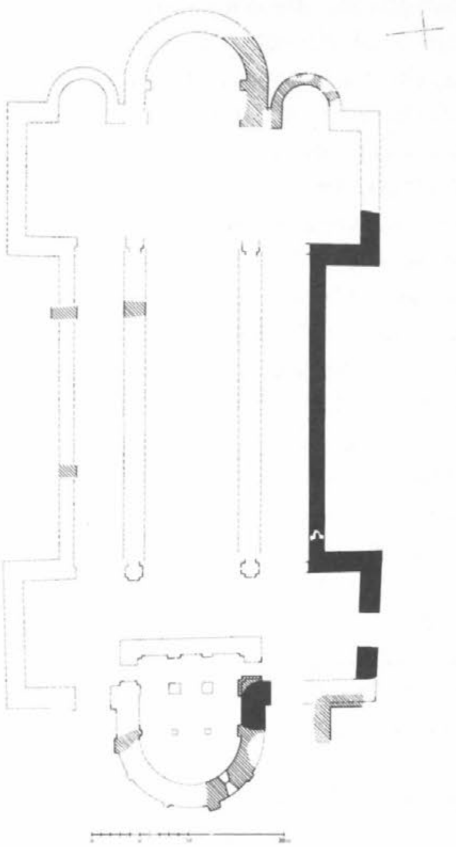


Fig. 21. Memleben, St Mary's abbey church, plan, after W. Jacobsen, L. Schaeffer, and H. Sennhauser.

survive, though much information about it is derived from archaeology (fig. 21). The building is probably dated to between 979 and 1015, though a case for it being the church built for the palace by Otto the Great in 942 has been made.[38] It was bipolar, with apses east and west, both probably with crypts and with transepts east and west, though the entrances seem to have been at the west, and the eastern transept had apsidal chapels on it. It was a substantial building, 82 m long and nearly 40 m wide. It appears to have had a regular crossing in the western transept and some form of pilaster decoration of the western apse. The eastern transept may have been continuous, though the archaeological record is unclear. The importance of the building lies in the possibility that it was the first church of the Ottonian era, certainly in Saxony, to be fully bipolar, that is with apses and transepts at either end. The plan is close to that of the late Carolingian cathedral of

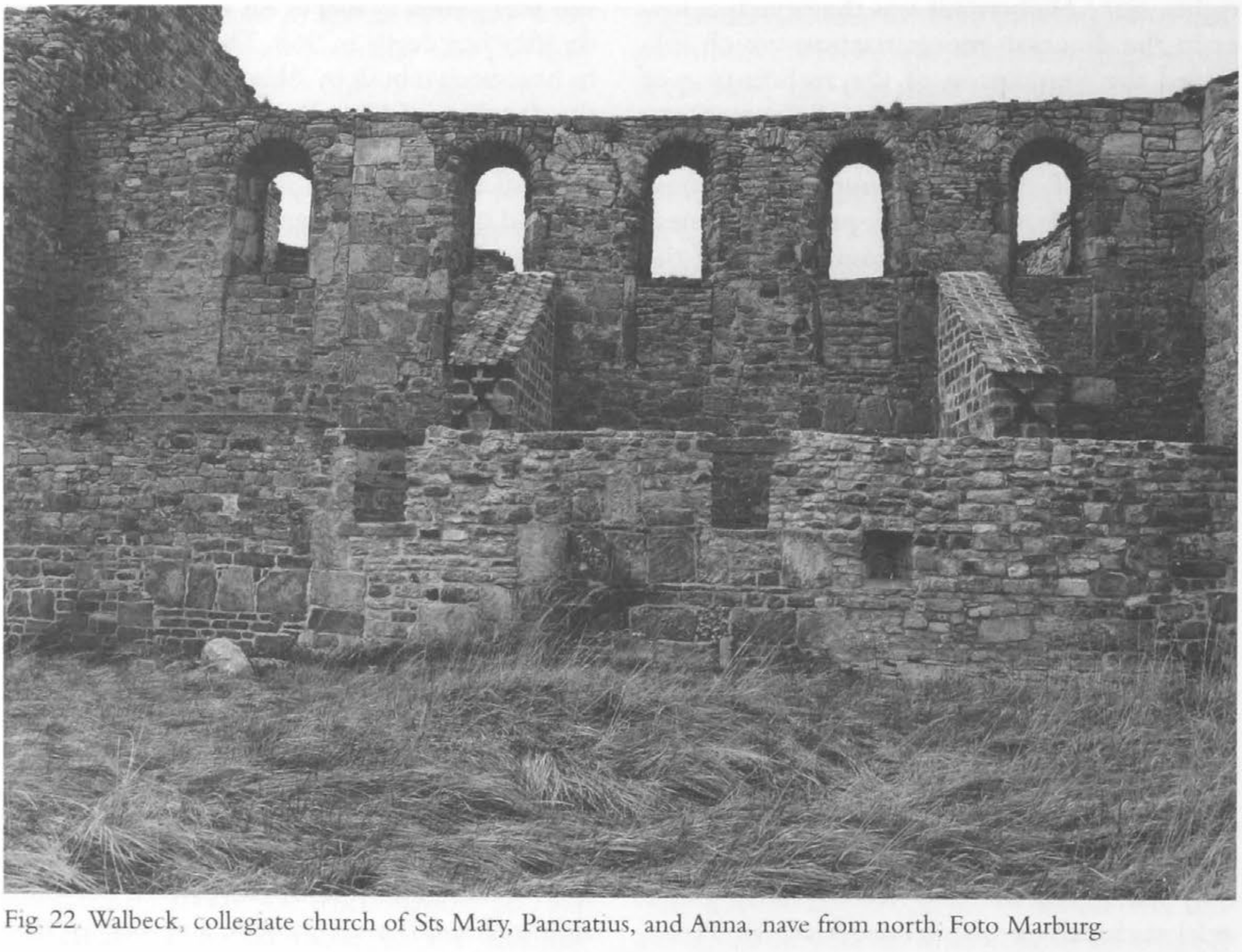


Fig. 22. Walbeck, collegiate church of Sts Mary, Pancratius, and Anna, nave from north, Foto Marburg.

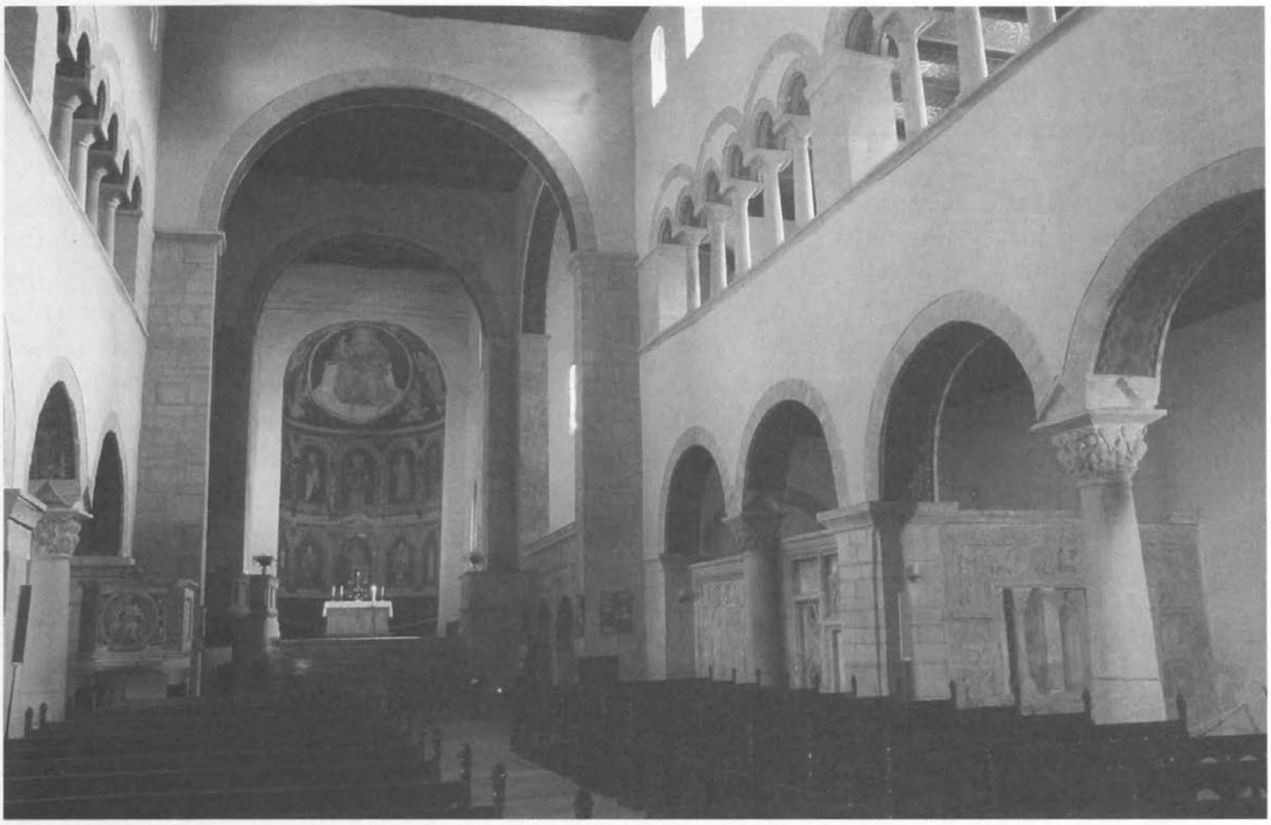


Fig. 23. Gernrode, St Cyriakus, interior from west; photo R. Plant.

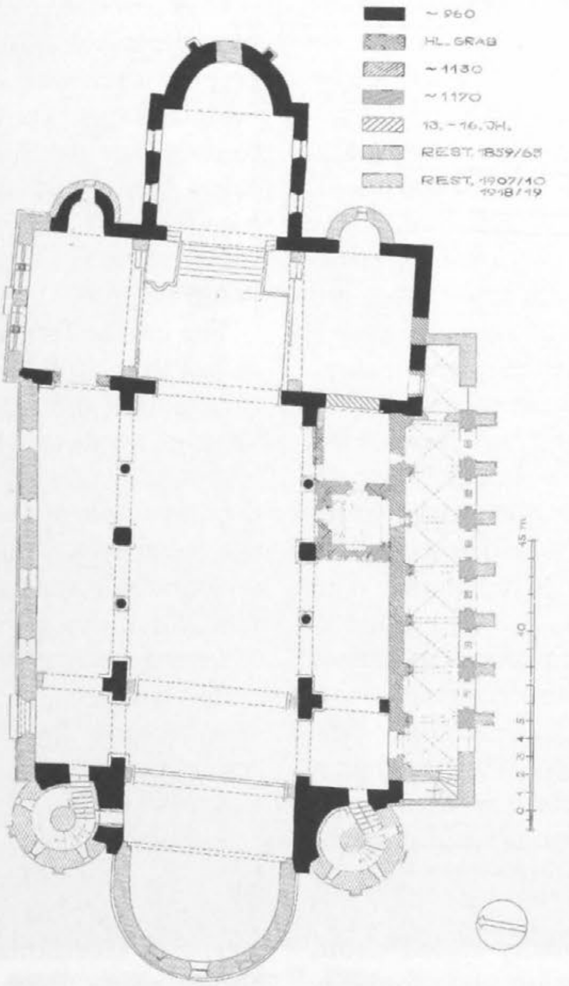


Fig. 24. Gernrode, St Cyriakus, plan; after W. Erdman, W. Jacobsen, C. Kosch, and D. von Winterfeld.

Cologne, which probably also influenced the cathedrals of Liège and Verdun.[39]

Saxony benefited from aristocratic as well as imperial patronage, and two notable structures survive, at least in part. The relatively small (31 m long) collegiate church of Sts Mary, Pancratius, and Anna at Walbeck (fig. 22), which survives in a ruinous state, was built between 942 and 964; it has an apsidally ended choir with a rectangular forebay but no crypt, and a continuous transept without apsidioles, and it was originally aisleless.[40] The founder, Graf Lothar II, was buried in a fine tomb in the crossing. The windows are one of the notable features; above a set of large windows (1.75 m high) were a row of circular windows.

The best preserved building of the tenth century in Saxony is the nunnery church of Gernrode, which was founded between 959 and 961 by Margrave Gero, after whom the town is named, after his son had died. The first abbess of the foundation was Hathui, the daughter-in-law of the margrave and a niece of the emperor. This was not Gero's first foundation; he had previously founded a church at Frose, a building known only through excavation, but aisled, possibly with an alternating system in the nave (a transverse foundation was found in the middle of the south aisle), transepts with apses, and a choir with a square forebay.[41]

Gernrode was, however, Gero's resting place, and as the best preserved church of its time in Saxony it has attracted a great deal of comment (figs 23, 24, 25).[42] Restorations aside, the principal change in the structure since the tenth century is the addition of an apse at the west end of the church, which also entailed the alteration of the rest of the western part of the church. The whole building was thoroughly restored in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including the complete reconstruction of one of the western stair towers. The exterior of the building is decorated with pilasters on the curved surfaces: on the apse and on the two western stair turrets, which now flank the western choir. Above a string course the upper part of the eastern apse has half-shafts in place of the pilasters below, while the upper parts of the towers have blind arcades, mitre headed on the north side, round headed on the south. The other parts of the building are undecorated.

The church has an apsidally ended choir, transepts with a regular crossing, and a four-bay aisled nave, with galleries above the aisles. There is a rectangular intermediate bay between the end of the nave and the twelfth-century western choir, the levels of which differ from those in the nave. Gernrode is curious in a number of respects; the eastern part of the building, choir and transepts, are markedly misaligned with the western part, a disjunction perhaps due to the east and west ends of the building being constructed while an earlier structure remained between them (fig. 24). The choir consists of a square bay with a windowless apse to the east raised on a crypt (fig. 26). This crypt is one of the earliest surviving hall crypts north of the Alps; it is an open, three-aisled vessel, with all the aisles of equal height. The barrel vaults are supported on four squat piers, the eastern piers being thinner than those at the west. The crypt is apsidal, though the contour of its eastern curve is much shallower than that of the outer wall, allowing an axial eastern square space and two flanking square spaces, in the thickness of the wall. These are somewhat like chapels radiating from an ambulatory, but also give the crypt a cruciform plan, like the axial chapel at Halberstadt. The impression of an ambulatory is strengthened by the curve of the barrel vaults over the outer aisles around the apse, and this crypt is often seen as a step between the Carolingian ring crypt to the hall crypt which was to dominate the Romanesque period in Germany. At the west end of the crypt a niche, perhaps for relics, has been uncovered, which may have had an opening to the west so that they could be seen from the body of the church.

The crossing is a regular one, that is, there are arches to the full height of the main vessels on each side of the crossing. The east-west arches are the product of the nineteenth-century restorations, and it was once believed they were the invention of the restorer, Quast, and that the transept was originally a continuous one, without east-west arches. However, it is now recognized that he was, as he claimed, reconstructing from good archaeological evidence and that the east-west arches were original features, destroyed when galleries were built in the transepts.[43] A regular crossing makes a crossing tower possible, and in this case likely.[44]

The nave is of four bays, with alternation between columns east and west and a square pier in the middle (fig. 23). The columns have a type of Corinthian capital, with the arches above rising from odd, triangular topped

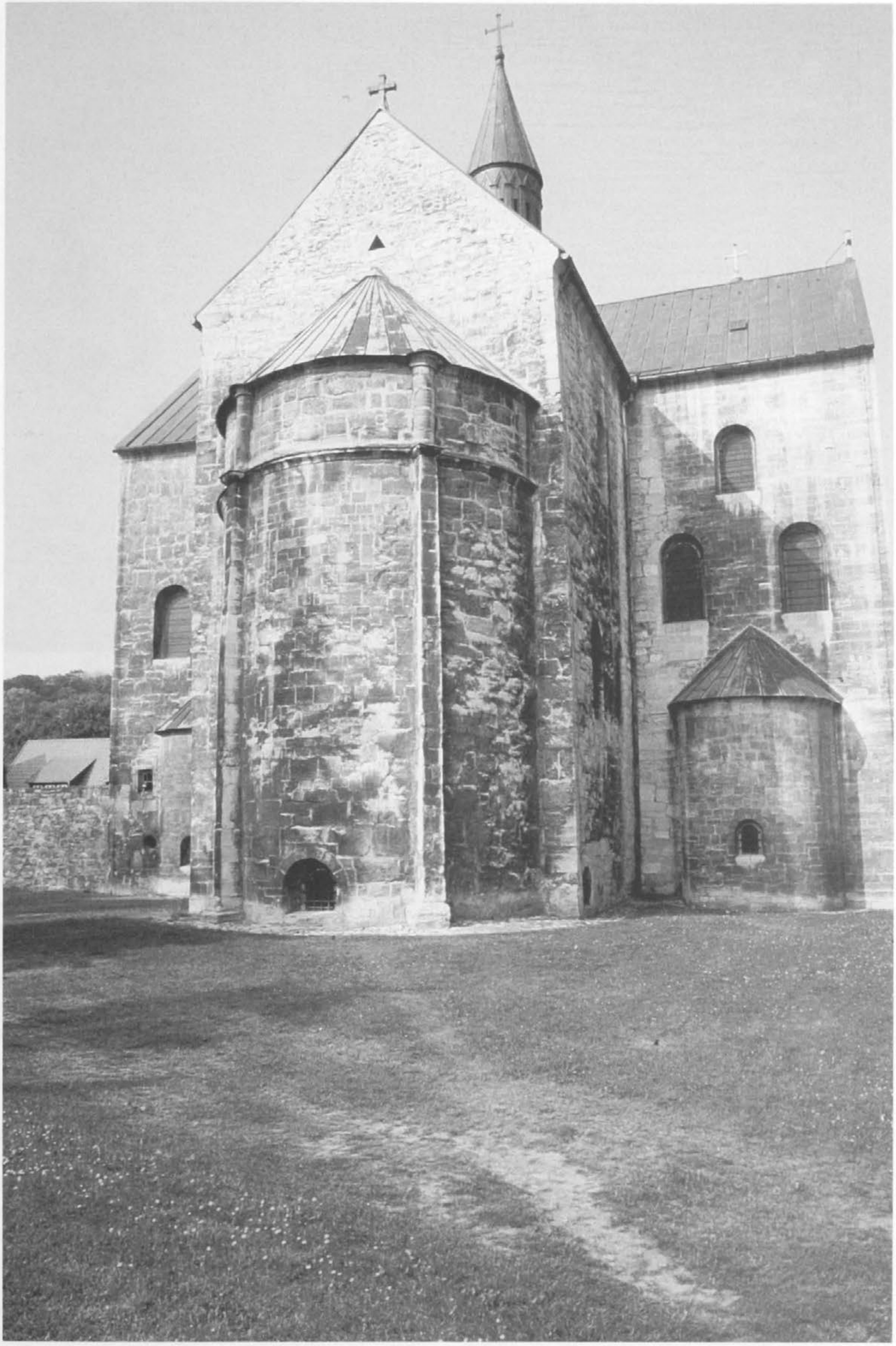


Fig. 25 Gernrode, St Cyriakus, exterior from east, photo R. Plant

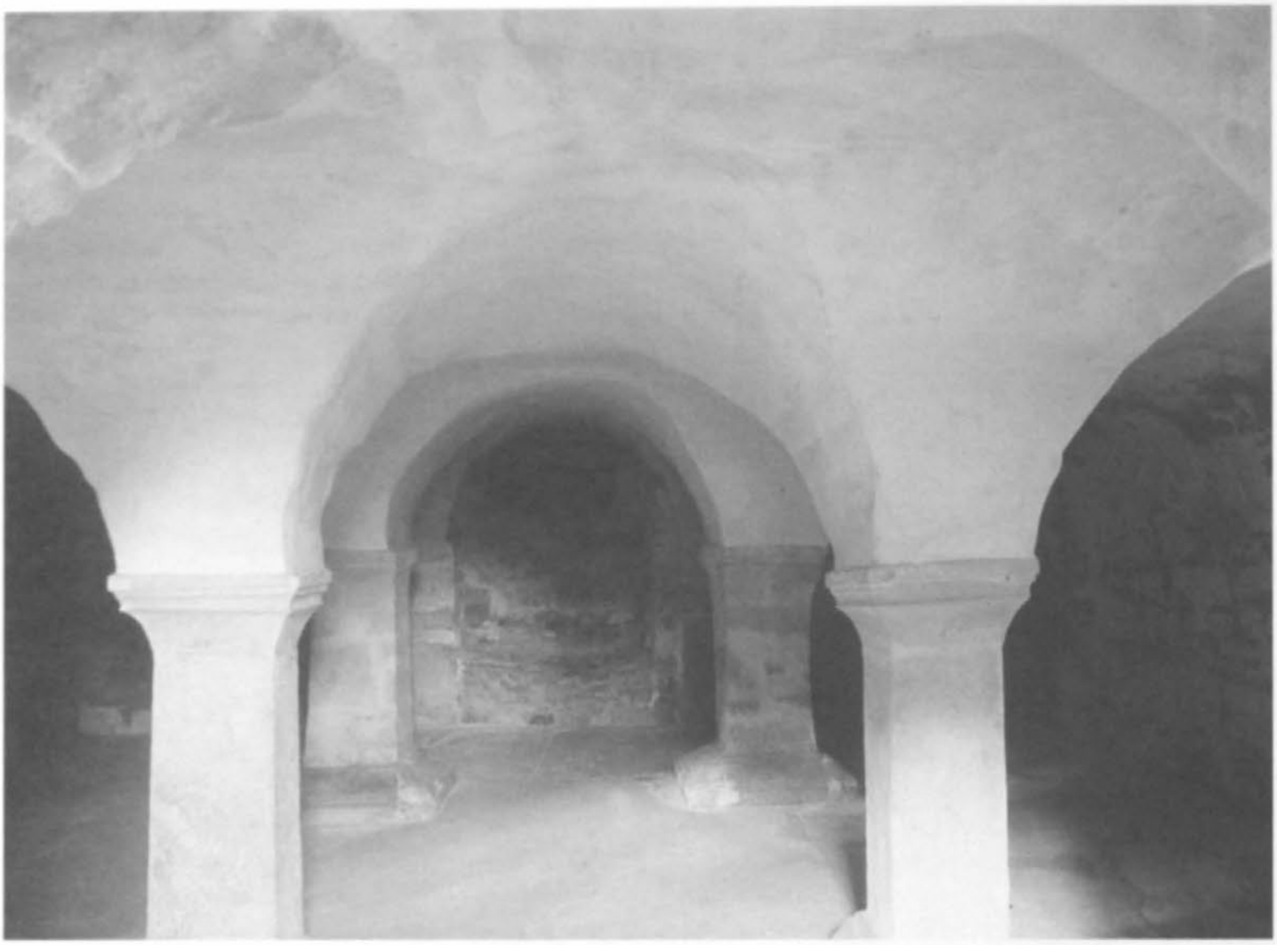


Fig. 26. Gernrode, St Cyriakus, crypt; photo R. Plant.

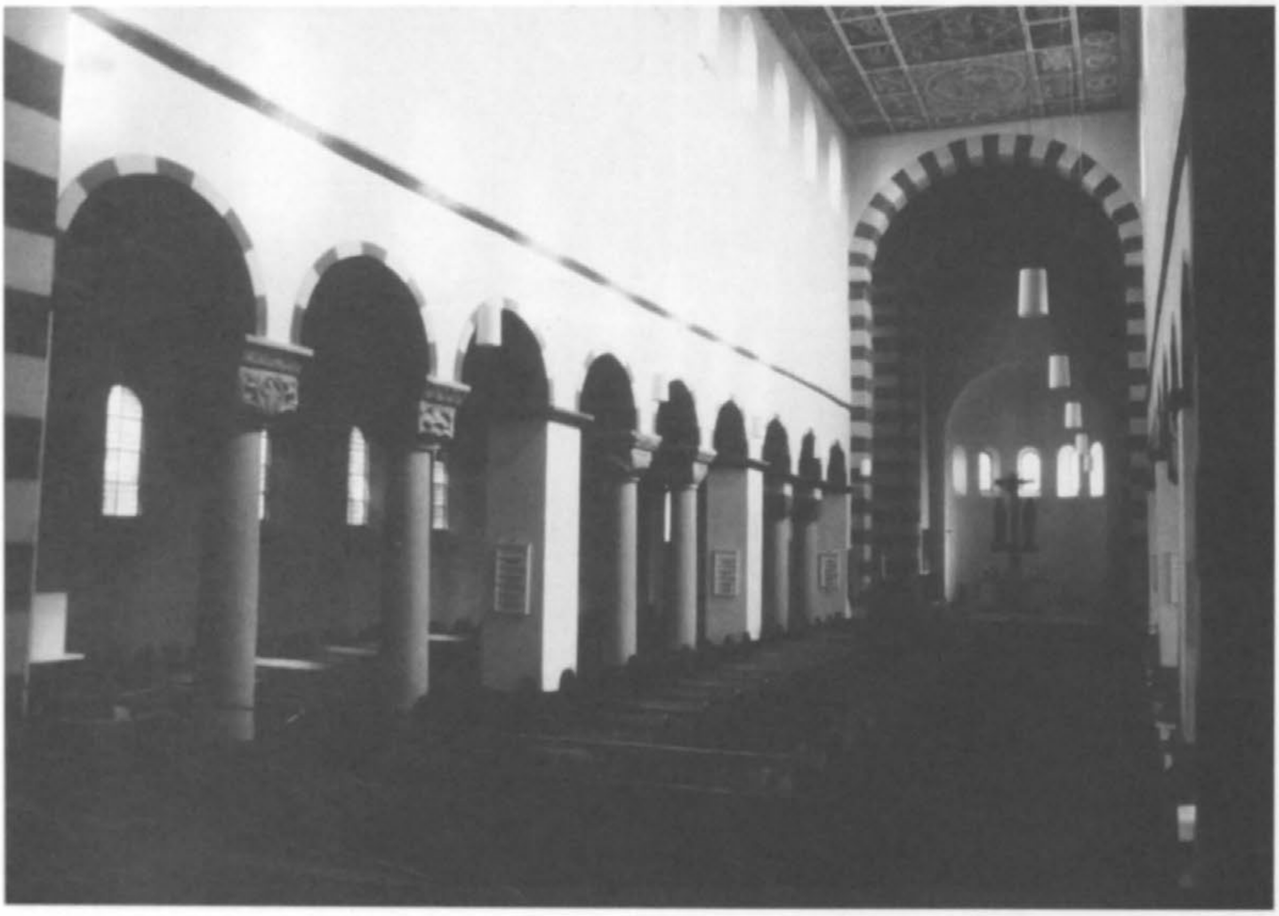


Fig. 27. Hildesheim, St Michael's Abbey, interior; photo N. Hiscock.

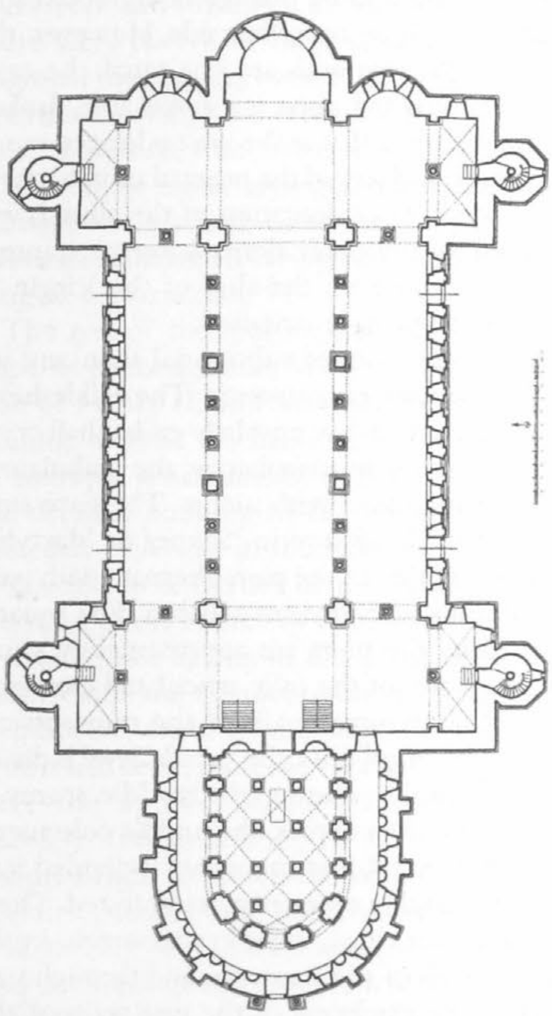


Fig. 28 Hildesheim, St Michael's Abbey, plan; after H. Beseler and H. Roggenkamp.

springer blocks. This is the oldest example surviving above ground of pier alternation in the empire, but it can be read as less a continuous series of alternating supports and more like a system where the centre of the building is stressed by the presence of the pier. This impression is heightened by the arrangement of the gallery above, which has twelve openings, with a pier above the arcade level pier, flanked by six openings divided by colonnettes.

Nave galleries are also something new in the architecture of the empire, but as they find little echo in contemporary buildings, as far as we know, or indeed in later Romanesque basilical churches in the empire, they will therefore be discussed here rather than with general features of church architecture later on. The galleries at Gernrode are the oldest surviving north of the Alps, and since galleries were to become important in a number of Romanesque traditions, whether barrel-vaulted pilgrimage churches or flat-roofed Norman ones, they have excited a great deal of interest. The decision to use galleries at Gernrode is often claimed to be due to the inspiration of Greek models; the arrangement is similar to St Demetrios in Thessaloniki and has been put down to the influence of the Empress Theophanou, who was resident at nearby Quedlinburg from 973 to 978.[45] However, galleries were not common in tenth-century churches in Constantinople, and there is no documented connection between the empress and the church.[46] Her arrival in the area twelve years after the beginning of the church would imply they were a late addition to the church, and for this there is no evidence, despite earlier claims.[47] Other sources are possible; Roman basilicas of the sixth century such as St Lorenzo (late sixth century) and St Agnese (early seventh century)[48] also have galleries, as do non-basilical churches in Germany, such as Aachen. However, galleries of some sort are also implied at St Maximin in Trier,[49] where altars, dedicated in 942, were placed on an upper storey. These were described as towers,[50] but the absence of foundations for towers and the presence of stair turrets outside the aisle walls have led some commentators to reconstruct a nave gallery or, alternatively, transept-like galleries at east and west ends.[51] Transeptal galleries have also been reconstructed for Quedlinburg and Meschede from around 900.[52] There is no evidence for altars in the Gernrode galleries, and since Quedlinburg and Meschede were foundations for women, it is possible that the use of the galleries at Gernrode was functionally an extension of their use in the other two churches, especially as Quedlinburg is very close by. The number of openings in the gallery, twenty-four, is the same as the number of canonesses for the original foundation, and that its function was to house them is suggested by the walling up of the gallery in the twelfth century when a new canonesses' choir in the form of galleries was built in the transepts. St Maximin may also have played a role, particularly as alternation of piers and columns has been reconstructed for the nave.[53]

The reconstruction of the original form of the western end of the church has proved problematic.[54] The most recent reconstruction, based partly on comparison with other buildings, is of a square western structure, with a floor above arcade level, screened from the nave by an arcade; the current arch is from the nineteenth century. The central vessel would have been raised up as a tower, a reconstruction partly based on the greater height of the windows at this end of the church than those in the nave.

The best-known building in this survey is St Michael's church in Hildesheim (figs 19, 27, 28), the foundation and burial church of Bishop Bernward (993–1022), one of the most celebrated patrons of late Ottonian art.[55] The church as it stands has been reconstructed to something close to its early-eleventh-century state. This, however, is in large part the result of post-war restoration, the church itself having undergone substantial modifications from the twelfth century onwards and the destruction of a number of elements after secularization, as well as extensive damage in the Second World War. The date of the church, built, as is appropriate for its dedication, on a hill, to the north of the cathedral, has appeared to be firmly fixed. A foundation stone with the year 1010 carved on it was excavated under the south-west stair turret. It has been pointed out that this date may simply represent the date at which that particular foundation stone was laid, and that the church may have been begun somewhat earlier.[56] The symbolism of the foundation stone, which is discussed presently, may, however, have dictated that all the foundation stones were laid together. The western crypt was dedicated in 1015, and the church was complete by 1033.

The church is bipolar; it has two equal transepts, both with two levels of galleries on their terminal walls. As shall be seen, bipolar churches with both east and west transepts were perhaps more frequently found in the west of the empire, particularly in the archdiocese of Cologne, but it seems not unlikely that St Michael's derived its form from the more local church at Memleben. Whether anything else was derived from Memleben, the towers over each crossing, for example, is impossible now to reconstruct given our state of knowledge about Memleben. Both transepts have stair turrets in the middle of their terminal walls, circular below, polygonal higher up. These also find local parallels, at Gernrode, for example, though in their position they may be more reminiscent of those at Mainz. The bipolar symmetry is further reinforced by the decoration of the south aisle wall. This was the side from which the church would normally be entered—the conventual buildings were to the north—and it is decorated with a blind arcade of cut masonry, the middle pilaster being noticeably wider than those on either side. However, the choirs at the two ends are not equal: the eastern, reconstructed, choir is a simple apse, flanked by smaller apses; that at the west is longer, raised on a crypt, and served the original monks' choir. This seeming occidentation of the church was reserved for the choir alone, however; transept apsidioles and even the altar of the Virgin in the west crypt were oriented.

The crypt is more substantial than any we have previously encountered. The Hildesheim example is a five-bay, apsidally ended hall crypt surrounded by an ambulatory; the ambulatory wall is punctuated with niches. The nave supports (figs 27, 28) are in 'Saxon' or 'dactylic' alternation, that is, the piers alternate with pairs of columns, in a rhythm a-b-b-a. The squares defined by the piers are approximately equal to the squares of the fully articulated crossings. Inside the terminal walls of the transepts are two storeys of galleries; the 'arcade' level is divided by a single column, the middle storey is divided into four arches, the middle colonnette being polygonal, and the upper is divided into six, the middle colonnette being fluted. There are niches for altars, dedicated to angels, in the eastern walls of the transepts, and through passages in the thickness of the east walls of the eastern transept the reconstructed upper level of the minor apses flanking the eastern apse can be reached. These three-level transept galleries and two-level apses are hard to parallel in other buildings of our period.

The carefully calculated symmetries and volumetric parallels which define the interior of St Michael's, along with the external balance produced by towers and transepts, are what lead it to be presented as a model of early Romanesque articulation of volumes.[57] These apparently *avant-garde* formal tendencies, among which should be included that most volumetrically pure of architectural forms, the cushion capital, preserved mainly in the eastern parts, should not override the symbolic and functional aspects of the church. St Michael's provided a formidable array of chapels,[58] and the building appears to have solicited divine approval through the incorporation of relics in its columns and an attempt to present literally the Evangelist's vision of the heavenly Jerusalem.[59] On the foundation stone uncovered in 1906 were inscribed the names Mathias and Benjamin, apostle and prophet, along with the date and Bernward's name. The likelihood is that there were twelve of these stones: one other fragment that was uncovered had the letters IAS inscribed, perhaps for Jeremias. It is conceivable, therefore, that rather than marking an intermediate stone laying as the south-west transept was reached, these formed part of an elaborate foundation-laying ritual at the beginning of construction.[60]

The rest of the empire enjoyed less direct imperial patronage than Saxony until the accession of Henry II, and hereafter we are mostly dealing, as at St Michael, with the patronage of bishops. What should, perhaps, have been the decisive building of the millennium, the cathedral of Mainz in the Rheinland, had the misfortune to be burned on the day of the consecration of the church of 1009 and was rebuilt thereafter, not having its final dedication until 1036. Mainz was the metropolitan of the largest archdiocese, with, at one stage, fifteen suffragans; it had been, moreover, the seat of St Boniface, the apostle of the Germans (active 722–54). The archbishop held, from 968, the disputed right to crown the king in Germany. The first patron of the church was Archbishop Willigis (975–1011) who was, for a while, not only archbishop but also archchaplain.[61] The rebuilding was completed under his second successor Bardo (1031–51). The building is often discussed as if what Bardo consecrated was an exact reproduction of what Willigis began, in part perhaps because the archaeological record is silent on any alterations. This cannot be taken as an absolute certainty however. This was the most ambitious building of its era, in terms of scale if nothing else. Willigis began his cathedral some way to the east of what is often assumed to be the former cathedral, now dedicated to St John, and part of his rebuilding of this church survives.[62] Parts of the cathedral dedicated in 1036 survive too, notably the north wall of the west transept (the church is occidented, that is, its main altar is at the west end of the church) and the lower portions of the round eastern towers.[63] The towers are decorated with flat pilaster strips, and they suggest that there was always a structure of many storeys at the east end. Despite this, a number of questions about the building, its eastern termination, for example, are unresolved. No foundations for an eastern apse were found during excavation, and it has been therefore suggested that none was there, though there is a documentary record of an eastern apse in the eleventh century before the rebuilding sponsored by Henry IV.[64] The wide three-aisled nave lies under the current structure; it can be said with some certainty that there was no vault over the main vessel, but there is debate about the form of supports, though they may have been columnar. The west transept was unusually long; indeed the present transept is somewhat smaller than its forerunner, whose end wall survives in the external wall of the bishops' chapel, which was formerly attached to it.

There was also, at the east end of the church, an atrium, with at its eastern end a church dedicated to the Virgin, consecrated in 1061 but possibly planned from the outset. This scheme recalls quite closely Old St Peter's in Rome, especially if the supports in the church were columnar, though there was a Carolingian precedent at Fulda. The one surviving bit of church furnishing suggests that Willigis also had other precedents on his mind. The bronze doors, which now face the market, have an inscription which records that Willigis was the first to have bronze doors made since the death of Charlemagne.[65]

The reconstruction of the cathedral of Mainz seems to have inspired directly the reconstruction of the cathedral of Worms. This too was a long building (100 m), built by Bishop Burchard (1000–25) with a dedication in 1018, in the presence of Henry II, of the then unfinished church. As with Mainz very little visible masonry dates from this period, though parts of the western stair turrets, which in this case certainly flanked an apse, remain. They too are decorated with pilaster strips. The church was oriented and had an eastern transept; other presumed extant masonry from this period is, however, questionable.[66]

Augsburg is one of the better preserved of the Ottonian churches, though what is preserved is hidden under later gothic remodelling. The old cathedral collapsed, in whole or in part, in 994. The present structure retains large parts of the church put up as a replacement of this building, including its western continuous transept, especially on the north side, and the lower walls of its western apse. Under the apse there is a crypt which is itself bipolar, having a niche in both east and west walls. There was no eastern transept, however. The nave was of nine bays: the columns of the current outer aisles stand on the Ottonian foundations, and

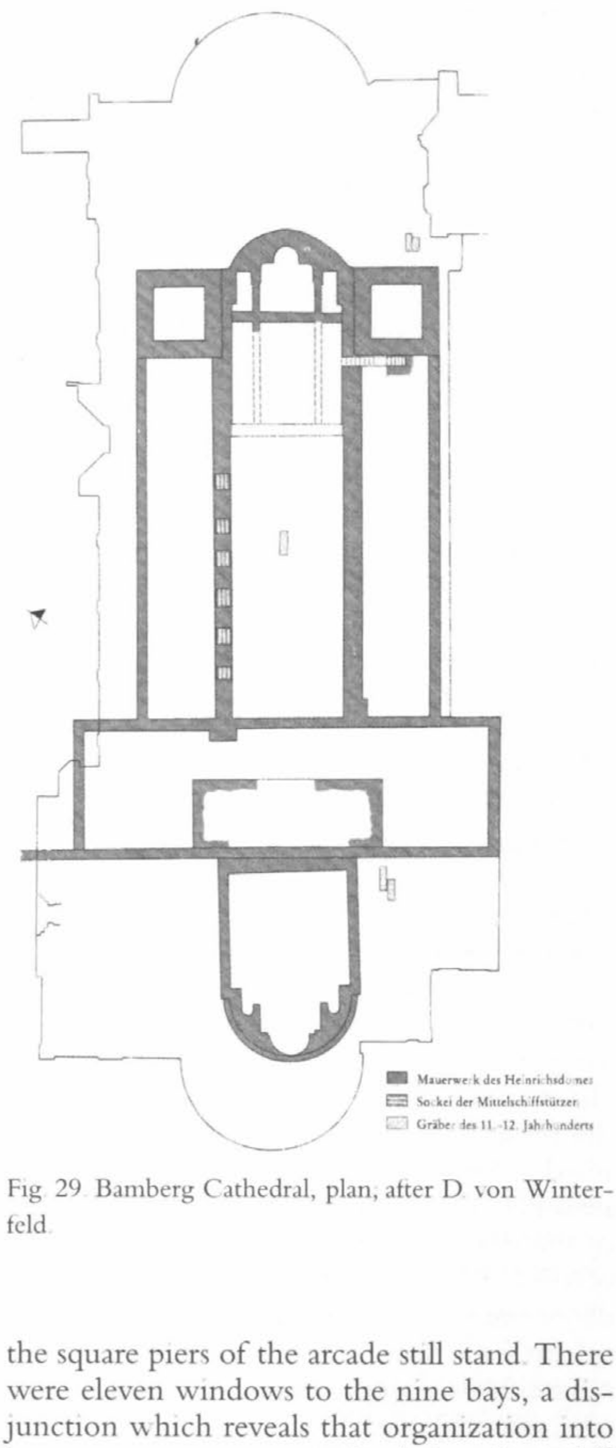

Mauerwerk des Heinrichsdomes
Sockel der Mittelschiffstützen
Gräber des 11.-12. Jahrhunderts

Fig. 29. Bamberg Cathedral, plan, after D. von Winterfeld.

the square piers of the arcade still stand. There were eleven windows to the nine bays, a disjunction which reveals that organization into bays was not uppermost in the designer's mind.[67] Augsburg is one of a number of churches in central and southern Germany with a single western transept; others are at Mainz, at Regensburg, and at Bamberg (fig. 29).

The latter was a diocese which was founded by Henry II in 1007 as Otto I had established Magdeburg,[68] also not without some difficulties.[69] The church at Bamberg was founded, and dedicated in 1012, on the king's birthday, and was to serve as his burial church. It had a western continuous transept and a nave possibly with Saxon alternation. It also had crypts at either end of the church, although the principal altar and larger crypt were at the west. These crypts were like small echelon choirs; a central apsidiole was flanked by two smaller niches, round at the west, square at the east. The aisles of the upper church ended at the east in square towers, which therefore flanked the eastern apse, an early example of what Grodecki called the *chevet harmonique,* in a manner which may have recalled round towers flanking the western apse at Worms and the eastern apse at the archiepiscopal church in Mainz, assuming the latter existed.[70] While the occidentation of the church, its continuous transept, and the dedication to St Peter speak of an imitation of Rome, the dedication of the western crypt was to St Maurice, the Ottonian imperial saint *par excellence.*

Finally in the south-eastern area at Eichstätt between 966 and 991 a circular building with flanking stair turrets was added at the west of the cathedral, probably attached to it. This may have served as a baptistery, though the evidence for that use is only that the baptistery was in that area of the later church. Separate, and to the west of this, a crypt-like structure was built, apsidally ended, which may have served as a shrine church for the relics of St Willibald, and into which his remains were translated in 989.[71]

The north-west of the empire, the lower Rhine, the Meuse and Moselle, is one of the best-studied areas of the architectural output of the empire. In the person of the archbishop of Cologne, Brun, brother of Emperor Otto the Great, the secular authority wielded by ecclesiastical magnates on the behalf of the emperor finds its clearest expression. Brun's principal foundation in Cologne, St Pantaleon, was extended and modified in the later tenth century with a new apsidal choir, in the crypt of which lay Brun's tomb, and with the replacement of the western structure by two extra bays of the nave and a new western building which survives in a restored form (figs 7, 8, 30).[72] This has the external form of a central tower, with a projecting porch to the west, which has been shortened, with flanking stair turrets and transept-like projections to north and south. In the interior a large central space, open through both storeys, is flanked on the west, north, and south by galleries, opening to the central well through paired arcades on north and south sides and a triple arcade to the east. The building is usually associated with the donation by the Empress Theophanou of the relics of St Albini in 984, and can therefore claim

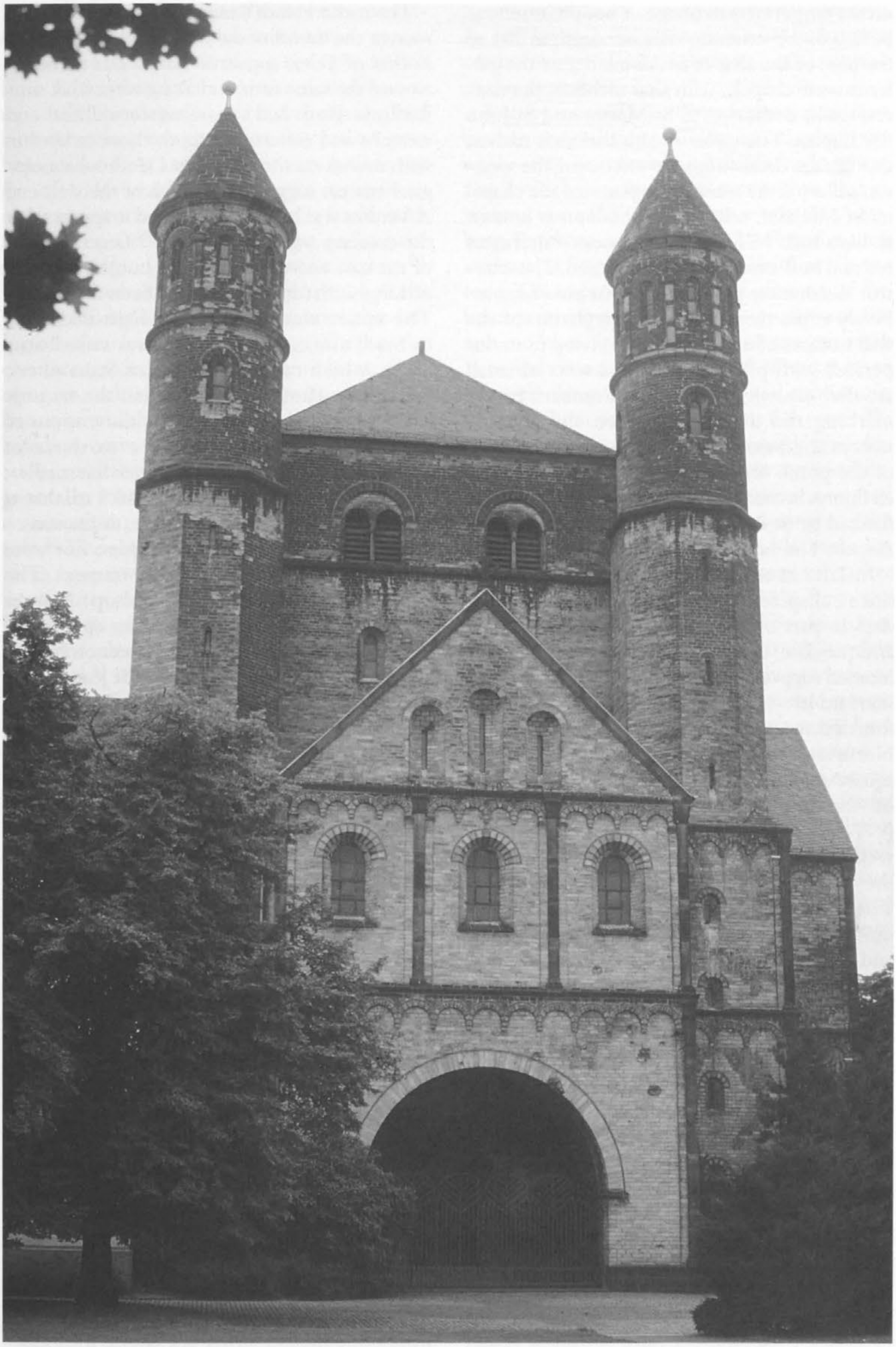


Fig. 30. Cologne, St Pantaleon's Abbey, western block from the west; photo N. Hiscock.

direct imperial patronage. Theophanou was buried in the structure after her death in 991 to the west of the altar of St Albini. Below the galleries were chapels, with altar niches in the eastern walls, dedicated to St Martin and St John the Baptist. The galleries also had altar niches, though the dedications are unknown; the western gallery is the most likely place for the chapel of St Michael, which St Pantaleon is known to have had.[73] The interior masonry alternates red and buff stone, some of it reused. The exterior decoration is interesting for two reasons. Firstly it has the most clear articulation of the wall surfaces of any building surviving from our period, with pilaster strips, and rows of small arcades, sometimes known as Lombard bands, marking the division between the interior storeys and below the roof. Secondly the front of the porch once contained five large sculpted figures in niches. These were probably Christ, flanked by St Pantaleon and St Albini and two Angels. The head of Christ survives.

In Trier an attempt was made to restore long-since collapsed parts of the late antique cathedral. In part the remaining cathedral is of late antique date, a large square building with four internal supports which was appended to a more standard late-Roman basilical church in the late fourth century. By the tenth century, following Norse raids, the cathedral had contracted to this square structure which forms the eastern part of the building today. Archbishop Egbert (977–93) sought to restore the basilica to the west of the square, but his plans were foiled by the failure of one of the supports of that square. The masonry used in repairing this collapse quite closely resembles Roman *opus mixtum*, and it has been argued that the reconstruction of the late antique basilica, a conservative action architecturally, was intended to assert the ancient rights of the see, rather as was argued with Halberstadt above. In this case it was Otto I's brother Brun who had usurped some of the rights of the see, and Egbert through restoring his cathedral and by making more splendid settings for some of the cathedral's relics, especially those connected with the apostles, sought to re-assert Trier's dignity. He also built a two-storeyed funerary chapel dedicated to St Andrew, whose slipper the cathedral still posseses in its Egbertian reliquary, to the north of the cathedral, in an analogous position to the mausoleum, also dedicated to St Andrew, once at Old St Peter's in Rome.[74]

The cathedrals of Liège and Verdun, the former in the archdiocese of Cologne, the latter in that of Trier, appear to have been rebuilt at around the same time and along somewhat similar lines. Both had square western choirs and western and eastern transepts, those at Verdun with towers on the west side. Dendrochronological analysis suggests that much of the west end at Verdun was built by 1000, and it appears that the crossing was a regular one.[75] Less is known of the east end of the church, but the east end of Liège cathedral has recently been uncovered. The square western choir at Liège, dedicated to Sts Cosmas and Damien, was raised on a crypt, which contained relics of St Lambert; the eastern choir was apsidal, and the transept also had apsidal chapels.[76] The dimensions of the building were quite close to those of Cologne Cathedral, though somewhat smaller; the transept length at Liège was 40.9 m, that at Cologne 41.4 m. It did not have, as has sometimes been reconstructed, five aisles, nor were there towers to the west of the transept. The cathedral was begun by Bishop Notger (972–1008) at the beginning of his episcopate, but consecrated in 1015 by his successor. Notger also built other churches in Liège: St Jean, which will be discussed presently, and St Denis, consecrated 990 and again after a fire in 1011, which had the soon-to-be-familiar square choir and square piers of the mosan area.[77] The cathedral of Liège appears to be derived from its metropolitan at Cologne, and as Notger was a product of the court chapel, he may have been imitating Archbishop Brun as well as his cathedral.[78] Haimo, bishop of Verdun (988–1024), was a pupil of Notger's and may have taken his lead from the church at Liège.

Architectural Elements

As will have become clear, the second half of the tenth and early eleventh centuries saw a great deal of building activity in the empire and the adoption of a number of new building features. However, it did not entail the complete replacement of a set of buildings that had become, for one reason or another, unacceptable, as happened in post-Conquest England or from about 1150 in France. A number of Carolingian cathedrals and great churches were retained, perhaps with some alterations. The important abbey church at Corvey, for example, seems to have undergone no major alterations; the western choir of Fulda was remodelled after a fire in 937 and round towers appear to have been added flanking the apse at this time. Somewhat later the eastern atrium was rebuilt.[79] The cathedral of Hildesheim also had a western choir rebuilt during this period, perhaps about 964, and altered twice before the fire of 1046 which necessitated a more thorough reconstruction. The church itself, with three aisles, a continuous transept, and a two-storeyed ring crypt, survived until this time.[80]

The cathedral at Cologne has been the subject of a fairly lengthy dispute about the dating of its various building phases: whether the church regarded by the excavators as late Carolingian, which was bipolar with apses and transepts at each end, should be associated with a dedication in 870 or with the reported alterations made by Archbishop Brun.[81] The view generally taken currently is that, based on ceramic finds, the earlier date is the more probable.[82] The activity of Brun is now usually taken to have been confined to the addition of a set of outer aisles, with Saxon alternation, giving the church the five-aisle plan of St Peter's in Rome, though the date of this is also controversial.[83] If the early dating of the cathedral is correct, then it is notable that this building seems to have served as a model for a number of churches after 950—Liège, Verdun, and Memleben—and through the latter influenced St Michael's in Hildesheim.

The balance of St Michael's is regarded as one of its more Romanesque features, but in truth its bipolarity is rather less absolute than that of Memleben, which was the building closest to complete symmetry. As well as Liège, which is square at one end and apsidal at the other, bipolarity is also found, slightly later, at St Stephan in Wurzburg, where a crypt was dedicated in 1018.[84] The western apsidal choir had a crypt and was flanked by towers; the eastern end had three apses. Other churches had apses at either end with only one transept, for example, Worms and Bamberg, the latter having its transept at the west. While the east end remained the most common place for the transept, single western transepts occurred in our period at Mainz and Augsburg. Once more there is a Carolingian precedent for this, at Fulda, though whether this served as the direct source, whether Mainz itself was the model, or if all these churches were to a greater or lesser extent following a late antique original, probably St Peter's in Rome as Fulda was, is hard to say with certainty. As will be seen, the imitation of Rome was a common aspiration of patrons in the empire in this period.

Transepts could take three forms: lower than the nave, as probably at Cologne Cathedral, certainly at St Pantaleon, St Adalbert in Aachen, and Zyfflich near Aachen;[85] continuous, that is, without internal divisions north-south, like Augsburg, Bamberg, and Halberstadt; or regular, such as those at St Michael's Hildesheim or Gernrode. The appreciation that the crossing of the latter is in approximately its original form has rather undermined the notion of transept form as an indication of architectural advance, since it is clear there were many low and continuous transepts built well after those at Gernrode.[86]

Liturgically the form of the transept made little difference, though it affects the interior disposition of volumes and the exterior massing. Of greater import to exterior massing was the distribution of towers. Again St Michael's has the oldest surviving crossing towers (or rather restored—they are almost entirely from the twentieth century), but one can be inferred for Gernrode, and they perhaps existed at other churches as well. They are a likely product, or cause, of a regular crossing. The round towers at the extremities of many of our churches have Carolingian precedents; they were found at Cologne Cathedral, unless this should be regarded as a tenth-century building, and are found at the west end of the church of the St Gall plan (shortly after 817). The balanced, multi-towered silhouette of St Michael's, while it provides us with an important signpost on the way to mature German Romanesque, was not without some precedents.

The turriform structures from our period which have attracted the most attention, however, are those at the west end of the church.[87] Western ends have fallen into three categories in German scholarship: *Westchor*, western choir, *Westwerk*, westwork, and the more functionally neutral *Westbau*, western building or block. Westwork[88] is one of the most troublesome concepts in German architectural history. This is partly because of the differing functional interpretations which have been, and continue to be, ascribed to a number of seemingly quite different structures built over a lengthy period, and because of the assumption of their interrelatedness. The structures have frequently been interpreted either as separate areas for the emperor or other aristocratic figures, or as devoted to the cult of the Saviour, though these two elements are not necessarily entirely separate. There is little evidence from our period for a specific single use for the structures which have been described as westworks.[89]

Structurally they are tower-like, usually having two smaller stair towers in association with a large central one. The central one is usually open through more than one storey on the interior, though the ground storey would usually be vaulted or covered with a flat ceiling. For these buildings the often-given surviving prototype is that at Corvey, from the last third of the ninth century. For the period after 950 there are a number of structures, either partially surviving or known through excavation, which have been described as reduced westworks, reduced because they were not vaulted at ground storey level. These are, or were, at Gernrode, Paderborn, Freckenhorst, and Neuenheerse,[90] of which Gernrode is the earliest, the others dating from around or soon after the millennium.

These structures have, or had, paired round stair towers. On the interior the central tower had a floor, not a vault, above the ground storey level, and there were probably galleries above the aisles, as there still are at Gernrode. Arcades separated the interior of these structures from the main vessel of the churches (though this is inferred rather than known for Gernrode), and transverse arches separated their aisles from those of the nave, as at Gernrode. There are differences between these structures: Freckenhorst had a western apse, rather than the axial entrance of the others. This too is inferred, rather than known, at Gernrode, which could, therefore, also have had a two-storeyed choir.

There were other structures which have been categorized as westworks. At Minden, dedicated in 952, a square structure with supports for a ground floor vault and a pair of towers at the west has been excavated, as have structures at St Pantaleon in Cologne from the mid-tenth century, and at Werden the western block, from somewhat before our period, still survives in part.[91] At Halberstadt we have some evidence for how the excavated square western block was used. In the lower part was a choir dedicated to St Sixtus, in the upper a chapel dedicated to St Michael, a common dedication of upper western chapels.[92] In 1013, after a dispute which blew up at Gernrode, the bishop 'went to the western part of the cathedral where he sat on a throne placed at the top of a flight of stairs' in order to receive payment and impose penance on Margrave Gero II and his retainers.[93] A number of different functions might therefore have been taken by these western structures, and it is quite possible that superficially similar structures served different functions.

The western block most directly associated with the imperial house, and the best preserved structure which has been categorized as a westwork,[94] is that from late in the tenth century at St Pantaleon in Cologne, founded by Otto I's brother Brun, patronized by Empress Theophanou, and the burial place of both. This has a central tower flanked by stair turrets but also a projecting two-storey porch, and rather different internal arrangements. There is no internal floor over the lower part of the central space, and it is not divided from the main vessel of the nave except by a high wide arch. The two flanking galleries were, like the aisle-like spaces below, arranged like east-west facing chapels. The arrangement looks somewhat like transepts filled with galleries, or like a western choir flanked by transeptal two-storeyed galleries.[95]

One western block for which it is hard to find local parallels was excavated at Paderborn, built just before the fire in 1000. This consisted of a five-bay forechurch, with outer aisles flanking a three-aisled, presumably vaulted, central vessel. It was preceded to the west by a pair of towers. In plan, at least, it appears to resemble the sort of structure still to be found at Tournus in Burgundy.[96]

One area of the great church that developed in the latter half of the tenth century is the crypt.[97] The Carolingian ring crypt was, by and large, abandoned, though the rebuilding of Halberstadt Cathedral preserved this form. This was the period when the hall crypt developed, perhaps influenced by buildings in France or Italy, but presaged by a number of small Carolingian precursors and expanded chambers served by ring crypts from earlier in the century.[98] The first hall crypt known to us is that at Gernrode, discussed above, which appears to be the result of a fusion of the ring crypt and hall crypt types. An oddity of the crypt, the disparity in size between the western and eastern piers, the eastern being smaller, was shared by the probably later western crypt at Memleben.[99]

In 961 a number of relics was placed in the crypt of Magdeburg Cathedral, of which, unfortunately, no trace has been found. However, housing relics seems to have been one of the important functions of crypts in this period; the niche at the west end of the Gernrode crypt also seems to have served this function. The small *confessio* probably from the 960s at Quedlinburg was built directly to the east of the grave of Henry I and the later tomb of his widow, and perhaps contained relics translated to the collegiate church in 962 and 964. It was a low space, no more than 1.95 m high, and with limited access, and so could only have served as a place of regular liturgical use with difficulty.[100] There was also a crypt for the square west choir added to Hildesheim Cathedral, perhaps associated with the transfer of relics to the cathedral in 964. This was 9.5 m long and 6.7 m wide, with four supports, entered from the sides.[101]

The western crypt of Bamberg Cathedral had an unusually wide and high central aisle, forming a seven-bay, bipolar under-church. This, clearly, was a functional liturgical space, and perhaps formed a model for some of the great hall crypts of the Salian period, such as that at Speyer, also an imperial foundation. The crypt also served to raise the choir above the level of the rest of the church, as does that at St Michael's in Hildesheim, though this was extended in the twelfth century under the crossing.[102] This crypt had an altar dedicated to the Virgin and housed the grave of the abbey's founder, Bishop Bernward, but this crypt and another from late in our period, the crypt of the church of St Wiperti in Quedlinburg, have attracted a great deal of attention because of the use of an ambulatory, a rare feature in the empire in the tenth, or eleventh, century. In both cases the ambulatory presents problems of interpretation. The crypt of St Wiperti in Quedlinburg is a curious space: tunnel-vaulted, with the supports on the long sides alternating piers, of reused material, and columns.[103] The spaces formed are narrow and low, though the architrave over the supports, itself an unusual feature, is decorated with a zigzag motif. It may not have had an altar in its original state. The ambulatory at St Michael, however, leads to a doorway at the axis of the church and may well have been used for processions. Its relationship to ambulatory forms developing in France is hard to gauge; it serves no chapels, and it has been interpreted as a late reflection of Carolingian ring crypts.[104]

The other crypt form which flourished in the eleventh century, and which was revived in our period, was the outer crypt. There were examples at St Maximin in Trier (dedicated in 952) and St Emmeram in Regensburg (dedicated in 980).[105] Outer crypts, which were not usually below ground, were built either wholly or partly beyond the east end of the church, and could be one- or two-storeyed. There were Carolingian outer crypts at, for example, St Denis, but the form underwent a strong revival in the early eleventh century, perhaps under the influence of St Maximin, particularly in the western part of the empire.[106] The Trier crypt was composed of five parallel barrel-vaulted cells on the lower level, with three aisles above, while the Regensburg crypt was three-aisled.

Structure and Decoration

We move now from parts of the church to elements of the structure and decoration. The better quality masonry of surviving Ottonian churches, St Michael's at Hildesheim and Gernrode, is well cut but irregularly coursed, a sign that the process of architectural production was far from standardized. Otherwise, at Walbeck, for example, or Memleben, thick-mortared rubble was used. The arches at Gernrode are made of voussoirs which do not radiate from a central point. Windows in these buildings were round-headed as one might expect, but there were also circular windows at Walbeck, and square- and triangular-headed ones on the Gernrode stair turrets. At Gernrode the windows in transepts and straight choir bays are arranged in triplets, one above, two below. In the nave at Gernrode, as at Augsburg and St Michael's in Hildesheim, the windows are not aligned with the bay divisions below, and at both Gernrode and St Michael's the windows are set high in the wall and are comparatively small.

The articulation of wall surfaces, by pilasters or other devices, was by no means universal in the tenth century. Gernrode has pilasters on the apse, with half columns on the attic, but the body of the church is unarticulated. The south flank of St Michael's has a blind arcade, and pilasters on the western apse, but the transepts are for the most part plain. However, there are bases at the corners, with a course or two of masonry raised like a pilaster which then dies into the wall, a phenomenon which recurs at

St Bartholomew's chapel in Paderborn from the second decade of the eleventh century. It is possible that these pilasters were continued with paint.[107] The nave of St Pantaleon once had flat pilasters, brought over to form clerestory-embracing arches, to articulate the exterior and the interior. The later west block had arched bands, which were also found at St Jean in Liège and the Marienkirche in Würzburg, and on the western tower of Reichenau-Mittelzell.[108] Exterior articulation of churches, then, proceeded in an uneven fashion. On the interior, bay divisions were infrequently marked on the wall surface.

The best known form of bay division, if that is what it is, in the empire is in the alternation of supports, almost always as far as we know columns and square or rectangular piers; at St Aposteln in Cologne early in the eleventh century the church alternated square and cruciform piers. These divided into two sorts: regular alternation (pier-column-pier, etc.) and Saxon or dactylic alternation, in which there are two columns between the piers, as found at, for example, St Michael's in Hildesheim. This is the oldest standing example, but the aisles of Cologne Cathedral, if they were added by Archbishop Brun (953–65) would have been earlier. The form has a precedent of sorts in the upper elevation of the palace chapel at Aachen, and in its western atrium, though the effect is rather different.[109]

Regular alternation (a-b-a-b) became relatively common in the eleventh century, usually with some sort of super-arch connecting the piers. Possibly the earliest example was at St Maximin in Trier, but the oldest surviving is at Gernrode, where two columns flank a pier on the lower storey and five columns flank a pier on the second, a kind of irregular alternation whose only constant is to divide the church in the middle. The alternation at the rebuilt cathedral of Halberstadt also seems to have had a division at the middle of the nave, where a rectangular pier replaced the square one that alternated with columns in the outer bays. Other early churches with an alternating system are the partially surviving churches at Drübeck, in Saxony, and at Zyfflich where there are super arches.[110]

Drübeck was also a prestigious foundation, granted in 980 the same rights as the imperial foundations at Gandersheim and Quedlinburg, and from it survive in the heavily restored nave fairly characteristic tenth- or early-eleventh-century Corinthian capitals. They compare in general terms to those in the Bartholomew chapel in Paderborn,[111] a fragment found at Halberstadt, the capitals at Gernrode, and even those as far back as the west block at Corvey. What characterizes all these Corinthian capitals is the presence of two pairs of scrolls, joined by a v-shaped stem and facing away from each other, at the top of the capital. At Gernrode one of these capitals has faces among the leaves (fig. 31), while at Zyfflich the top of one capital is supported by atlantes.[112] Zyfflich also has a rather irregularly shaped and very early example of a cushion capital; the church was begun around 1000 and certainly dedicated before 1021. Other early instances are at St Michael's Hildesheim and St Pantaleon, at the top of a pilaster, surprisingly since this geometric form is usually accounted for as the logical way to unite a cylindrical column and a square abacus.[113] While this type of capital was to be of the greatest importance in later German architecture, it was not entirely new at this time, as a number of Carolingian examples have been identified.[114]

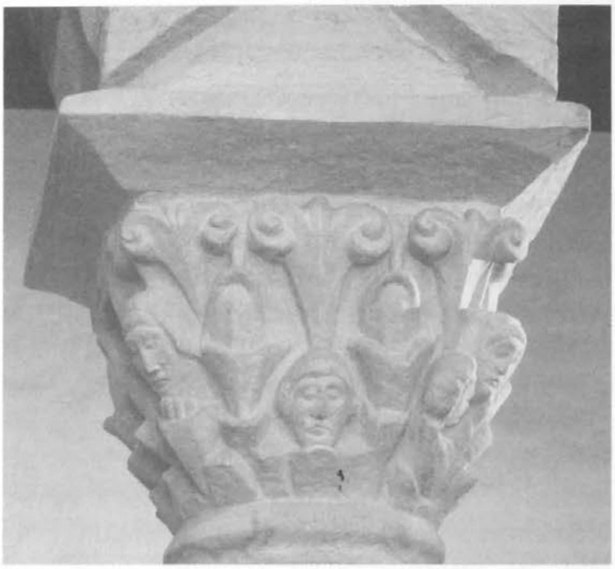


Fig. 31. Gernrode, St Cyriakus, north-western nave capital; photo R. Plant.

Not all of the churches, even the important ones, were of stone; indeed in Hamburg a wooden cathedral was built in 1013–29, according to Adam of Bremen,[115] and at Verden the cathedral built by Bishop Amolong (933–62) was built of wood because there was no stone. Thietmar described this building as 'magnificent' and 'surpass[ing] others in its size and beauty'.[116] However, for a patron to overcome those difficulties was also, it seems, commendable in the opinion of Thietmar, as in the case of Bishop Bernhard, also at Verden, who built a stone tower, although stone was quite rare, and Thietmar's own aunt who constructed the church at Heeslingen out of stone 'with great effort', as stone was a rare material in that region.[117]

Architectural Meaning

This short introduction to the architecture of the empire around 1000 will conclude with a discussion of some of the symbolic and political meanings that might have been attached to the architecture of the era. Ottonian architecture is, as will become apparent, rich in associations. Church buildings formed an essential part of royal ritual and image-projection; there is a famous episode recounted by Thietmar in which Duke Hermann Billung was received with royal honours in the cathedral of Magdeburg, an action sometimes seen as a criticism of Otto I's absence from Saxony, and for which the archbishop was punished.[118]

What specific architectural means were used to carry imperial messages is hard to say, however, since we are in the unfortunate position of judging largely from ground plans. The antique columns of Magdeburg probably were intended to recall Charlemagne, but are, as we have seen, open to a number of readings. The doors at Mainz, which carry a text, are at least explicit on this point. The use of continuous west transepts, a feature of the Constantinian churches of Rome and a focus of the Carolingian revival of late antique architecture, might be granted some programmatic intent, but there are a number of possible interpretations for this feature. One of the most debated aspects of late Ottonian rule is the *renovatio imperium romanorum,* a device which appeared on a seal of Otto III. What this meant in practical terms is unclear, perhaps partly because the policy, if such it was, had little time to develop before Otto's death. In symbolic terms Otto's intentions are perhaps clearer: when he appointed his adviser Gerbert as Pope, Gerbert took the name of Constantine's pope, Sylvester. This, along with the construction of the palace on either the Aventine or the Palatine Hill, is the high-water mark of the Ottonian Roman adventure. Henry II retreated from Otto's more far-flung ambitions, and, as Eliza Garrison indicates in the next chapter, his concentration on cisalpine affairs is reflected in his patronage of books and even the dedication of altars at Bamberg.[119] The form of the church there with its salient west transept could therefore be interpreted as an attempt to create a second Rome north of the Alps. It could equally well be taken to be a reflection of regional fashion, however, as the form of Bamberg is quite close to that of neighbouring Augsburg. Both indeed may have some relation to Mainz Cathedral, but at Mainz the positioning of a church dedicated to the Virgin at the east, entrance, end of the church seems to suggest the evocation of St Peter's in Rome quite strongly. Mainz, however, had more reason than most to rely on local precedent, since it had been the seat of St Boniface, apostle of the Germans, whose memorial church at Fulda provided the earliest, Rome-inspired, west transept in the region, and also had an eastern atrium.[120] It is not possible to disentangle this skein of interpretations, and it is possible that many interpretations were intended. A brief look at Henry's patronage at Bamberg will reveal how a group of buildings could weave a complex web of associations.

We are told, in the emperor's Life, that he intended a cross of churches to be built at Bamberg, an image, apart from its obvious symbolism, which may have been intended to evoke Jerusalem.[121] There was a further possible reference to Jerusalem: the Tattermannsaule, placed near the cathedral, imitated the column in the atrium of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[122] Finally, in this miscellany of architectural references, a comparatively small eight-sided chapel, presumably an imitation of Charlemagne's at Aachen, dedicated to St Andrew, was built next to the cathedral.[123] The dedication may have been intended to recall the chapel placed to the north of Old St Peter's in Rome mentioned in connection to the work at Trier. Henry's intention in invoking these three centres was part of an imperial programme. However, Bamberg contains a number of features which were developed by other patrons during our period, and it is noteworthy that these patrons were as likely to be bishops as secular lords. The imitation of Charlemagne's palace chapel is one of the most celebrated forms of architectural iconography. It is interesting to note, however, that the second half of the tenth century was not a great period for the production of copies of the Aachen palace chapel, not, that is, if copy is understood in a strict sense; indeed there were perhaps only two, with only one patron.[124]

This patron was Notger of Liège, in whose diocese the Palatine chapel lay, and the building in his episcopal city was his burial church in 1008. The other chapel, though not absolutely certainly Notger's, was at Muizen,[125] and had the eight-sided kernel with sixteen-sided ambulatory of Charlemagne's original. The Liège church is now a very close copy, in plan, of the church in Aachen, but this similarity may have been exaggerated in the Baroque reconstruction of the church. In an engraving from the eighteenth century, however, the church appears to be round, which has invited suggestions that Notger intended here a copy of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[126] Notger was granted a number of temporal rights by the emperors, and his importance in the development of Liège is hard to overstate. He provided the city walls and contributed to the five collegiate churches and two abbeys which were founded in the Ottonian era.[127]

One other church from our period was claimed, in the eleventh century, to be an imitation of Aachen, the Alte Turm at Mettlach. The architectural form of this church and its affiliations have recently come under review, however, and a late antique source of the type of S. Aquilino in Milan has been plausibly proposed by Singleton.[128] Another building discussed in Singleton's article, St Heribert, formerly St Mary, in Deutz, across the Rhine from Cologne, seems to have a very clear local precedent in the late antique oval nave of St Gereon in Cologne.[129] The monastery at Deutz was founded by Archbishop Heribert (999–1021), though it had been planned by himself and Emperor Otto III immediately before the latter's death in Rome in 1002. Whether the building uncovered by excavations in the 1970s bears any relation to an initial scheme is hard to say, as the building begun by Heribert immediately after Otto's funeral in Aachen collapsed, and the work was completed by architects from abroad.[130] The church was built on what had been royal land, in what had previously been the site of the Roman *castrum* on the far side of the Rhine. This has tempted some scholars to view the resultant building as an expression of Otto III's imperial ideas, perhaps filtered through his friend and chancellor Heribert. The building shared a dedication with the palace chapel at Aachen, and perhaps the form of its western structure, with a niche between towers. The plan of the building, and presumably its elevation, were very different from Charlemagne's church, although there was an eight-sided central space. Like St Gereon it had an oval plan and apsidal niches along the long sides. At St Gereon these were once expressed externally, while those at Deutz were enclosed within the great thickness of the walls (5 m), which presumably supported a vault.[131]

A church which certainly imitated the Holy Sepulchre was St Maurice in Constance.[132] This rotunda, probably with four arms, was built by Bishop Conrad after his second of three visits to Jerusalem. It was a round building probably with square arms at the cardinal points, in which a copy of Christ's sepulchre was built. The rotunda, now heavily remodelled, lies to the east of the church and slightly to the north, a position which in itself has been taken to imitate the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre, which was slightly off the axis of the basilica to its east. Bishop Conrad was buried under the wall of the church, in a position which perhaps recalled the supposed site of Adam's grave at Golgotha, though the position of the Holy Cross altar in the north transept of the cathedral, instead of the more usual position in the nave, may have indicated that that was taken as Golgotha in this liturgical copy of Jerusalem. That the building was understood as a copy of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and not just as a container for a copy of the sepulchre itself, is shown by two later and related buildings, the Busdorf church in Paderborn and the church on the Krukenberg near Helmershausen.[133] Both of them have roughly the same plan as the church in Constance, but the first of these buildings was claimed in its foundation charter to have been planned using dimensions derived from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre itself. A final point worth noting about the Constance rotunda is its dedication. Although a dedication more directly related to its function and symbolic connections might be expected, it was dedicated to what had become the Ottonian imperial saint *par excellence*, Maurice. Two other rotundas associated with the Holy Sepulchre were constructed in the southern area in the tenth century, at St Gall and at Reichenau.[134]

The patron of the Busdorf church, Meinwerk, according to his twelfth-century *Vita*, intended to build a cross of churches in Paderborn, an ambition frustrated by his death.[135] Equally from the twelfth century comes the claim for the cross of Henry II at Bamberg, and at Bamberg two out of four churches were built after the founder's death. The one contemporary claim for a cross of churches is in the *Vita Bardonis* (1050–60) for Fulda. However, it was often a feature of these schemes that they take a long time to complete; the cross of churches in Hildesheim, for example, was founded over a century. The most extraordinary sacral transformation of the religious topography of a town was the product of two bishops. By the means of five churches, Bishops Conrad (934–74) and Gebhard (979–95) recreated the topography of Rome in Constance, with a church dedicated to St Paul outside the walls and a church dedicated to St Gregory, the papal saint standing in for St Peter, over the river, and with further churches dedicated to both St Johns—the Baptist and the Evangelist—like the Lateran, St Laurence, and St Mary.[136] The abbey church of St Gregory was described as imitating St Peter's by being occidented, though its position across the Rhine from the city has been suggested as a further parallel with the Roman church which lies across the Tiber from the centre of Rome.[137]

Although our knowledge of it is scanty, ecclesiastical architectural production in the empire seems to have been as active in the fifty years before the millennium as after it. The style was Janus-faced, looking back to the architecture of the Carolingian, Early Christian, and Antique past, as well as developing new architectural features in the form of the hall crypt and the regular crossing. The same, however, can be said for mature Romanesque in the empire. In the range of theological meanings, the immured relics and symbolic imitations of holy places, it provides a tantalizing glimpse into the mentality of the late tenth century.

NOTES

1. The most recent overview of our period is G. Althoff, *Die Ottonen: Konigsherrschaft ohne Staat* (Stuttgart, 2000); for an introduction to the period in English, see T. Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages, c. 800–1056* (London, 1991).

2. Widukind of Corvey, *Rerum Gestarum Saxonicarum*, ed. by G. Pertz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, 5 (Hannover, 1838), 3. 49 (p. 459).

3. H. Mayr-Harting, 'Herrschaftsrepräsentation der ottonischen Familie', in *Otto der Grosse: Magdeburg und Europa*, ed. by M. Puhle, 2 vols (Mainz, 2001), I, 132–48.

4. T. Reuter, 'The "Imperial Church System" of the Ottonian and Salian Rulers: A Reconsideration', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33 (1982), 347–74; for a recent discussion, see Althoff, *Ottonen*, 234–39, with literature.

5. Thietmar, the chronicler and bishop of Merseburg, gives an illustration of the enforced acceptance of the imperial candidate at Magdeburg over the choice of the chapter, *Thietmari Merseburgensis episcopi chronicon/Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg*, ed. by R. Holtzmann, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum (Berlin, 1935), 5. 40–41 (pp. 266–67). English translation: D. Warner, ed. and trans., *Ottonian Germany: The* Chronicon *of Thietmar of Merseburg* (Manchester, 2001), pp. 232–33.

6. E. Herzog, *Die Ottonische Stadt: die Anfange der Mittlelterlichen Stadtbaukunst in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1964), provides an overview of urban development, often stressing the episcopal role.

7. H. Jantzen, *Ottonische Kunst* (Munich, 1947); L. Grodecki, *L'architecture ottonienne: au seul de l'art roman* (Paris, 1958). Grodecki also takes as his starting point the rejection of the millennial anxiety as a spur for the revival of monumental architecture.

8. Jantzen, *Ottonische Kunst*, p. 1; Grodecki's historical introduction, *L'architecture ottonienne*, pp. 11–14, is a history of the Ottonian rulers.

9. F. Oswald, L. Schaefer, and H. Sennhauser, *Vorromanische Kirchenbauten* (Munich, 1966); W. Jacobsen, L. Schaefer, and H. Sennhauser, *Vorromanische Kirchenbauten: Nachtragsband* (Munich, 1991).

10. A recent attempt is provided by R. Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 191–211. On p. 56 he notes that the 'visual definition of space [at St Michael's in Hildesheim] was to become a feature of the Romanesque style'; B. Singleton, 'Köln-Deutz and Romanesque Architecture', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 143 (1990), 49–76 (p. 68), describes St Michael's as 'old-fashioned'.

11. H. E. Kubach and A. Verbeek, *Romanische Baukunst an Rhein und Maas*, 3 vols (Berlin, 1976); vol IV, *Architecturgeschichte und Kunstlandschaft* (Berlin, 1989).

12. The most recent at the time of writing is the excellent study by W. Jacobsen, U. Lobbedey, and D. von Winterfeld, 'Ottonische Baukunst', in *Otto der Grosse*, ed. by Puhle, I, 251–82.

13. For the history and architecture of the cathedral see E. Schubert, 'Der Magdeburger Dom: Ottonische Gründung

und Staufischer Neubau', in *Der Magdeburger Dom: Ottonischer Dom und Staufischer Neubau*, ed. by E. Ullman (Leipzig, 1989), pp. 25–44; G. Leopold, 'Zur Baugeschichte des Ottonischen Domes in Magdeburg', in *Der Magdeburger Dom*, ed. by Ullman, pp. 62–69; E. Schubert and G. Leopold, 'Magdeburgs Ottonische Dom', in *Otto der Grosse*, ed. by Puhle, i, 353–66. The plans of abbey and cathedral churches published therein are somewhat speculative. The plan given as Figure 1 here, however, does not include the fragment of masonry used to reconstruct a western transept.

14. Thietmar 2. 11 (Warner, *Ottonian Germany*, p. 99; Holtzmann, *Thietmari Merseburgensis*, pp. 50–51).

15. Thietmar 2. 11 (Warner, *Ottonian Germany*, p. 99; Holtzmann, *Thietmari Merseburgensis*, pp. 50–51); Thietmar 2. 3 (Warner, *Ottonian Germany*, p. 92, Holtzmann, *Thietmari Merseburgensis*, pp. 40–43).

16. E. Schubert and U. Lobbedey, 'Das Grab Ottos des Grossen im Magdeburger Dom', in *Otto der Grosse*, ed. by Puhle, i, 381–90, at 381–82.

17. On the dispute, and the possible benefits gained by the two dioceses in return for acceptance of the new archdiocese, see H. Beumann, 'Entschädigung von Halberstadt und Mainz bei der Gründung des Erzbistums Magdeburg', in *Ex Ipsis rerum Documentis: Beiträge zur Mediävistik. Festschrift für Harald Zimmermann*, ed. by K. Herbers, H. Kortum, and C. Servatius (Sigmaringen, 1991), pp. 383–98.

18. Thietmar 2. 16, 2. 17 (Warner, *Ottonian Germany*, pp. 103–04; Holtzmann, *Thietmari Merseburgensis*, pp. 56–59).

19. A western choir is reconstructed in G. Leopold, 'Archäologische Ausgrabungen an Stätten der ottonischen Herrschaft (Quedlinburg, Memleben, Magdeburg)', in *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im ottonischen Sachsen*, ed. by G. Althoff and E. Schubert (Sigmaringen, 1998), pp. 33–76, Figure 29. It sits rather awkwardly with the more securely attested western atrium.

20. Schubert and Leopold, 'Magdeburgs Ottonische Dom', p. 359. The charter is no. 222b in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Diplomatum Regum et Imperatorum, vol. i, ed. by T. Sickel (Hannover, 1884), pp. 304–07 (p. 306).

21. Puhle, *Otto der Grosse*, i, cat. no. V: 28, pp. 354–55.

22. C. Meckseper, 'Magdeburg und die Antike: zur Spolienverwendung im Magdeburger Dom', in *Otto der Grosse*, ed. by Puhle, i, 367–80; E. Schubert, 'Imperiale Spolien im Magdeburger Dom', in *Herrschaftsrepräsentation*, ed. by Althoff and Schubert, pp. 9–32.

23. Especially a rather rare black variety of porphyry found at both Aachen and Magdeburg: D. P. S. Peacock, 'Charlemagne's Black Stones: The Reuse of Roman Columns in Early Medieval Europe', *Antiquity*, 71 (1997), 709–15; Meckseper, 'Magdeburg und die Antike'.

24. T. Zotz, 'Carolingian Tradition and Ottonian-Salian Innovation: Comparative Observations on Palatine Policy in the Empire', in *Kings and Kingship*, ed. by A. Duggan (London, 1993), pp. 69–100 (p. 89), describes Magdeburg as 'nothing less than the Ottonian Counterpart of Carolingian Aachen'. The hugely important reinterpretation of what was once considered Otto's palace is to be found in Babette Ludowici, 'Archäologische Quellen zur Pfalz Ottos I. in Magdeburg: erste Ergebnisse der Auswertung der Grabungen 1959 bis 1968 auf dem Magdeburger Domplatz', in *Ottonische Neuanfänge: Symposion zur Austellung Otto der Grosse, Magdeburg und Europa*, ed. by B. Schneidmüller and S. Weinfurter (Mainz, 2001), pp. 71–84; eadem, 'Die Pfalz Ottos des Grossen in Magdeburg', in *Otto der Grosse*, ed. by Puhle, i, 390–402; C. Meckseper, 'Zur Interpretation des 1959 bis 1968 auf dem Magdeburger Domplatz Ergrabenen Bauwerks ("Pfalz")', in *Ottonische Neuanfänge*, ed. by Schneidmüller and Weinfurter, pp. 59–69. The discoveries, of two phases, may represent the west end of a church.

25. Thietmar 2. 17 (Warner, *Ottonian Germany*, p. 104; Holtzmann, *Thietmari Merseburgensis*, p. 59).

26. G. Binding, 'Zur Ikonologie des Magdeburger Domes Ottos I', in *Der Magdeburger Dom*, ed. by Ullman, pp. 70–73; H. Keller, 'Reliquien, in Architekturteilen beigesetzt', in *Beiträge zur Kunst des Mittelalters: Festschrift für Hans Wentzel zum 60 Geburtstag*, ed. by R. Becksmann, U.-D. Korn, and J. Zahlten (Berlin, 1975), pp. 105–14.

27. Thietmar 1. 18 (Warner, *Ottonian Germany*, pp. 80–81; Holtzmann, *Thietmari Merseburgensis*, p. 25). He also makes the improbable claim that Henry 'improved the work of the ancient Romans in Merseburg with a stone wall'.

28. H.-J. Mrusek, *Drei Deutsche Kathedrale: Merseburg, Naumburg, Meissen* (Wiesbaden, 1981), pp. 27–28; P. Ramm, *Der Merseburger Dom: Seine Baugeschichte nach den Quellen* (Weimar, 1977), pp. 22–38.

29. E. Lehmann and E. Schubert, *Der Meissener Dom* (Berlin, 1968). The situation is no better, if not worse, at the other sees.

30. G. Leopold and E. Schubert, *Der Dom zu Halberstadt bis zum gotischen Neubau* (Berlin, 1984); for ring crypts, see H. Claussen, 'Spätkarolingische Umgangskrypten im Sächsichen Gebiet', in *Karolingische und Ottonische Kunst: Werden, Wesen, Wirkung* (Wiesbaden, 1957), pp. 118–40.

31. G. Althoff, 'Das Gründung des Erzbistums Magdeburg', in *Otto der Grosse*, ed. by Puhle, i, 344–52.

32. Oswald, Schaefer, and Sennhauser, *Vorromanische Kirchenbauten*, pp. 335–36; Jacobsen, Schaefer, and Sennhauser, *Vorromanische Kirchenbauten: Nachtragsband*, pp. 411–12.

33. Werla had a shallow but broad transept: Oswald, Schaefer, and Sennhauser, *Vorromanische Kirchenbauten*, pp. 372–33; Jacobsen, Schaefer, and Sennhauser, *Vorromanische Kirchenbauten: Nachtragsband*, p. 456.

34. G. Leopold, *Die Kirche St. Wiperti in Quedlinberg. Pfarrkirche-Pfalzkapelle-Stiftskirche* (Köln, 1995). The church was rebuilt, after 936, as a cruciform, aisled collegiate church, into which the current crypt was inserted about 1000.

35. G. Althoff, 'Gandersheim und Quedlinburg: Ottonische Frauenklöster als Herrschafts- und Überlieferungszentren', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 25 (1991), 123–44.

36. K. Voigtländer, *Die Stiftskirche St Servatii zu Quedlinburg. Geschichte ihrer Restaurierung und Ausstattung* (Berlin, 1989), particularly for the restoration and historiography; G. Leopold, 'Die Stiftskirche der Königin Mathilde in Quedlinburg: Ein Vorbericht zum Gründungsbau des Damenstifts', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 25 (1991), 145–70. A recent discussion of the development of the churches is in Leopold, 'Archäologische Ausgrabungen', pp. 34–39. The aisleless church may have served as a model for St Pantaleon in Cologne and St Patrokli in Soest; it has been suggested the walls were decorated with blind arcades. Leopold, 'Archäologische Ausgrabungen', p. 35 and n. 10. Three rather crudely classicizing capitals were excavated in the 1930s, cat. nos VI-44, VI-45, and VI-46 in M. Brandt and A. Eggebrecht, eds, *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen* (Hildesheim, 1993), ii, 375–76.

37. Thietmar 7. 31 (Warner, *Ottonian Germany*, p. 329; Holtzmann, *Thietmari Merseburgensis*, pp. 434–37); J. W. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany c. 936–1075* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 248–52.

38. G. Leopold, 'Archaologische Forschungen an mittelalterlichen Bauten', in *Denkmale in Sachsen-Anhalt* (Weimar, 1983), pp. 170–73; G. Leopold and E. Schubert, 'Die Ottonische Kirche in Memleben, Geschichte und Gestalt', in *Kaiserin Theophanu: Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, ed. by A. von Euw and P. Schreiner, 2 vols (Koln, 1991), II, 371–82, all with an early dating of the building. The later date is given by, for example, M. Untermann, 'Die ottonische Kirchenruine in Memleben', in *Europas Mitte um 1000*, ed. by A. Wieczorek and H.-M. Hinz (Stuttgart, 2000), II, 758–60, also with comments on difficulties with the reconstruction. On historical circumstances see also J. Ehlers, 'Otto II und Kloster Memleben', *Sachsen und Anhalt*, 18 (1994), 51–82.

39. If the cathedral of Magdeburg was bipolar, then it would be the most likely source.

40. Puhle, *Otto der Grosse*, I, cat. no. II. 11, pp. 27–29 (S. Breitling). Graf Lothar was Thietmar of Merseburg's grandfather.

41. Oswald, Schaefer, and Sennhauser, *Vorromanische Kirchenbauten*, p. 82; F. Oswald, 'Beobachtungen zu den Grundungsbauten Markgraf Geros in Gernrode und Frose', *Kunstchronik*, 18 (1965), 29–37, esp. pp. 34–37.

42. Recently K. Voigtlander, *Die Stiftskirche zu Gernrode und ihre Restaurierung, 1858–1872* (Berlin, 1982); W. Erdman, W. Jacobsen, C. Kosch, and D. von Winterfeld, 'Neue Untersuchungen an der Stiftskirche Gernrode', in *Bernwardinische Kunst*, ed. by M. Gosebruch and F. Steigerwald (Gottingen, 1988), pp. 245–85.

43. Voigtländer, *Gernrode*, pp. 40–46; the transept galleries date from the twelfth century.

44. A possibility strengthened by the difficulty in reconciling the heights of the roofs of choir and transepts without one. Erdman and others, 'Neue Untersuchungen', pp. 260–62.

45. H. Zomer, 'The So-called Womens' Gallery in the Medieval Church: An Import from Byzantium?', in *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millenium*, ed. by A. Davids (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 290–306.

46. R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, rev. edn (with Slobodan Ćurčić) (New Haven, 1986), p. 336, who suggests they may have been inspired by contemporary galleried buildings in Bulgaria.

47. Erdman and others, 'Neue Untersuchungen', pp. 265–69.

48. Krautheimer, *Early Christian*, pp. 268–72.

49. For St Maximin see the essay by Sanderson in this volume.

50. 'turris continens oratorium sancti Pauli apostoli', 'Notae Dedicationem s. Maximini Treverensis', ed. by G. Pertz, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, 15.2 (Hannover, 1888), p. 1270.

51. A. Neyses, 'Die Fruhottonische Abteikirche St Maximin in Trier, Vorbericht zu den jungsten und Bauforschungen des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Trier', *Kunstchronik*, 42 (1989), 102–09, for a continuous gallery. An alternative reconstruction, with galleries like enclosed transepts, is given by J. Sistig, *Die Architektur der Abteikirche St Maximin zu Trier im Lichte ottonischer Klosterreform* (Kassel, 1995), pp. 89–94.

52. See U. Lobbedey in *799 Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit: Karl der Große und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn*, ed. by C. Stiegemann and M. Wemhoff, vol. II (Mainz, 1999), pp. 553–55.

53. Sistig, *St Maximin*, pp. 95–98.

54. Voigtländer, *Gernrode*, pp. 65–68; Erdman and others, 'Neue Untersuchungen', pp. 269–78.

55. The standard text is still H. Beseler and H. Roggenkamp, *Die Michaeliskirche in Hildesheim* (Berlin, 1954); more recently J. Cramer, W. Jacobsen, and D. von Winterfeld, 'Die Michaeliskirche' in *Bernward*, ed. by Brandt and Eggebrecht, I, 369–82; J. Cramer and D. von Winterfeld, 'Die Entwicklung des Westchores von St. Michael im Zusammenhang mit der Heiligsprechung Bernwards', in *Der Vergrabene Engel*, ed. by M. Brandt (Mainz, 1995), pp. 13–29.

56. Cramer, Jacobsen, and von Winterfeld, 'Die Michaeliskirche', p. 369.

57. Sometimes it is also described as presenting a square schematism, but for irregularities in the areas defined by the architectural supports see E. C. Fernie, 'The Grid System and the Design of Winchester Cathedral', in *Design, Meaning and Metrology* (London, 1995), pp. 336–43.

58. G. Stracke, 'St Michael zu Hildesheim, Überlegungen zur Anordnung der Altare in der Bernwardbasilika des 11. Jahrhunderts', in *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien: Hugo Borger zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by K. G. Beuckers, H. Brülls, and A. Preiss (Weimar, 1995), pp. 68–87.

59. Revelations 21. 14: 'And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.'

60. For the foundation stones see Brandt and Eggebrecht, *Bernward*, II, 533–34.

61. For Willigis see A. Gerlich and others, 'Willigis und seine Zeit', in *1000 Jahre Mainzer Dom (975–1975): Werden und Wandel*, ed. by W. Jung (Mainz, 1975), pp. 23–73.

62. Jacobsen, Schaefer, and Sennhauser, *Vorromanische Kirchenbauten: Nachtragsband*, pp. 263–64.

63. Jacobsen, Schaefer, and Sennhauser, *Vorromanische Kirchenbauten: Nachtragsband*, pp. 261–62; K. H. Esser, 'Der Mainzer Dom des Erzbishofs Willigis', in *Willigis und sein Dom*, ed. by A. Brück (Mainz, 1975), pp. 135–84; F. Arens, *Der Dom zu Mainz*, rev. edn (Darmstadt, 1998). Whether the transept was continuous or regular is unclear: Esser (pp. 147–49) argued for a defined crossing; the reconstruction in Jacobsen, Lobbedey, and von Winterfeld, 'Ottonische Baukunst', pp. 280–81, gives a continuous one.

64. Esser, 'Der Mainzer Dom', pp. 145–46.

65. U. Mende, *Die Bronzeturen des Mittelalters 800–1200* (Munich, 1983), Mainz, pp. 25–27.

66. D. von Winterfeld, *Die Kaiserdome Speyer, Mainz, Worms und ihr romanisches Umland* (Regensburg, 2000), pp. 175–206.

67. D. Chavalley, ed., *Der Dom zu Augsburg* (Munich, 1995), pp. 20–63.

68. For Henry's patronage of Bamberg see also Garrison, Chapter 3 below.

69. Thietmar 6. 30–32 (Warner, *Ottonian Germany*, pp. 257–59; Holtzmann, *Thietmari Merseburgensis*, pp. 310–13).

70. Grodecki, *L'architecture ottonienne*, pp. 292–93; For Bamberg, see D. von Winterfeld, *Der Dom in Bamberg*, vol. I, *Die Baugeschichte bis zur Vollendung ins 13 Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1979), pp. 16–29 (with Walter Sage).

71. J. Fabien, *Der Dom zu Eichstätt* (Worms, 1989), pp. 18–19; M. Untermann, *Der Zentralbau im Mittelalter: Form-Funktion-Verbreitung* (Darmstadt, 1989), pp. 246–47. For doubts on the function of the crypt see U. Rosner, *Die Ottonische Krypta* (Köln, 1991), p. 274.

72. For the extension to the east, see F. Mühlberg, *Köln: St Pantaleon und sein Ort in der karolingischen und ottonischen Baukunst* (Köln, 1989), pp. 122–40; for the western block, see pp. 141–77; G. Binding, 'Ottonische Baukunst in Köln', in *Kaiserin Theophanu*, ed. by von Euw and Schreiner, I, 281–98, at pp. 282–92.

73. Mühlberg, *St Pantaleon*, p. 163.

74. M. Stansbury-O'Donnell, 'The Shape of the Church: The Relationship of Architecture, Art and Liturgy at the Cathedral of Trier' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1990), esp. pp. 143–75; for non-architectural patronage, see T. Head, 'Art and Artifice in Ottonian Trier', *Gesta*, 36 (1997), 65–82.

75. H. G. Marschall, *Die Kathedrale von Verdun* (Saarbrucken, 1981), esp. pp. 53–55 and pp. 65–92.

76. M. Otte, ed., *Les fouilles de la Place Saint-Lambert à Liège*, 4 vols (Liège, 1984–92); Lex Bosman, 'Der Dom zu Köln als Vorbild der Kathedrale Bishof Notgers in Lüttich', *Kölner Domblatt*, 56 (1991), 245–58. Lambert was martyred at an altar dedicated to Sts Cosmas and Damien.

77. Kubach and Verbeek, *Romanische Baukunst*, II, 706–09.

78. Bosman describes him as a 'Liègeois Brun'; for Notger see G. Kurth, *Notger de Liège et la civilisation au X^e^ siècle*, 2 vols (Paris, 1905).

79. H. Roth and E. Warners, eds, *Hessen im Frühmittelalter: Archäologie und Kunst* (Sigmaringen, 1984), pp. 300–07. The chapel dedicated to St John in the middle of the east side of the eastern atrium was dedicated in 973.

80. W. Jacobsen, U. Lobbedey, and A. Kleine-Tebbe, 'Der Hildesheimer Dom zur Zeit Bernwards', in *Bernward*, ed. by Brandt and Eggebrecht, I, 299–311.

81. H. P. Neuheuser, 'Der Kölner Dom unter Erzbischof Bruno', in *Kaiserin Theophanu*, ed. by von Euw and Schreiner, I, 299–310.

82. G. Hauser, 'Abschied vom Hildebold-Dom: Die Bauzeit des Alten Domes aus archäologischer Sicht', *Kölner Domblatt*, 56 (1991), 209–28.

83. For a later dating of the aisles see K. G. Beuckers, 'Die Erweiterung des Alten Kölner Domes: Überlegungen zu Gestalt und Datierung der äusseren Seitenschiffer und der Südvorhalle', in *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien*, ed. by Beuckers, Brülls, and Preiss, pp. 9–67.

84. F. Oswald, *Würzburger Kirchenbauten des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts* (Würzburg, 1966), pp. 33–65.

85. Kubach and Verbeek, *Romanische Baukunst*, IV, 90–96.

86. Transept form was one of the main ways in which Grodecki structured *L'architecture ottonienne*. Low transepts were fashionable in the Meuse area in the eleventh century.

87. An overview of Ottonian western structures is to be found in in Jacobsen, Lobbedey, and von Winterfeld, 'Ottonische Baukunst', pp. 270–74 (by Uwe Lobbedey).

88. The most recent overview of westworks in general is D. von Schönfeld de Reyes, *Westwerkprobleme: Zur Bedeutung der Westwerke in der kunsthistorischen Forschung* (Wiemar, 1999); the historiography of the 'reduced' westwork is dealt with pp. 35–42. One of his conclusions (p. 110) is that 'the term "westwork" is not useful for the classification of western structures'. For earlier interpretations see A. Fuchs, 'Zum Probleme der Westwerke', in *Karolingische und Ottonische Kunst*, pp. 109–17 (westwork as *Kaiserkirche*); C. Heitz, *Récherches sur les rapports entre architecture et liturgie à l'epoque carolingienne* (Paris, 1963), concentrating primarily on liturgy; and F. Möbius, *Westwerkstudien* (Jena, 1968).

89. See Sanderson, Chapter 4, Gittos, Chapter 5, and Krüger, Chapter 8, below.

90. For these buildings see U. Lobbedey, *Die Ausgrabungen im Dom zu Paderborn 1978/80 und 1983*, 4 vols (Bonn, 1986), I, 170–77, with discussions of Freckenhorst, pp. 211–12, and Neuenheerse, pp. 212–16. Lobbedey's discussion, also rather negative, of the purpose of the structures is on p. 177. The discovery of the Freckenhorst western apse post-dates this publication; von Schönfield de Reyes, *Westwerkprobleme*, pp. 93–100.

91. Also without a vault on the lower storey, H. Borger, 'Zum Baugeschichte des Werdener Westwerks', in *Kunstdenkmäler des Rheinlandes: Die Kirchen zu Essen-Werden*, ed. by W. Zimmermann, Beiheft, 7 (Essen, 1959), pp. 71–159. The reconstruction of the internal divisions is still debated.

92. *Gesta Episcoporum Halbestadensium*, ed. by G. Pertz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, 23 (Hannover, 1874), pp. 87–88.

93. Thietmar, 6. 98 (Warner, *Ottonian Germany*, p. 302; Holtzmann, *Thietmari Merseburgensis*, pp. 390–91).

94. Mühlberg, *St Pantaleon*, p. 160, describes it as the 'culmination of the history of westworks'. He is also insistent on the positioning of an imperial throne in the western gallery, though there is no evidence for one there. He also compares the structure to a centralized mausoleum, such as that of Galla Placidia (p. 166).

95. Lobbedey, *Dom zu Paderborn*, pp. 175–76, excludes St Pantaleon from his group, for formal reasons as well as doubts about the date.

96. See Krüger, Chapter 8 below.

97. Rosner, *Ottonische Krypta*; U. Lobbedey, 'Ottonische Krypten: Bemerkungen zum Forschungsstand an Hand ausgewählter Beispiele', in *Herrschaftsrepräsentation*, ed. by Schubert and Althoff, pp. 77–102; Jacobsen, Lobbedey, and von Winterfeld, 'Ottonische Baukunst', pp. 274–79.

98. Such as Meschede: Lobbedey, 'Ottonische Krypten', pp. 81–89; more generally Rosner, *Ottonische Krypta*, pp. 15–23.

99. Rosner, *Ottonische Krypta*, pp. 331–34.

100. Lobbedey, 'Ottonische Krypten', pp. 93–97, for discussion of the function of the *confessio*.

101. Jacobsen, Lobbedey, and Kleine-Tebbe, 'Der Hildesheimer Dom zur Zeit Bernwards', pp. 299–311, esp. p. 307.

102. Rosner, *Ottonische Krypta*, pp. 284–88 (Bamberg) and pp. 309–18 (Hildesheim).

103. Leopold, *Kirche St. Wiperti*, pp. 13–17.

104. Lobbedey, 'Ottonische Krypten', pp. 98–101. Apart from the altar to the Virgin it contained many relics.

105. A. Verbeek. 'Die Aussenkrypta. Werden einer Bauform des frühen Mittelalters', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 13 (1950), 7–38; for matters relating to Trier, see W. Sanderson, 'Monastic Reform in Lorraine and the Architecture of the Outer Crypt, 950–1100', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s., 61.6 (1971), 1–46; for Regensburg, see F. Mader, *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Oberpfalz, XII/i Stadt Regensburg Dom und St Emmeram* (Munich, 1933), pp. 286–290.

106. L.-F. Genicot, 'Les cryptes exterieures du pays Mosan au XI^{e} siècle: reflet typologique du passé carolingien?', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 22 (1979), 337–47.

107. H. Reuther, 'Steinbearbeitung und Steinverband an St Michael', in *Bernwardinische Kunst*, ed. by Gosebruch and Steigerwald, pp. 237–44; G. Mietke, *Die Bautätigkeit Bischof Meinwerks von Paderborn und die frühchristliche und byzantinische Architektur* (Paderborn, 1991), pp. 30–36; Erdman and others, 'Neue Untersuchungen', pp. 279–81.

108. Mühlberg, *St Pantaleon*, pp. 148–52; note, however, that for Lobbedey the sophistication of the decoration at St Pantaleon indicates a later date, Lobbedey, *Dom zu Paderborn*, pp. 175–76, n. 10.

109. M. Untermann ' "opere mirabili constructa." Die Aachener "Residenz" Karls des Grossen', in *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit*, ed. by Stiegemann and Wemhof, III, 152–64.

110. H. Feldtkeller, 'Neue Forschungen zur Baugeschichte der Drübecker Stiftskirche', *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, 4 (1950), 105–24; C.-H. Seebach, 'Kloster Drübeck', *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, 7 (1968), 43–64; H. Schaefer, *Der Gründungsbau der Stiftskirche in Zyfflich* (Essen, 1963).

111. Mietke, *Die Bautätigkeit*, pp. 51–59.

112. G. Vorbrot, 'Das Ottonische "Figurenkapitelle" in Gernrode', *Die Mitte: Jahrbuch für Geschichte, Kunst-und Kulturgeschichte des mitteldeutschen Raums*, 2 (1960), 191–98; Schaefer, *Zyfflich*, pp. 173–89.

113. Beseler and Roggenkamp, *Die Michaeliskirche*, pp. 73–75; Schaefer, *Zyfflich*, pp. 158–60.

114. R. Meyer, *Frühmittelalterliche Kapitelle und Kämpfer in Deutschland*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1997), I, 211–13, 243–46, 250–53, 502–05; the standard discussions of capitals in our era are E. Licht, *Ottonische und frühromanische Kapitelle in Deutschland* (Marburg, 1936); H. Weigart, 'Das Kapitelle in der Deutschen Baukunst des Mittelalters', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 5 (1937), 4–46.

115. Jacobsen, Schaefer, and Sennhauser, *Vorromanische Kirchenbauten: Nachtragsband*, p. 164.

116. Thietmar, 2. 32 (Warner, *Ottonian Germany*, p. 115; Holtzmann, *Thietmari Merseburgensis*, pp. 78–81). For the archaeology of the building, see U. Boeck, 'Neue Funde zur frühen Baugeschichte des Domes von Verden', *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, 7 (1968), 11–42.

117. Thietmar 7. 31 (Warner, *Ottonian Germany*, p. 329; Holtzmann, *Thietmari Merseburgensis*, pp. 434–37 (Verden)). Thietmar 2. 42 (Warner, *Ottonian Germany*, pp. 122–23; Holtzmann, *Thietmari Merseburgensis*, pp. 90–91 (Heeslingen)).

118. Thietmar 2. 28 (Warner, *Ottonian Germany*, p. 113; Holtzmann, *Thietmari Merseburgensis*, pp. 72–75). Herman also slept in the emperor's bed.

119. The literature on this subject is vast; see recently B. Schneidmüller, 'Otto III – Heinrich II. Wende der Königsherrschaft oder Wende der Mediaevistik?', in *Otto III. – Heinrich II. Eine Wende?*, ed. by B. Schneidmüller and S. Weinfurter (Sigmaringen, 1997), pp. 9–46; S. Weinfurter, 'Otto III und Heinrich II im Vergleich: Ein Resümee', in *Otto III. – Heinrich II.*, ed. by Schneidmüller and Weinfurter, pp. 387–413.

120. Beumann, 'Entschädigung von Halberstadt und Mainz', suggests that a renewal of papal privileges for Mainz, relating to the coronation and metropolitan status, were part of the price demanded for the acceptance of the new archbishopric in Magdeburg. For the cultivation of interest in Boniface in our period, see F. Staad, 'Die Mainzer Kirche. Konzeption und Verwirklichung in der Bonifatius- und Theorestradition', in *Die Salier und das Reich. II Die Reichskirche in der Salierzeit*, ed. by S. Weinfurter and F. M. Siefurth (Sigmaringen, 1992), pp. 31–78.

121. For crosses of churches see Herzog, *Die Ottonische Stadt*, pp. 241–51.

122. For this column, and other similar columns see E. den Hartog, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in the Meuse Valley* (Leeuwarden, 1992), p. 35 and pp. 42–46.

123. A. Verbeek, 'Zentralbauten in der Nachfolge der Aachener Pfalzkapelle', in *Das Erste Jahrtausend: Kunst und Kultur im Werdenden Abendland an Rhein und Ruhr*, ed. by U. Elbern, 3 vols (Düsseldorf, 1962–64), II, 898–947 (pp. 912–13).

124. Verbeek, 'Zentralbauten' remains the principal study, his list modified by the exclusion of Mettlach, on the grounds put forward by Singleton (see below), and Bruges, on the grounds that it was probably earlier; X. Barral i Altet, *Belgique romane* (La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1989), p. 139.

125. Verbeek, 'Zentralbauten', pp. 919–21.

126. J. Shaffer, 'Recreating the Past: Aachen and the Problem of the Architectural "Copy" ' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1992), pp. 182–228; den Hartog, *Romanesque Architecture*, pp. 33–55, accepts the building as a copy of Aachen, although she acknowledges some element of imitation of the topography of Jerusalem.

127. Kurth, *Notger de Liège*; Herzog, *Die Ottonische Stadt*, is the classic discussion of the development of cities in our period; see pp. 102–46 for discussion of episcopal activity.

128. Singleton, 'Köln-Deutz', pp. 49–54.

129. H. Fussbroich, 'St Heribert', in *Köln: die romanischen Kirchen. Von den Anfängen bis zum zweiten Weltkrieg*, ed. by H. Kier and U. Krings (Köln, 1984), pp. 549–56. Binding, 'Ottonische Baukunst', pp. 293–96.

130. Fussbroich, 'St Heribert', proposes that all traces of the first building were effaced.

131. Singleton, 'Köln-Deutz', who proposes additional derivations from the Pantheon, as well as more usual associations with Aachen, especially in the form of the facade. Singleton grounds this in the awareness of the antique in the court of Otto III, though a *Passio* roughly contemporary with the construction of the Deutz church attributes the construction of St Gereon to St Helen, mother of Constantine, which might provide antique associations enough.

132. P. Jezler, 'Gab es in Konstanz ein ottonisches Osterspiel? Die Mauritius-Rotunde in ihre Kultische Funktion als Sepulchrum Domini', in *Variorum Munera Florum: Latinität als prägende Kraft mittelalterlicher Kultur. Festschrift für Hans F. Haefele zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. by A. Reinle, L. Schmigge, and P. Stotz (Sigmaringen, 1985), pp. 91–128.

133. Mietke, *Die Bautätigkeit*, pp. 118–216.

134. Untermann, *Zentralbau*, pp. 58–60. That at Reichenau housed a relic of the Holy Blood, acquired in 923. Altars to the Virgin and St John flanked the altar of the Holy Cross, as in a representation of the crucifixion. A. F. Zettler, *Die Frühen Klosterbauten der Reichenau: Ausgrabungen-Schriftquellen-St. Galler Klosterplan* (Sigmaringen, 1988), pp. 180–81.

135. Herzog, *Die Ottonische Stadt*, pp. 241–51, for crosses of churches.

136. H. Maurer, 'Kirchengründung und Romgedanke am Beispiel des ottonischen Bischofsitzes Konstanz', in *Bischofs -und Kathedralstädte des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by F. Petri (Köln, 1976), pp. 46–59.

137. 'Situs autem eiusdem templi ad occidentalem plagam versus est secundamque formam basilicae principis apostolorum Romae constructam formatum est', from a twelfth-century *Vita* of the bishop: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, 10, ed. by G. Pertz (Hannover, 1852), p. 587. For the building, see R. Sigg Gilstad, 'Beiträge zur Baugeschichte der ersten und zweiten Klosterkirchen von Petershausen', in *1000 Jahre Petershausen. Beiträge zur Kunst und Geschichte der Benediktinerabtei in Konstanz* (Konstanz, 1983), pp. 41–61, (pp. 41–47). The building does not otherwise seem to have resembled St Peter's. The suggestion that the site might recall St Peter's is from H. Maurer, *Konstanz als ottonischer Bischofssitz. Zum Selbstverständnis geistlichen Fürstentums im 10. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1973), pp. 64–69.

3. Henry II's *Renovatio* in the Pericope Book and Regensburg Sacramentary

ELIZA GARRISON

The establishment of the bishopric of Bamberg in 1007 was the result of a series of calculated political manoeuvres on the part King Henry II, who laid the cornerstone for the town cathedral on 6 May of the same year. Exactly five years later to the day, on the king's thirty-ninth birthday, he consecrated the finished structure in the presence of forty-five bishops —nearly the entire royal episcopate—together with Patriarch John of Aquileia and the two sisters of his predecessor, Emperor Otto III.[1] Henry II's dedication of Bamberg Cathedral and his devotion to this site fit into a long tradition of royal patronage at sites of power. He drew upon specific historical models of artistic patronage and coordinated them as a means of creating a personalized, hybrid artistic and cultural legacy that would resonate from the borders of his kingdom, and from Bavarian soil.[2]

The dedication of the cathedral in May of 1012 also included the establishment and consecration of the cathedral treasury, whose contents were used on this day to formalize the series of dedicatory acts of which Henry II was ultimately the primary focus. The treasury he created at Bamberg is widely presented as paradigmatic in the history of Ottonian art; for many scholars, it is its finest achievement, its teleological endpoint.[3] The works stand thus at the end of an art-historical subgroup that fits neatly into a seamless material history of a nascent German art.[4] Upon close inspection, however, this group of objects reveals neither a direct continuity nor a strict adherence to works of the recent past, but rather a refinement and careful alteration of established artistic forms on the one hand, and a reintroduction of older traditions on the other. As such, these works nuance, indeed complicate, the historical understanding of Ottonian art because of the innovations they contain.

Henry II intended the small town of Bamberg to be a new Rome, and that city's two primary Christian patrons, Peter and Paul, were invoked as its chief protectors.[5] Perhaps even the town's geography, with its seven hills, seemed to follow its southern model perfectly.[6] The king, formerly duke of Bavaria, chose Bamberg as the centre of his new realm, which he was still trying to expand eastward through persistent military battles with the duke and erstwhile king of Poland and Bohemia, Boleslaw Chrobry. The literature dedicated to Henry II and Bamberg makes consistent mention of the function of the new bishopric in linking Bavaria and Saxony, along with Bamberg's location on a heathen frontier.[7] The new episcopal see also connected the nearby bishoprics of Würzburg and Regensburg, thus fortifying the eastern border of the kingdom—if we are to believe that the diverse groups of pagans in the area posed a serious threat—while leaving open the possibility of eventual geographical expansion in newly Christianized territory.[8]

The elevation of Bamberg was therefore historically self-conscious; it immediately raised the status of Henry II's rule and assured the preservation of his memory after his death. There was much at stake for the king in his elevation of Bamberg, and the final dedication ceremony in 1012 lay at the end of a decade

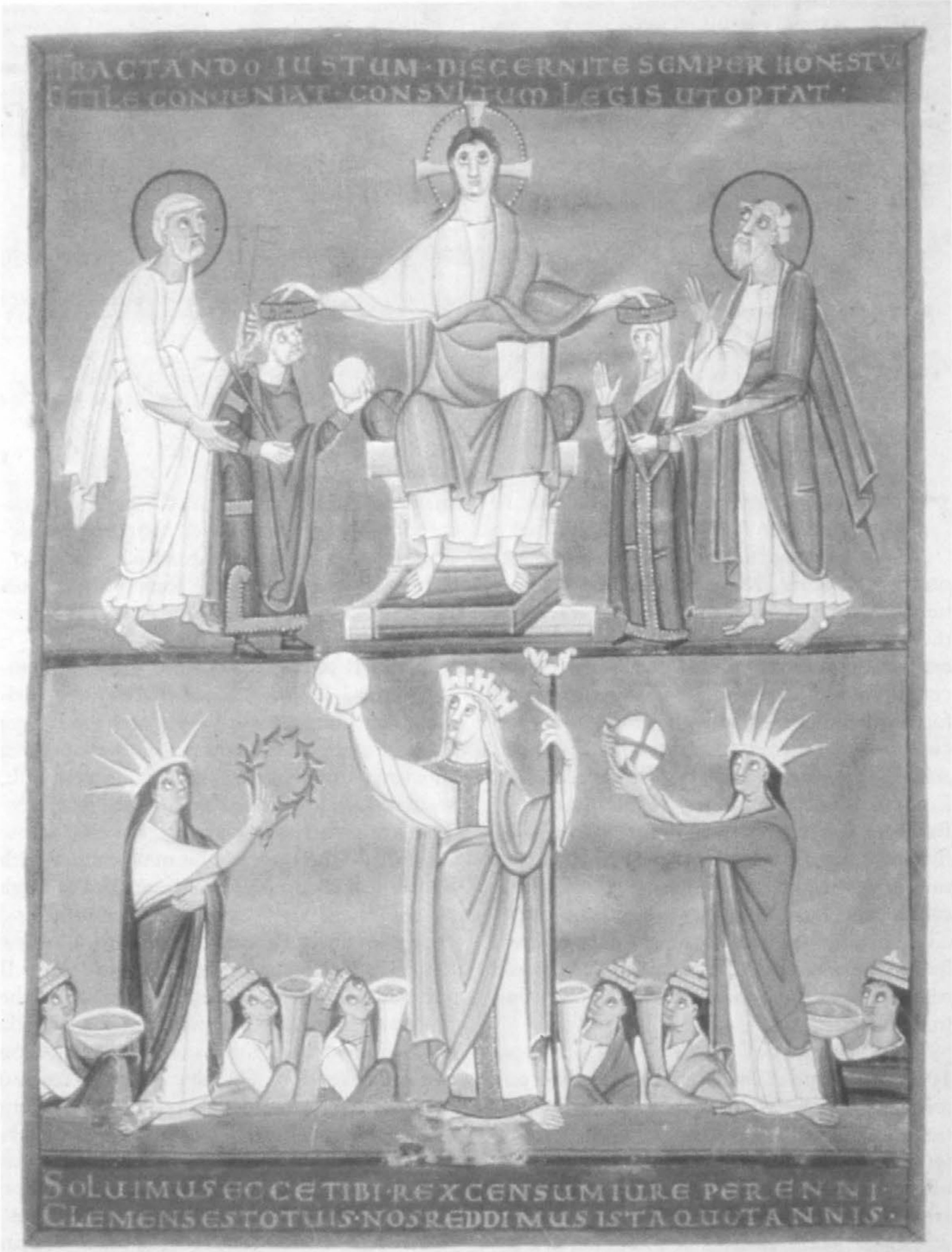

TRACTANDO IUSTUM · DISCERNITE SEMPER HONESTU·
UTILE CONVENIAT · CONSULTUM LEGIS UT OPTAT ·
SOLUIMUS ECCE TIBI · REX CENSUM IURE PERENNI ·
CLEMENS ESTO TUIS · NOS REDDIMUS ISTA QUOTANNIS ·

Fig. 32. Christ Crowns Henry II and Kunigunde, Pericope Book of Henry II, folio 2^{r}; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4452.

fraught with external and internal political battles that resulted in a consolidation of royal power north of the Alps. Further, the treasury objects formed a repository of artistic models that later rulers would in turn connect themselves to, as the king himself had done in its organization and assembly. The encyclopaedic collection of works donated on this day had the capacity to retell in visual and material terms a history of Henry II's reign. The treasury was a material self-portrait, wherein the king's rule was not only represented by *Herrscherbilder* contained in the pages of the manuscripts commissioned for the new treasury, but also by the individual histories, provenances, and structural organization of the objects themselves.[9] The works deposited here represented a variety of artistic traditions from all over the kingdom, many of which the king had procured by force and coercion, including a number of Carolingian and Byzantine objects removed from Otto III's treasury, some of which were reconfigured and reintegrated into new commissions.[10] Of course, it is unclear whether Henry II and Queen Kunigunde, his wife, knew that the Bamberg treasury laid the groundwork for their eventual canonizations, but they must have known that their patronage assured a long-lasting historical connection to the site.[11] Images of Henry II and inscriptions that praise his rule were part of a larger campaign to represent, describe, and indeed reify geographical and political control from a centralized—though not central—location.

This brief study will focus on three *Herrscherbilder* of Henry II found in the Pericope Book (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4452) and the Regensburg Sacramentary (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4456). Both manuscripts were donated to Bamberg Cathedral on the occasion of its dedication in 1012. At issue here is why specific styles and subject matter were chosen for donation to this site, and how these careful selections can shed light on the historical understanding of Henry II's rule and patronage in general. These images, and the books to which they belong, all bear testimony to his consolidation of rule and his attempts to revive the cultural and political glory of the kingdom of the Eastern Franks, whose last leaders were not only Carolingians but, like the king himself, also Bavarians.[12]

Elevating Bamberg: A Summary

Henry II's reorganization of intact power structures included a reconfiguration of land rights.[13] Indeed, the political footing upon which Bamberg Cathedral's, and by direct extension its benefactor's, foundation rested was so complicated as to be, at least at the beginning, tenuous, and it was only solidified through the king's use of political force. Henry II, according to all accounts, had always favoured Bamberg and had presented it while he was still Duke of Bavaria to Kunigunde as early as 1000 as part of her dower.[14] Henry II's faithful chronicler Thietmar of Merseburg reports that from the moment of his coronation the new king began hatching plans to make a bishopric out of Bamberg.[15]

Bamberg and its surrounding lands had been possessions of the bishopric of Würzburg since the ninth century, and rearrangement of this territory was only possible with the permission of St Kilian, the town's patron saint. Naturally, it was Bishop Henry of Würzburg (d. 1018) who enjoyed direct access to St Kilian's favour. In hindsight, it appears that the bishop realized the difficulty of his situation and agreed to give up Bamberg in exchange for 150 individual farming tracts near Meiningen. Shortly after the king had already dedicated two provisional altars in the future cathedral at Bamberg, on 25 May 1007, Archbishop Willigis of Mainz and other bishops—all of whom were political supporters of Henry II—approved the elevation of Bamberg as a bishopric in a quickly organized synod. Bishop Henry presented the king with his episcopal staff as a binding symbol of his official compliance with this land transfer, with the condition that Würzburg be simultaneously elevated to the status of archbishopric, thereby assuring the legal subordination of the future bishop of Bamberg to his more established neighbour.

It is unclear whether Henry of Würzburg naïvely believed in Henry II's intention to use his personal influence to represent the bishop's wishes at this meeting or whether the king consciously manipulated him in order to assure the success of his own political goals. Indeed, had Würzburg received the status of an archbishopric, this would have presented the archbishop of Mainz, a staunch supporter of Henry II, with a new political competitor. Shortly after the May synod, a messenger was sent from Mainz to Rome with a request that Pope John XVIII approve Bamberg's elevation. For his part, the pontiff reiterated Bamberg's ultimate subordination to the archbishopric of Mainz—not to Würzburg—thereby dashing completely and officially Würzburg's chances to benefit from Bamberg's new status. As soon as Bishop Henry received this news, he rescinded his compliance with the land transfer, a decision

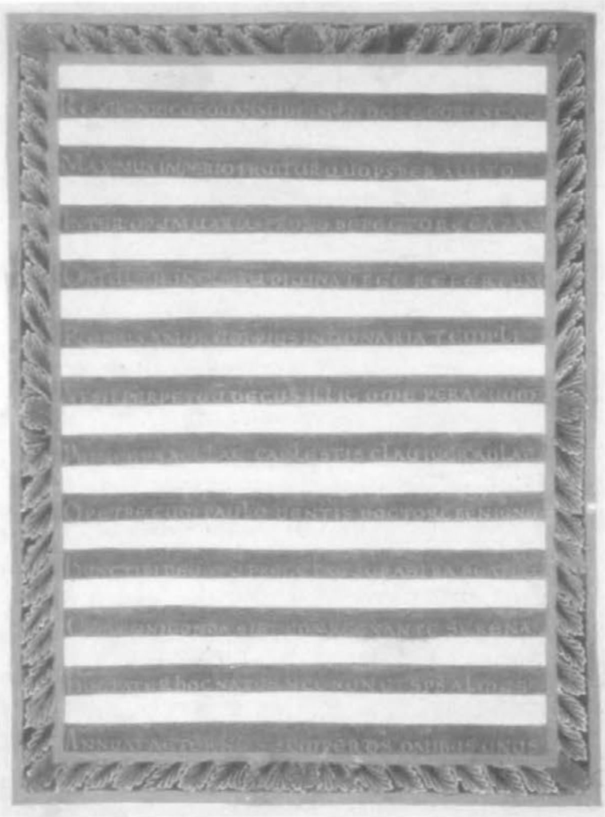


Fig. 33. Dedication Inscription, Pericope Book of Henry II, folio 1^{v}; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4452.

supported by other local bishops. This situation presented new problems for the king and necessitated the arrangement of another episcopal synod that took place on 1 November 1007 in Frankfurt am Main. Unlike the previous synod in Bamberg, the entire royal episcopate was in attendance, with the notable exception of the bishop of Würzburg, who sent his chaplain Berengar. Berengar warned those present not to go against the will of his superior, for this would set a precedent that could endanger the sovereignty of their land rights in the future. The process by which Henry II had forced the elevation of Bamberg jeopardized the fundamental rights of local bishops, and the king's future plans were at that point uncertain. Nevertheless, the king remained in possession of Bishop Henry's staff, a contractually binding symbol of his compliance with his loss of regional control. King Henry II, the centre of and reason for this assembly of bishops, asserted his will at the assembly by repeatedly throwing himself on the ground in penitence, thereby escalating further his control over the proceedings. In the end, the king's wish was fulfilled, his royal power obeyed: Bamberg became a bishopric.

In addition to the lands gained from the bishop of Würzburg, the new bishopric received gifts of land and buildings along with special rights and privileges from the king and others. Bamberg's territorial dominion extended beyond its immediate area: it received landholdings that spread across the entire southern half of the realm. Most of these territories were situated at lucrative traffic points and mountain passes in Bavaria, which at this point extended as far south as Carinthia. In addition to extensive tracts of land, the king's bishopric received control over a large number of cloisters and independent churches.

The Pericope Book (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4452)

The Pericope Book—a text containing excerpts of the gospels arranged according to the liturgical calendar, and possibly the most famous work commissioned expressly for Henry II's new cathedral—was produced at Reichenau between 1007 and 1012 (figs 32–35).[16] It was in all likelihood placed on the main altar of Peter and Paul, either by Bishop Eberhard of Bamberg or by the king himself. While the style of the miniatures is familiar from the *Herrscherbild* in the Gospels of Otto III (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4453) and specific images in the Bamberg Apocalypse (Bamberg Staatsbibliothek Msc. Bibl. 140), the distribution of the images and their formal arrangement are new. The miniatures in the Pericope Book form a continuous narrative that remains uninterrupted by Evangelist portraits; they focus on the Christmas, Easter, and post-Easter cycles and end with a representation of the Last Judgement that, like the dedication image on folios 1^{v} and 2^{r}, takes up two folios. It is the pointed use of two-folio spreads that marks the most dramatic departure from the cycle of illumination in the Gospels of Otto III and a distillation of certain sequences in the Bamberg Apocalypse. The most marked changes in the Pericope Book are formal, and the two-folio spreads represent only the most salient details of the biblical narrative. It is in this way that certain episodes in the gospel narrative are monumentalized. The two-folio spreads are to be understood by the viewer in relation to the dedication image that stands at the beginning of the book.[17]

These changes in form evident in the Pericope Book are curious, for the king, and his advisors, could have requested the more established and familiar representational format favoured by his immediate predecessors in their official Reichenau commissions. However, he did not. It is for this reason that the miniatures in this book should be analysed in light of the substantive changes they reveal, not as the culmination of an Ottonian style, which would be predicated on a dynastic continuity that, particularly in Henry II's case, remains a contentious historical issue.

The representational format of the dedication image in the Pericope Book (fig. 32; folio 2^{r}) is unusual in the existing manuscripts from Reichenau, though it is not unique.[18] The dedication image, which fills most of a folio and has broad, blank edges, is divided into two horizontal registers of equal size; it faces a richly painted inscription that similarly fills up most of the page and tells us that King Henry—whose power derives from an illustrious ancestral lineage—donated this book along with other objects under the protection of Peter and Paul (fig. 33; folio 1^{v}).[19] In general terms, the book is large (42.5 x 32 cm), making the bulk of the images visible from a short distance, especially the narrative scenes that are spread out in a two-page format. In the upper register of the dedication miniature, Christ sits enthroned as he crowns the stooped king and queen, whom Peter and Paul gently push toward him. Henry II grips a small golden sceptre in his right hand, and with his left the king reaches a grey orb to Christ. Queen Kunigunde holds a slightly shorter golden sceptre in her left hand, and raises her right hand to Christ, as Paul does. Three full-length female allegorical figures, possibly of Roma/Italia, Gallia, and Germania, dominate the scene in the lower register, behind whom, at the bottom, stand six half-length female personifications of the subject territories whose lower bodies are obscured by the strip of ground that the large figures stand upon.[20]

The figures in this image are all coordinated in a series of interdependent gestures and actions that underscore, on the one hand, the allegiance and attention of the female figures below to Henry II and, on the other, the allegiance and attention of the royal couple and Peter and Paul to Christ. The governance of the realm, as it appears here, operates not under the watchful eye of the king, but under that of Christ, whose gaze is the only one that looks out of the picture plane. Such an organization is unique, though it certainly aligns well with one of Henry's purported reasons for elevating Bamberg: knowing he would die childless, due perhaps to his notorious sickliness, he and Kunigunde had chosen Christ as their heir.[21] This detail of Henry II's elevation of Bamberg underscores visually his active involvement in the creation of an historical legacy that would emphatically include his personal piety and, ultimately, his sainthood.[22] The Pericope Book dedication image therefore reiterates the spiritual purpose of Bamberg's elevation, while its formal structure reveals a departure from a representational tradition supported by the Ottonians.

Henry II's appearance in the Pericope Book strays somewhat from the tradition of Ottonian ruler portraits, which the dedication miniature of Otto III from the Gospels of Otto III typifies (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4453, folios 23^{v}, 24^{r}; fig. 36).[23] The Gospels were produced for the emperor between 996 and 1000 at Reichenau, only a few years before the Pericope Book and probably in honour of his imperial coronation on Ascension Day in 996; the emperor was sixteen. Otto III donated the book to the imperial chapel treasury at Aachen or to St Peter's in Rome, and Henry II later removed it and other works in order to present them to Bamberg in 1012. The dedication image in the Gospels directly follows the canon tables and is spread out over two facing folios, a departure from the compact single-folio illuminations of primarily miracle scenes in the rest of the book.[24] The young, red-headed emperor sits crowned and enthroned, flanked on either side by representatives of the ecclesiastical and military realms. Female personifications of the subject territories—Sclavinia, Germania, Gallia, and Roma (who is at the front of the pack)—approach him in a coordinated reverential posture and bear him gifts.

It is significant that Henry II selected the Gospels of Otto III and presented the book to Bamberg, thereby binding forever his memory to its history. The Gospels stood in the Bamberg treasury as a precious token of his predecessor's memory and family legacy, and were half of a pair—in terms of their site of production—that the Pericope Book completed.

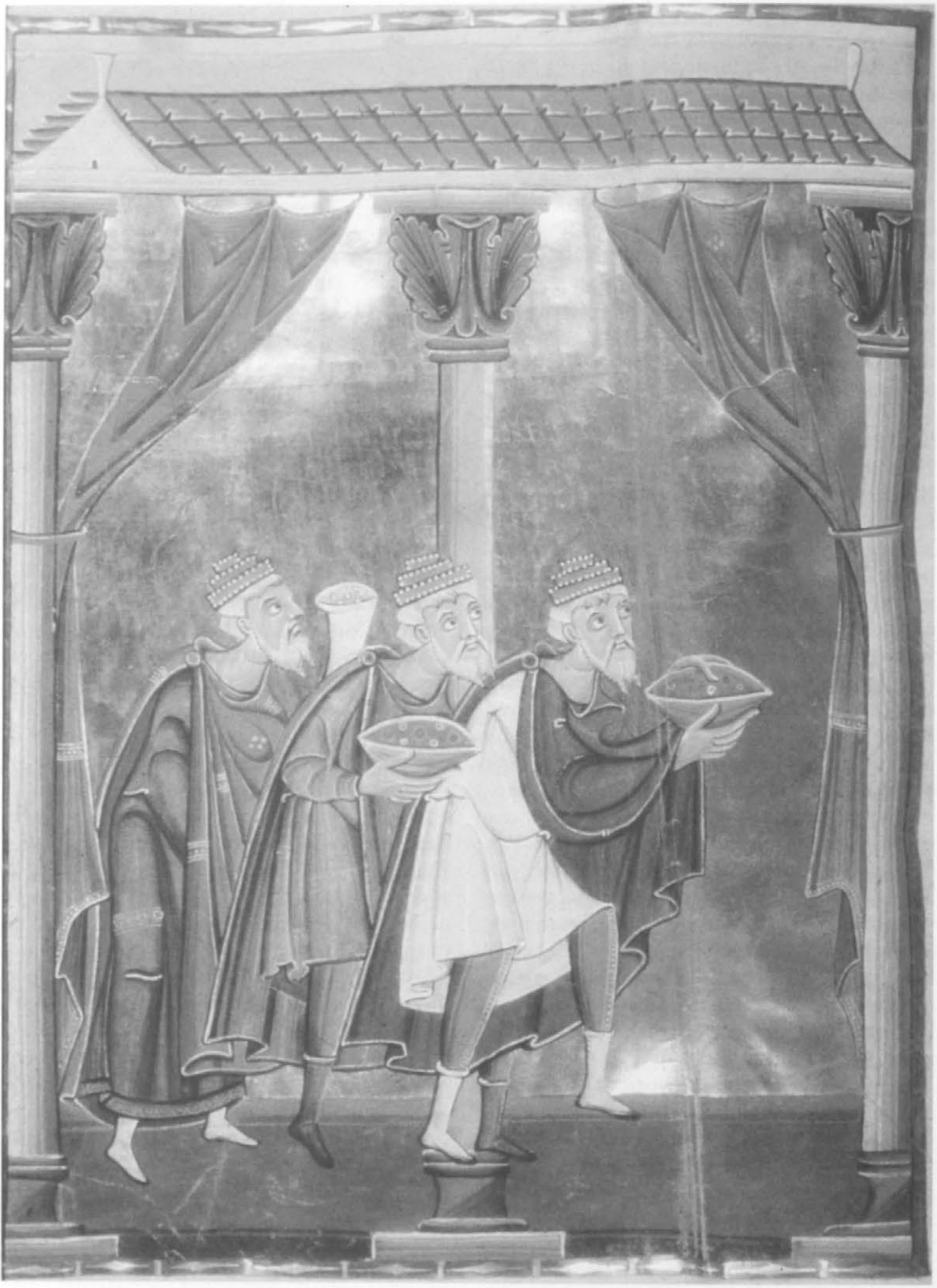


Fig. 34. Three Magi, Pericope Book of Henry II, folio 17ᵛ; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4452.

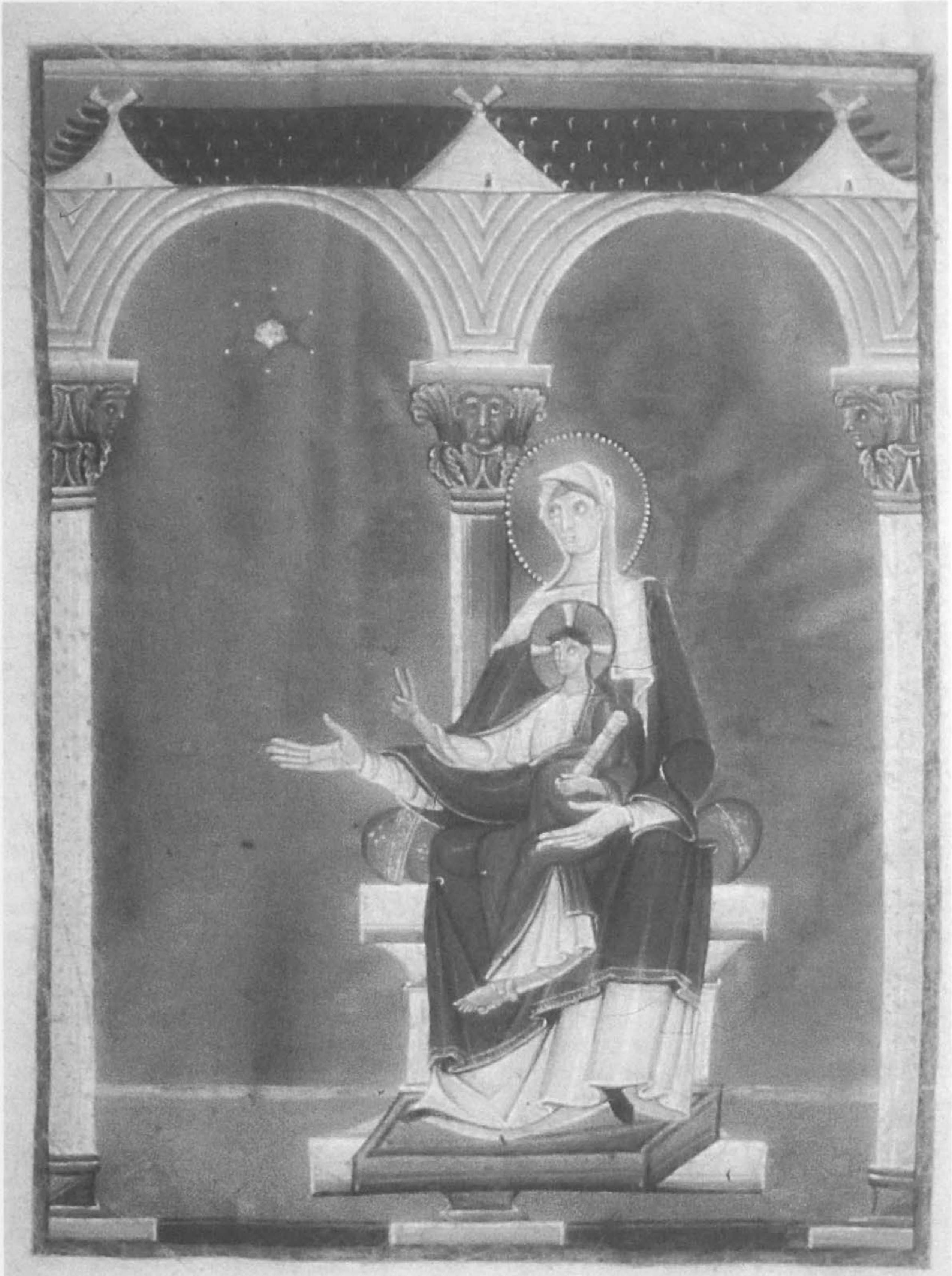


Fig. 35 Mary and Child, Pericope Book of Henry II, folio 18^r, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4452

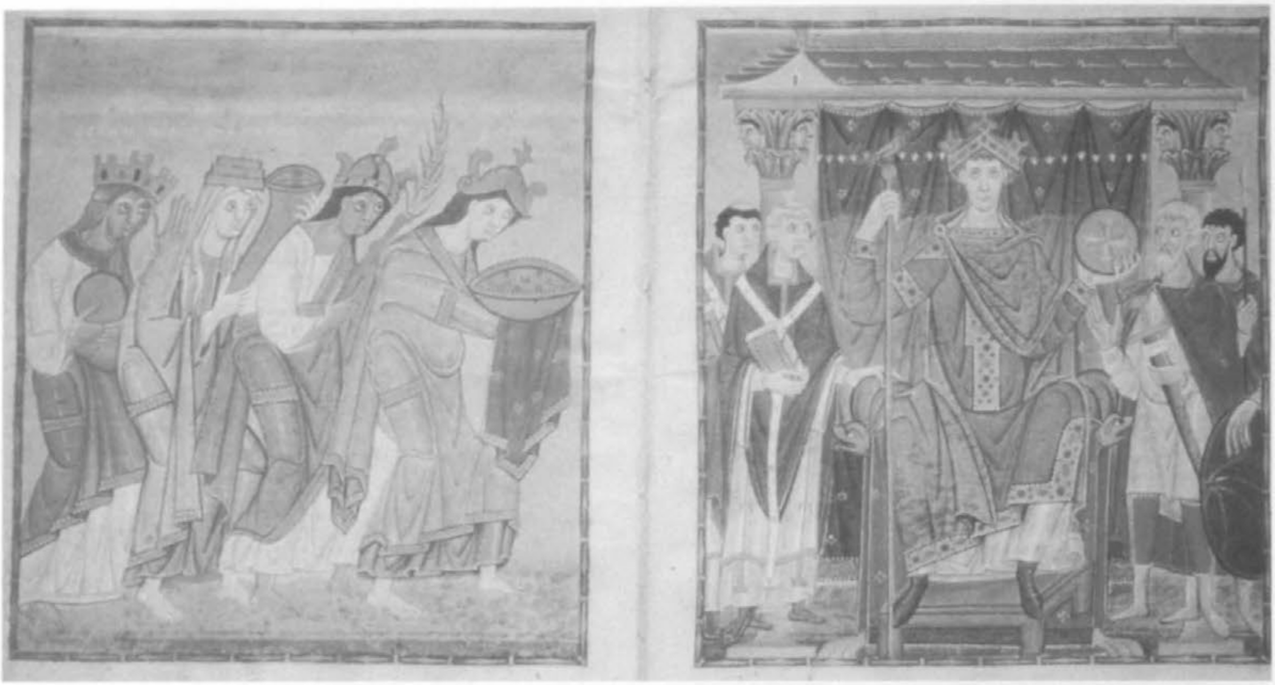


Fig. 36. Subject Territories and Otto III Enthroned, Gospels of Otto III, folios 23^{v}–24^{r}; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4453.

It would have been simple—if not expected—for the Gospels of Otto III to be used as a model for a copy for the Bamberg treasury. However, the Pericope Book, with its shared provenance, exhibits a pointed alteration of established formal structures that are clearly visible in the Gospels. These formal structures are not abandoned entirely, but revised, reconfigured, and turned around; where the Gospels' narrative scenes are compressed onto one folio, that same imagery is monumentalized and spread out over two folios in the Pericope Book (figs 34, 35, 37). By the same token, in the only instance where the Gospels contain a two-folio series—the dedication miniature—the Pericope Book limits the representational surface to one folio with an accompanying inscription. Indeed, considered functionally, and as already noted, pericope books are compressed and shortened versions of the full text of the Gospels, containing only those sections necessary for the performance of the Mass. The relocation of the Gospels of Otto III to Bamberg set the stage for the creation of material and artistic continuities that the Pericope Book both takes up and breaks with.

The Reichenau school created the most precious manuscripts for the Ottonian family; it produced royal imagery that represented the ruler typologically, with no individual or particularized characteristics. Such ruler images had to do with the representation of a special brand or type of rule, which was predicated on the transfer of power from father to son. While Otto III's official Reichenau commissions may have varied in their formal arrangement, he is always represented as a type. This type derives from widely circulated stamped images of the king that appeared on seals, and these underwent few structural changes in the tenth and early eleventh centuries.[25] It is for this reason that the dedication image in the Pericope Book is so innovative, for the figures of the royal couple are key participants in the action of the picture and the youthful, beardless Ottonian ruler type is nowhere in evidence.[26] In official Ottonian manuscripts, the ruler is always the static, hieratic focus of the image.[27] In the Pericope Book's dedication series, what is represented is precisely specified by the facing inscription, for it tells us clearly what we should see and know about the book and the treasury. The support of a style that emblematically stood for the legacy of the Saxon kings and the rejection of this legacy's established type are suggestive, for it indicates that neither the type nor the format could properly represent Henry II's rule, even if the Reichenau style, in some way, could.

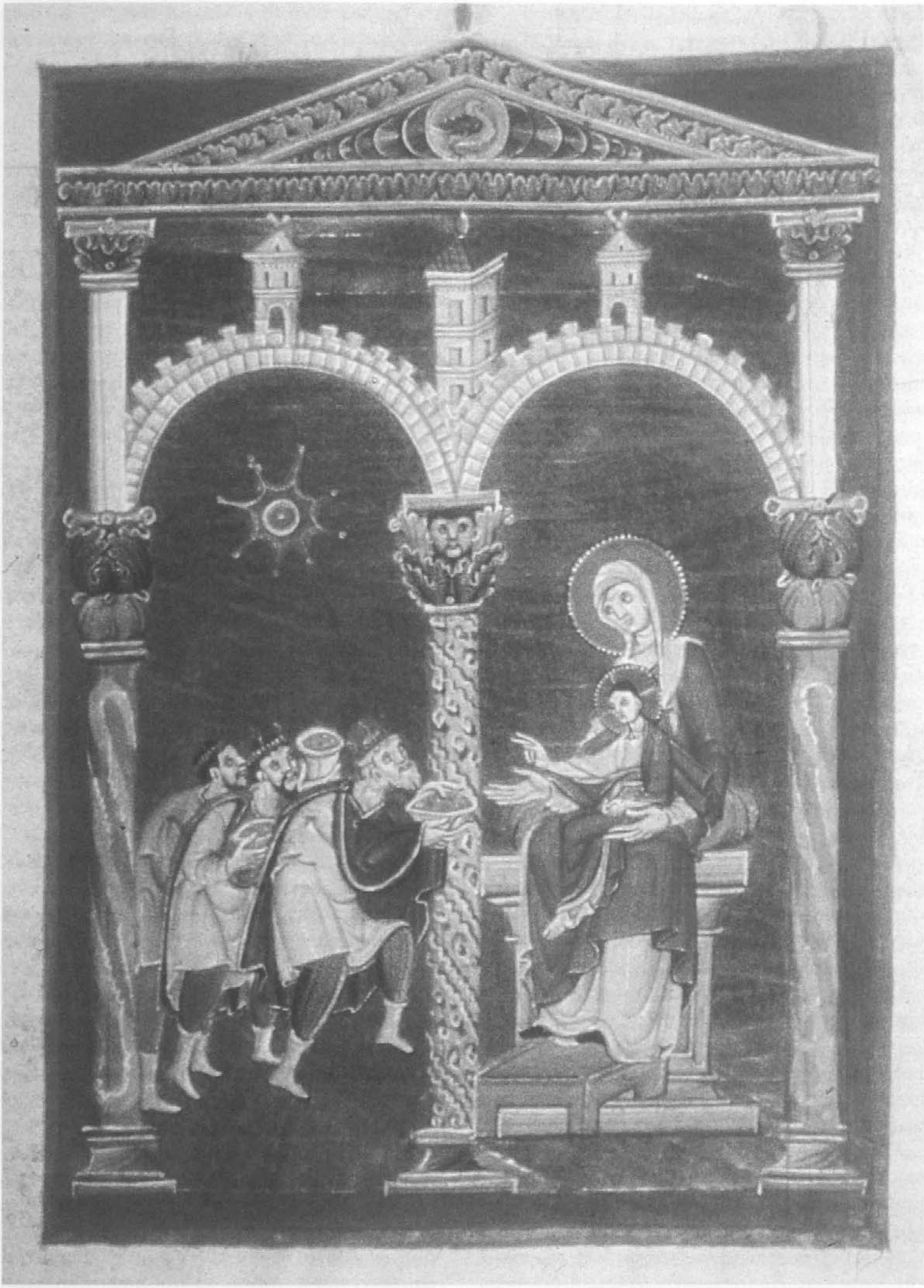


Fig 37 Three Magi and Mary and Child, Gospels of Otto III, folio 29^{r}, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4453

Henry II's Historical Renovatio Regni Francorum

Henry II enacted changes in existing political structures from the very beginning of his reign, and it is within this framework of political reorganization that he commissioned both the Pericope Book and the Regensburg Sacramentary. Historians, notably Joachim Ehlers, Stefan Weinfurter, and Thomas Zotz, have turned their attentions to the question of Henry II's continuity with Otto III in relation to policy, and have often looked to the dedication images under consideration here, for these works appear in some way to complement, if not illustrate, the established historical record.[28] These images certainly do reveal something specific about Henry II; they even complement the history of his reign. However, much of the scholarship has not adequately accounted for the extent to which the king himself, with the help of his closest supporters, was in charge of the creation of his own historical legacy, which was at once visual, written, and oral.[29]

John Bernhardt and Hartmut Hoffmann have discussed changes in policy under Henry II by comparing his decrees with those of his predecessor.[30] Bernhardt has ascertained that while certain still-functional elements of Otto III's policy remained, Henry II freely altered intact political structures where he could strengthen his own control. Indeed, Otto III's policy allowed regional dukes to gird their power; their responsibilities to the king were minimal, for duchies functioned as small kingdoms. Weinfurter has argued that Henry II was able to solidify his territorial dominion by establishing relationships of mutual benefit with local bishops, who were either members of his immediate family (brothers) or were historically strong political supporters. He granted them powers formerly held by dukes.[31] In this way, the king was able to consolidate his geographical and political dominion in a system where his rule was tantamount, and the history of his elevation of Bamberg as a bishopric is one key example of this phenomenon.

Both Bernhardt and Weinfurter have discussed the king's reorientation of political interests northward as part of his proposed *Renovatio Regni Francorum*, while he maintained control of the Italian kingdom from a distance.[32] Elsewhere, Weinfurter has addressed the *Herrscherbilder* of Henry II and Otto III, and his interpretation of this body of imagery focuses on its sacral function, where the motivation for Henry II's reorganization of the realm is fundamentally religious, in a scenario where the king is truly a pious new Moses.[33] For his part, Hoffmann has shown that Henry II was uniquely involved in the direct dictation of his decrees and may have written a few of them as well.[34] Where Bernhardt complicates the notion of a political seamlessness between the two rulers, Hoffmann points out a peculiar and potentially unprecedented royal interest in the production of official documents that record the political history of his reign. Although others, Weinfurter in particular, have viewed the changes in the political structure of the realm as evidence of Henry II's continuity with the Ottonians, closer scrutiny of the historical record and the king's patronage reveals that the situation was much more fraught.[35] Those scholars who argue for Henry II's political continuity with the Ottonians almost without fail cite his blood relationship to Otto III (they were second cousins), the two trips to Italy Henry undertook with him, along with the fond mention made of the deceased emperor in Henry II's written decrees.

In the first place, it is erroneous to assume that blood relations of this degree, particularly in this period, necessitated some sort of fraternal closeness.[36] Indeed, Henry II and the Capetian king Robert II were also second cousins; their connections appear to have been cautiously diplomatic at best.[37] Secondly, the fact that Henry II accompanied Otto III to Italy on two separate occasions reveals only that they shared a functional working relationship while the latter was alive. It was entirely wise and politically advantageous for Henry II to remain in the emperor's favour. Thirdly, the king's assertions about his deep regard for his predecessor appear too emphatic and urgent to be entirely credible. Political continuity, especially where the ruler and the ruler's biographer insist upon it so emphatically and consistently, is malleable and in this case should be considered critically. What the documents and the works under consideration in this study reveal are royally supported efforts to retell history in the most flattering manner possible, where the king emerges not only as a just, pious, and legitimate ruler, but in the long run as a saint. In policy, as in his most precious commission from the abbey of Reichenau, Henry II ruled over a substructure that the Ottonians had established, but he was in no way determined by it.

The Regensburg Sacramentary (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4456)

While in the case of the Pericope Book Henry II had a wealth of Ottonian models that could have been copied, the commission of the Regensburg Sacramentary made clear the king's programmatic claims to the inheritance of—and control over—a Carolingian legacy.[38] Regensburg, the centre of Henry II's former duchy, was historically a base of power for Bavarian dukes while it also served as a missionary and military outpost for the conversion of nearby Slavic groups. The Sacramentary was produced in Regensburg in time for the dedication ceremony in 1012.[39]

The Sacramentary recalls not the established style of the recent past as the Pericope Book does, but rather, and quite explicitly so, that of the court of Charles the Bald and his *Codex Aureus* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14000), which the east-Frankish Carolingian king Arnulf of Carinthia removed from the treasury of St Denis and brought to Regensburg during the last decade of the ninth century. The Sacramentary contains two successive representations of the king. In the first, he stands and is crowned by Christ; the Bavarian saints Ulrich of Augsburg and Emmeram of Regensburg flank him on either side and support his arms while two angels place the Holy Lance and sword in his hands (fig. 38). As Weinfurter and Susanne Künzel have pointed out, the coronation series aligns fairly securely with the coronation *ordo* of Mainz, whose ritual prescribes that the king enter the church between two bishops.[40] On the reverse of this page, Henry II sits enthroned under an elaborately decorated baldachin, surrounded by soldiers and four female personifications, whom scholars have been at pains to identify positively (fig. 39).[41] An inscription that boldly proclaims the subjugation of parts of the globe to the king's will frames the miniature.[42]

The two images form a unified pair and are painted on two sides of the same folio (fols 11^{r} and 11^{v}), creating together a narrative of Henry II's coronation, and therefore selection, by Christ. Indeed, the coronation series forms a clean analogue to a Crucifixion and Resurrection series that follows it on folios 15^{r} and 15^{v} (figs 40, 41).[43] In the coronation series, the former Bavarian duke embodies Carolingian rulership in an artistic framework that recalls and revives old claims of Frankish political dominance. On the one hand, this included the relocation of both the *Codex Aureus* and the body of St Denis to Regensburg. On the other, it included the claims another east-Frankish ruler with tenuous claims to the throne, namely Arnulf of Carinthia, had made *vis-à-vis* the western Franks in his removal of that book from the royal treasury. This two-part dedication image is formally and stylistically different from its analogue in the Pericope Book, due of course to its site of production but also because of Henry II's claims to the ideological inheritance and subsequent renewal of a Carolingian legacy, which were included in his attempts to revive Frankish rule that would radiate from Bavaria outward.[44] Further, the close proximity between the coronation series and the Crucifixion and Resurrection miniatures indicates how high the ideological and spiritual stakes were: the renewal of the glory of the eastern Franks under Henry II parallels in this context nothing less than a miraculous resurrection.[45] Although Sacramentaries often do contain a Crucifixion/Resurrection sequence, it should also be noted that this marks the most dramatic departure from the *Codex Aureus*, indicating that its inclusion may have been a central stipulation of the commission.[46] Florentine Mütherich has noted the similarities between the standing image of Henry II and one of the Byzantine ruler Basileos II (976–1025) and concludes that both images were produced with the use of an iconographically related Byzantine model.[47] While this is likely the case, there were other models available that were more directly pertinent to the rule and political and artistic legacies of Henry II.

Charles the Bald commissioned the *Codex Aureus* in commemoration of the consolidation of the Carolingian realm into east- and west-Frankish kingdoms as a result of the treaty of Mersen in 870; the manuscript was intended from its inception as a token of west-Frankish political dominance (fig. 42).[48] However, according to legend, Regensburg was its proper home, for it could inflict severe bodily harm, even death, to anyone who tried to remove it from St Emmeram.[49] It is perhaps for this reason that Henry II commissioned a copy of the dedication image, which also allowed for the

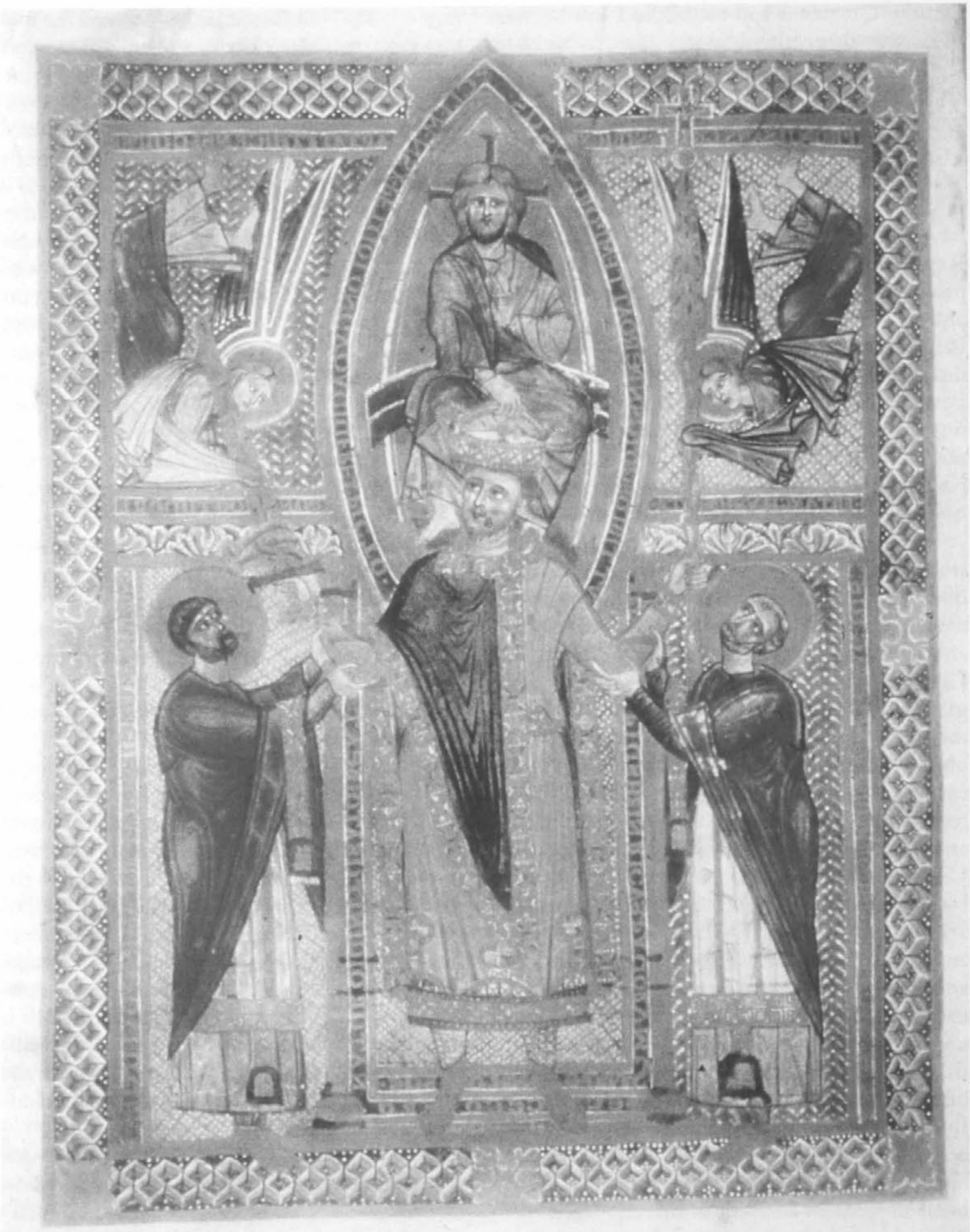


Fig. 38. Christ Crowns Henry II, Sacramentary of Henry II, folio 11^{r}, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4456.

insertion of an appropriately coordinated, much-embellished version of a representation of his father, the Bavarian Duke Henry the Quarrelsome, also called Henry the Wrangler, whose legacy included most famously an attempt to thwart the young Otto III's ascension to the throne in his own hopes for the crown by taking the then three-year-old king hostage (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Lit. 142, fol. 4^{v}; fig. 43). According to Thietmar of

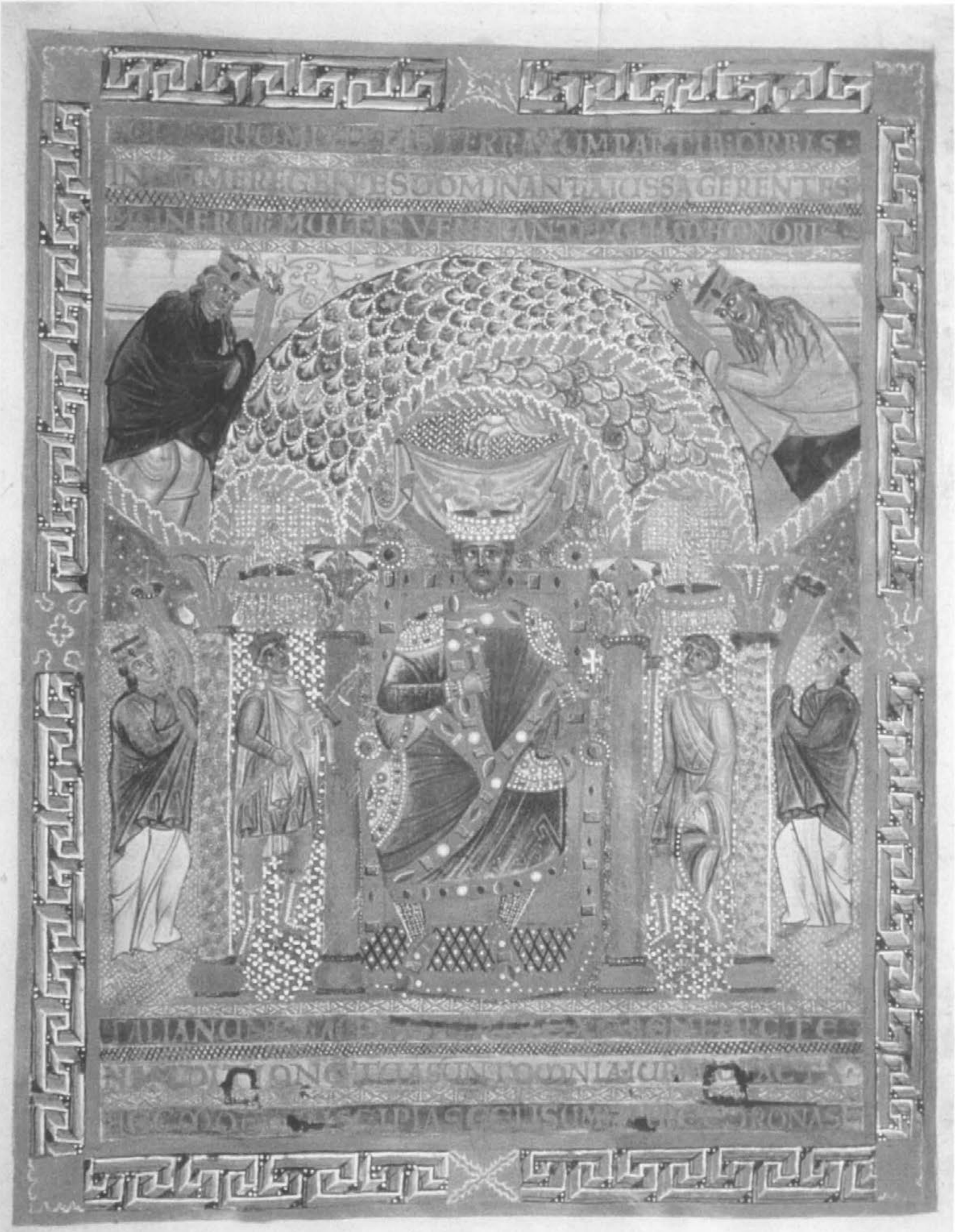


Fig. 39 Henry II Enthroned, Sacramentary of Henry II, folio 11^{v}; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4456.

Merseburg, Henry the Quarrelsome later regretted this and, in a dramatic deathbed confession that sets the stage for his son's accession of the throne, made his son promise never to forget his subordination to the king.[50] The standing image of Henry the Quarrelsome appears in a rulebook for nuns produced at Regensburg during the last quarter of the tenth century, and, though more simply executed, it bears a striking similarity to the first part of the

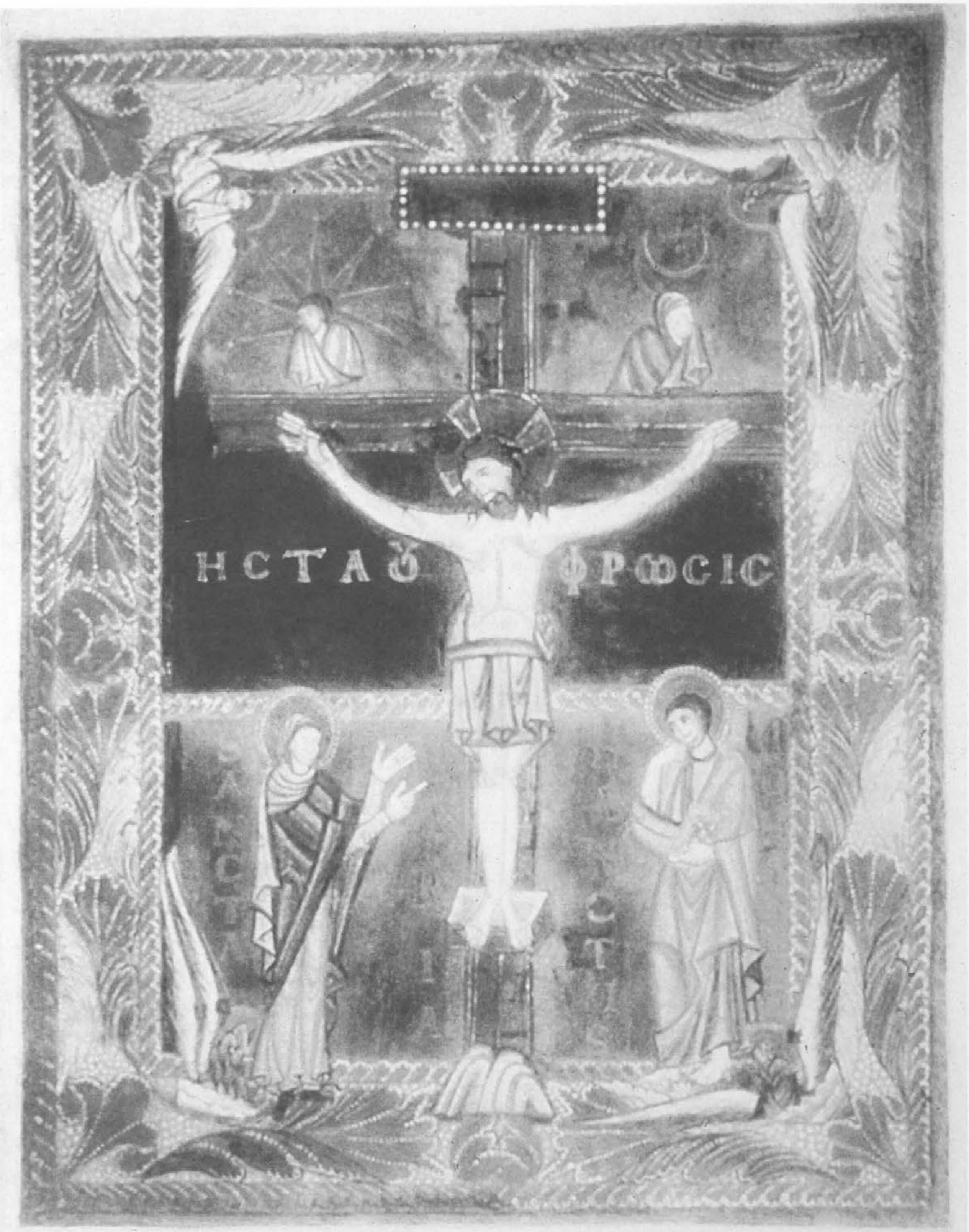


Fig. 40. Crucifixion, Sacramentary of Henry II, folio 15^{r}, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4456.

dedication series in the Sacramentary.[51] The Sacramentary series therefore combines and aligns these two copies in a book that Henry II artfully commissioned for Regensburg and then removed for donation to Bamberg, recreating on a geographically smaller scale King Arnulf of Carinthia's removal of the *Codex Aureus* from St Denis. This coronation series and the manuscript to which it belongs are visual components of Henry II's rhetoric of a *Renovatio Regni Francorum*, wherein the king also completes a personal narrative of his family's

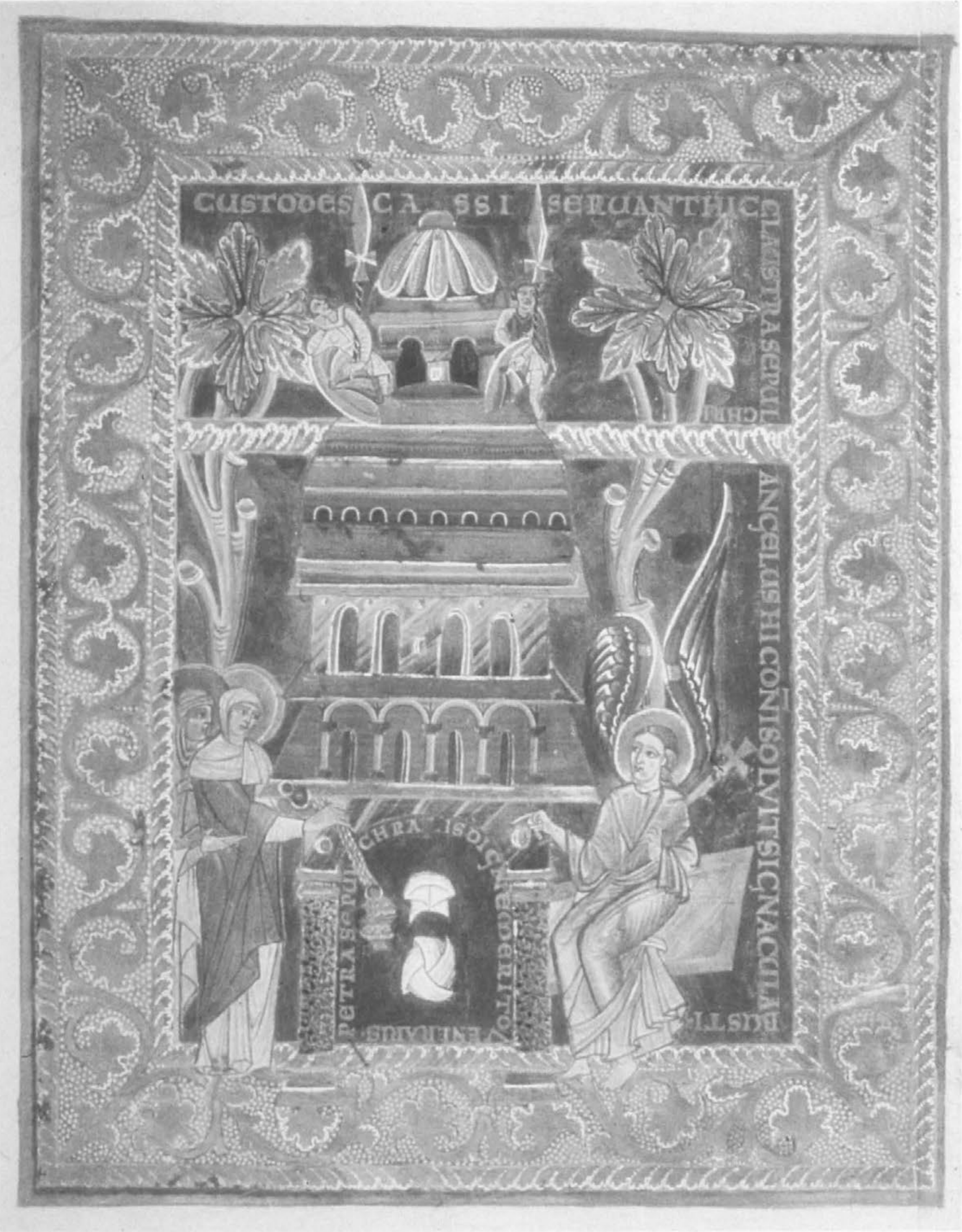

CUSTODES CA SSI SERUANT HIC CLAUSTRA SEPULCHRI
ANGELUS HIC ONIS SOLUIT SIGNACULA BUSTI
PETRA SEPULCHRA ...

Fig. 41. Two Marys and Angel at the Grave, Sacramentary of Henry II, folio 15^{v}, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4456.

and Bavaria's political dominance that his father had begun.

While Ottonian commissions rarely reveal much, if anything, about the circumstances of their production and donation, works produced under Henry II's direct patronage contain an idiosyncratic number of inscriptions, all of which mention the ruler by name and praise his rule. Of the works that have been notoriously difficult to attribute to Henry II, all date

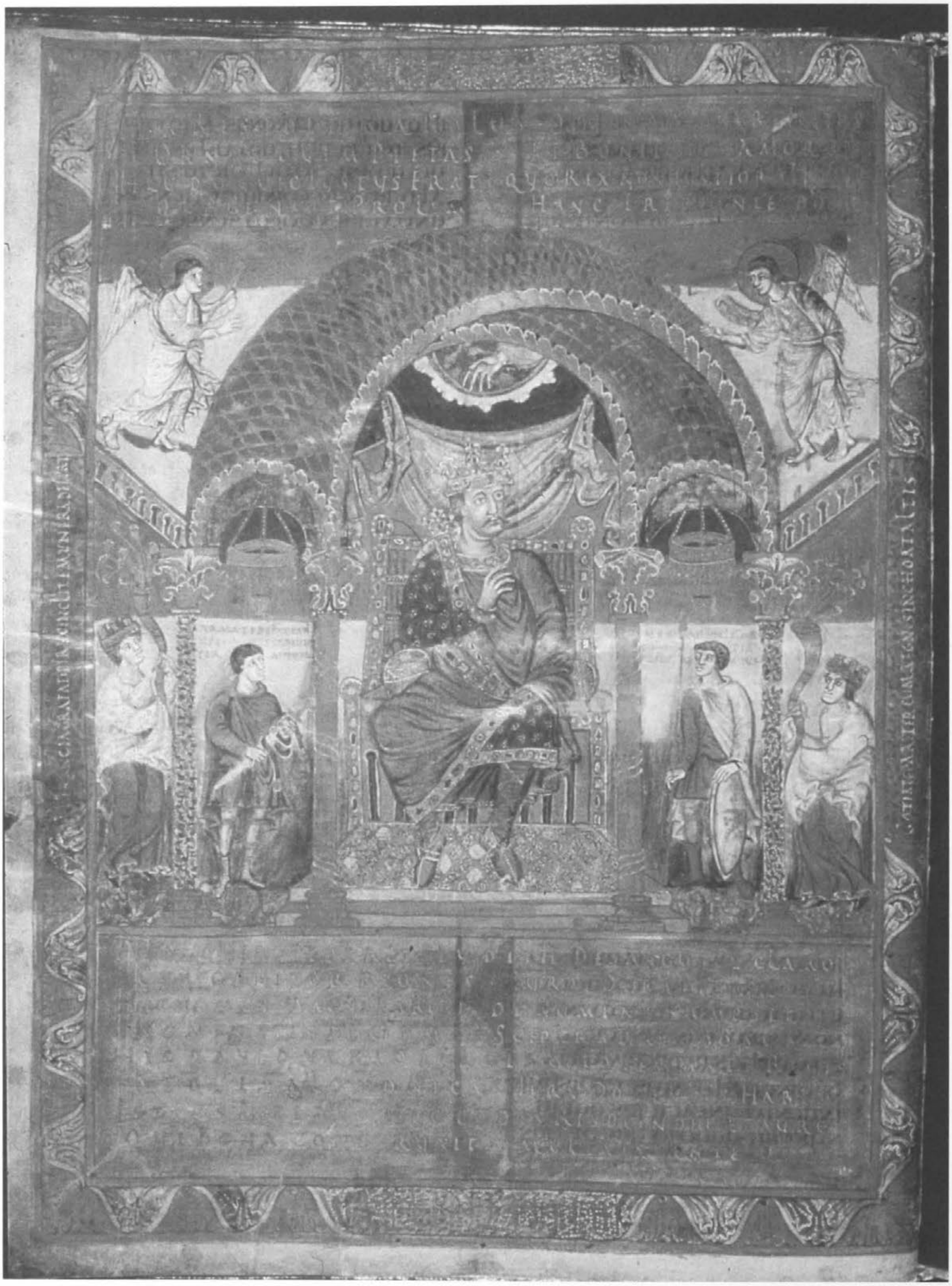
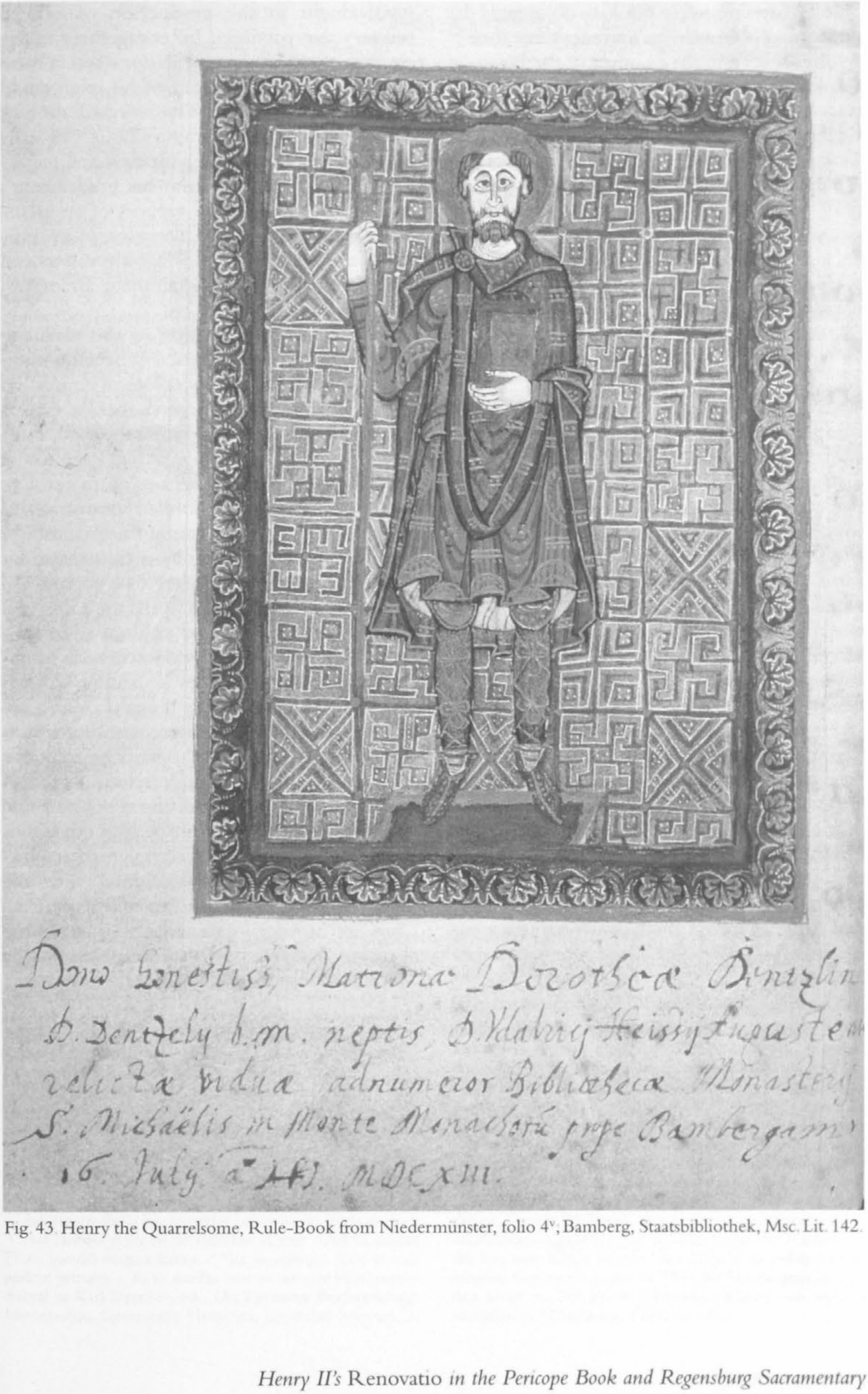


Fig. 42. Charles the Bald Enthroned, Codex Aureus, folio 5ᵛ, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14000.

from the late tenth or early eleventh century—the last years of Otto III's reign.[52] Moreover, these associations with Henry II come with far too many provisions to make them entirely plau-



Dono honestiss. Matronæ Dorotheæ Dintzlin
D. Dentzely b.m. neptis, D. Vdalricj Heissij Augustem
relictæ viduæ adnumeror Bibliothecæ Monasterij
S. Michaëlis in Monte Monachorũ prope Bambergam
16. Julij a° 1613. MDCXIII.

Fig. 43. Henry the Quarrelsome, Rule-Book from Niedermünster, folio 4ᵛ, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Lit. 142.

sible. Debates related to this have dominated the literature of Ottonian art for quite some time.[53] As already seen in the example of the Pericope Book, the inclusion of a dedicatory inscription was clearly a key provision in the commission—works produced at Reichenau did not include such informative *tituli* as a matter of course.[54] On the other hand, rich inscriptions in Regensburg works have to do with the consistent use of the *Codex Aureus* as a point of artistic reference at St Emmeram. These works—the Regensburg Sacramentary and the Uta Codex in particular—all exalt the Word as much as they do their respective patrons.[55]

Conclusions

The Pericope Book, the Gospels of Otto III, and the Regensburg Sacramentary all found their proper place on altars in the new church that corresponded to the individual book's use. In turn, ecclesiastical representatives from all over the realm were present at the dedication ceremony in order to consecrate the altars that coincided with their areas of influence, all of which were situated within the new basilica according to their corresponding point on the compass. At this dedication, therefore, the structure of the whole realm was aligned, organized, and represented in concentrated form. The configuration of the cathedral revealed certainly Henry II's commitment to various patron saints, but it also underscored the comprehensiveness of the king's geographical control and the primary allegiance the participants in the dedication ceremony owed to him. The works used to formalize the consecration of the new cathedral structure reveal the support of new artistic forms and styles that could represent a new type of rule.

The *Herrscherbilder* in the Pericope Book and the Regensburg Sacramentary reveal Henry II's involvement in the production of official imagery that paralleled his engagement in the creation of official documents, for it was in these two arenas that the history of his reign could be told into the future. The reorganization of familiar forms in the Pericope Book was analogous to Henry II's reorganization and reconfiguration of objects from his predecessor's treasury. In this case the support of an established royal style and the alteration of its similarly familiar format coincide with, and indeed represent, a broader, programmatic attempt to restructure the realm.

Despite the coordination of the two new commissions, the Regensburg Sacramentary reveals where Henry II's ideological sympathies ultimately lay. It is in this work that he appears not only in the guise of Charles the Bald, a significant part of whose legacy had been under Bavarian control since the late ninth century, but also as a royally decorated version of his father. Further, by relocating this manuscript from Regensburg to Bamberg, he asserted his control over his own legacy in a ceremonial fashion and in so doing donned the robes of a range of carefully selected political and familial models. It is for this reason that the Sacramentary dedication series is striking, for it is here that we see how the renewal of an east-Frankish realm was a comprehensive proposition for Henry II, and in this work he embodies it. These two works, though stylistically different, disclose similar stories about the king and his rule. What they reveal are perhaps not entirely truthful accounts, but complementary historical expectations that aligned with the documentary rhetoric of a *Renovatio Regni Francorum* and an actual consolidation of territorial power that was protected and blessed by a centralized arsenal of saints.

NOTES

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1. For some contemporary accounts of the construction of Bamberg Cathedral, refer to David Warner, ed. and trans., *Ottonian Germany: The* Chronicon *of Thietmar of Merseburg* (Manchester, 2001), Book VI, chs 30–32, pp. 257–59, and Book VI, ch. 60, pp. 278–79; Philipp Jaffé, ed., *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum: Monumenta Bambergensia*, vol. V, 2nd edn (Aalen, 1964), pp. 479–81. For more background history and archaeological descriptions, see Stefan Weinfurter, *Heinrich II: Herrscher am Ende der Zeiten* (Regensburg, 1999), pp. 250–68; Joachim Zeune, ed., *Geschichte aus Gruben und Scherben: Archäologische Ausgrabungen auf dem Domberg in Bamberg* (Bamberg, 1993); Dethard von Winterfeld, *Der Dom in Bamberg*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1979); Erich Herzog, *Die ottonische Stadt: Die Anfänge der mittelalterlichen Stadtbaukunst in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1964), pp. 171–81; Gerd Zimmerman, 'Bamberg als königlicher Pfalzort', *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung*, 19 (1959), 203–22.

2. Archaeologists have determined the presence of a tenth-century *burgus* underneath the foundations of Bamberg Cathedral. Some have postulated that Bamberg was Henry II's birthplace and he elevated the town to a bishopric partially for this reason. See Zeune, *Geschichte aus Gruben und Scherben*, Weinfurter, *Heinrich II*, von Winterfeld, *Der Dom in Bamberg*, Ferdinand Geldner, 'Geburtsort, Geburtsjahr und Jugendzeit Kaiser Heinrichs II.', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 34 (1978), 520–83, Zimmermann, 'Bamberg als königlicher Pfalzort'.

The construction of a cathedral at Bamberg under the patronage of Henry II recalled royal architectural campaigns at—to name only a few of the closest models—Aachen, Magdeburg, Quedlinburg, and St Denis. See in particular Joachim Ehlers, 'Magdeburg – Rom – Aachen – Bamberg: Grablege des Königs und Herrschaftsverständnis in ottonischer Zeit', in *Otto III – Heinrich II: Eine Wende?*, ed. by Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter (Sigmaringen, 1997), pp. 47–76. The abbot Gerhard von Seeon referred to Bamberg as a second *Sepher Cariath*—that city of books and learning in Canaan—in a poem he dedicated to the king. See Karl Strecker, ed., *Poetae Latini Medii Aevi: Die Ottonenzeit*, vols I–II, 2nd edn (1937–39; reprint as 1 vol., Munich, 1978), pp. 397–98; Jaffé, *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*, pp. 482–83. For further references, see Bernhard Schemmel, 'Heinrich II. und Bambergs Bücherschätze', *Bericht des historischen Vereins Bamberg*, 133 (1997), 129–46; O. Meyer, 'Kaiser Heinrichs Bamberg-Idee im Preislied von Bischof Gerhard von Seeon', *Fränkische Blätter für Geschichtsforschung und Heimatpflege*, 3 (1951), 75, 77.

Not least, Bamberg was to be a new Rome. A poem dedicated to Henry II from 1014, written upon the occasion of his return from his imperial coronation, reads in part: 'Cesar famose redit en de culmine Rome / Ad te, sancte Petre, gaudia magna ferens. / Hic in utroque loco te vult pollere patrono, / Tu sis auxilio huic in utroque loco'; reproduced in Karl Strecker, ed., *Die Tegernseer Briefsammlung*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae Selectae, 3, 2nd edn (Munich, 1978), p. 118. Gerd Zimmermann has discussed this most recently. See his essay 'Bambergs Zeichenhaftigkeit für die Reichskirche des 11. Jahrhunderts', *Bericht des historischen Vereins Bamberg*, 133 (1997), 83–92.

3. Wilhelm Messerer writes: 'Keiner [i.e. Kirchenschatz] trägt so wie der Bamberger Domschatz das Gepräge bestimmter Persönlichkeiten: des heiligen Kaiserpaares Heinrich II. und Kunigunde, und zwar, wie wir sagen können, als deren persönlichste Schöpfung. Nirgends ist auch die große Kunst ihrer Zeit, die ottonische—so konzentriert gegenwärtig wie im Kernbestand des Schatzes.' See Messerer's *Der Bamberger Domschatz in seinem Bestande bis zum Ende der Hohenstaufen-Zeit* (Munich, 1952), p. 7. For a more recent treatment of manuscripts from the Bamberg treasury with a Reichenau provenance, see Rainer Kahsnitz's essay 'Heinrich II. und Bamberg, die Reichenau und das Perikopenbuch', in *Zierde für ewige Zeit: Das Perikopenbuch Heinrichs II.*, ed. by Hermann Fillitz, Rainer Kahsnitz, and Ulrich Kuder (Munich, 1994), pp. 9–32, esp. pp. 22–32; Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: An Historical Study*, 2 vols (London, 1991), esp. I, 157–208 and passim.

4. Percy Ernst Schramm, *Die deutschen Könige und Kaiser in Bildern ihrer Zeit, 751–1190*, vol. I (Leipzig, 1928); Percy Ernst Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik: Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte vom dritten bis zum sechszehnten Jahrhundert.*, vol. II (Stuttgart, 1955); Percy Ernst Schramm and Florentine Mütherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser: Ein Beitrag zur Herrschergeschichte von Karl dem Großen bis Friedrich II.*, vol. I (Munich, 1962); Hans Jantzen, *Ottonische Kunst* (Munich, 1947); Messerer, *Der Bamberger Domschatz*; Georg Dehio, *Der Bamberger Dom* (Munich, 1924).

5. Also like its southern model, the new cathedral's main altar—dedicated to Peter—was in the west. See Strecker, *Die Tegernseer Briefsammlung*, poem XXXIX, lines 7–10, p. 118. Refer also to note 2, above.

6. Zimmermann, 'Bambergs Zeichenhaftigkeit für die Reichskirche', p. 83. See also Gerhard of Seeon's paean to Bamberg in Jaffé, *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*, pp. 482–83.

7. See Weinfurter, *Heinrich II*, pp. 250–68.

8. See Johann Friedrich Böhmer, ed., *Regesta Imperii: Sächsisches Haus, 919–1024*, vol. II, pt 4, *Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Heinrich II., 1002–1024*, rev. by Theodor Graff, 2nd edn (Wien, 1971), pp. 937–39. Stefan Weinfurter provides the most recent account of the foundation of Bamberg in *Heinrich II*, pp. 250–68. The discussion of this issue in the literature is interesting historiographically, for authors use military terminology to describe the cathedral's dedication. See, among others, Dehio, *Der Bamberger Dom*, p. 10, and Robert Holtzmann, *Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit* (Munich, 1941), pp. 427–39, esp. pp. 433–34. In the latter work, Holtzmann says that the foundation of Bamberg constituted the final triumph of 'Christentum und Deutschtum' over Slavic groups who lived in and around Bamberg (p. 433). Erich Schneider has written more recently, if briefly, about the foundation of Bamberg: 'Den vorhandenen, älteren Strukuren mußten neue, auf Bamberg hin orientierte entgegengesetzt werden, sollte der Bischofssitz der ihm vom König zugedachten Aufgabe als politische und religiöse Grenzveste gegen die Welt der Slawen gerecht werden können.' See Erich Schneider, *Klöster und Stifte in Mainfranken* (Würzburg, 1993), p. 179.

9. Wilhelm Messerer obliquely speaks of this in the first few pages of his work, *Der Bamberger Domschatz*, pp. 7–40, esp. pp. 7–9. Because of the myriad problems associated with the term 'portrait' in an early medieval context, it is appropriate to use the more precise, and less historically damning, German term *Herrscherbild*, for which the English term 'ruler portrait' is inadequate. A 'material self-portrait' refers to the combined function of all of the works in the treasury to represent, in the strictest sense of the term, Henry II and his reign.

10. The most relevant spoliated work is the Gospels of Otto III (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4453). It will never be possible to reconstruct the provenance of each of the *spolia* in Ottonian artworks. However, Henry II's donations often consist of objects whose provenance is most easily traced through Otto III's *Nachlaß* or from precious objects that may have belonged to Empress Theophanou. The pulpit he donated to the palace chapel at Aachen is one of the more rich examples of a new commission that consists of spoliated objects. For general discussions of *spolia* in Ottonian art, refer to Hiltrud Westermann-Angerhausen, 'Spuren der Theophanou in der ottonischen Schatzkunst?', in *Kaiserin Theophanou: Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, vol. II, ed. by Anton von Euw and Peter Schreiner (Köln, 1991), pp. 193–218; Hartmut Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum in ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich*, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1986), pp. 7–41, esp. p. 15: 'Nicht zu leugnen ist jedoch die große Mannigfaltigkeit der Schrift, die nur aus einer Vielzahl von beteiligten Skriptorien zu erklären ist und die Bamberg heute zum idealen Ort einer vergleichenden Paläographie der Ottonenzeit macht. Verdankt wird das offensichtlich dem Bitten und Drängen Heinrichs II., der seine Bischöfe und Äbte um Bücherspenden für das Bistum anging. [. . .] Dahinter kann letzten Endes nur die treibende Kraft des Königs stecken, der seine Gründung wohlversorgt sehen wollte und wußte, was Bücher bedeuten.' See also Florentine Mütherich, 'The Library of Otto III', in *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture*, ed. by Peter Ganz (Turnhout, 1986), pp. 11–25; Ernst Günther Grimme, 'Der Domschatz zu Aachen', *Aachener Kunstblätter*, 42 (1973), 19–44; Heinrich Wentzel, 'Das Byzantinische Erbe der ottonischen Kaiser – Hypothesen über den Brautschatz der Theophanou', part 1, *Aachener Kunstblätter*, 40 (1971), 15–39; part 2, *Aachener Kunstblätter*, 41 (1972), 11–96.

11. Indeed, both the king and queen were canonized in 1146 and 1200 respectively. Kunigunde was initially buried at the abbey of Kaufungen, and her body was reinterred in April 1200 on the occasion of her canonization.

12. Henry II was the oldest child of the Bavarian Duke Henry the Quarrelsome and Gisela, a daughter of King Konrad of Burgundy and his wife Adelanias. Henry the Quarrelsome (951–95) was the sole surviving son of the first duke of Bavaria, Henry I (*c.* 920–55). Duke Henry I received—begrudgingly, according to the sources—the duchy of Bavaria as the brother of Otto I, the second Saxon king. Because Henry II's great-grandfather Henry I was the first Saxon king, Henry II is often referred to as a Saxon. It is more precise to speak of him as a Liudolfing, for this was the name of Henry I's family.

13. Stefan Weinfurter presents an extensive description of all of the events leading up to Bamberg's elevation, and it is from his work that this section on the historical background draws, for it is the most recent and most concentrated discussion of these events available. See *Heinrich II*, pp. 250–73. All of this information is also contained in Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii*, pp. 933–45. For more background, analysis, and older literature see Schneidmüller and Weinfurter, eds, *Otto III – Heinrich II. Eine Wende?*, Gerd Althoff and Ernst Schubert, eds, *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im ottonischen Sachsen* (Sigmaringen, 1998).

14. It is possible that Kunigunde was the daughter of Margrave Berthold of Nordau, and therefore a sister of Margrave Henry of Schweinfurt. If this was the case, the presentation of the town to the new duchess can be considered in relation to certain balances of power between Duke Henry and one of his primary enemies, who also was his brother-in-law. See Weinfurter, *Heinrich II*, p. 252; Warner, *Ottonian Germany*, Book V, ch. 38, pp. 230–31.

15. 'After divine providence had entrusted the realm to his care, he began to zealously pursue his secret plan to establish a bishopric there [i.e. in Bamberg]'. In Warner, *Ottonian Germany*, Book VI, ch. 30, p. 257; Thietmar's original words can also be found in Werner Trillmich's German translation from 1957. See Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronik*, ed. by Werner Trillmich (Darmstadt, 1957), p. 310: 'Postquam autem ad regni curam divina miseratione promovetur, semper tacita mente ibidem episcopatum construere gestit.'

16. For the most recent studies of the Pericope Book, consult Florentine Mütherich, ed., *Das Perikopenbuch Heinrichs II.: Clm 4452 der bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, 2 vols (Lachen am Zürichsee, 1994); Fillitz, Kahsnitz, and Kuder, eds, *Zierde für ewige Zeit*; Ulrich Kuder, 'Die Ottonen in der ottonischen Buchmalerei. Identifikation und Ikonographie', in *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im ottonischen Sachsen*, ed. by Althoff and Schubert, pp. 137–244; Rainer Kahsnitz, 'Herrscherbilder der Ottonen', in *Krönungen: Könige in Aachen – Geschichte und Mythos*, ed. by Mario Kramp (Mainz, 2000), pp. 283–93. For the most recent scholarship on the cover of the Pericope Book, see Béatrice Hernad, ed., *Prachteinbände 870–1685* (Munich, 2001), pp. 17–18; Reinhold Baumstark, ed., *Rom und Byzanz: Schatzkammerstücke aus bayerischen Sammlungen* (Munich, 1998), pp. 136–41. Each of these works contains extensive references to the older literature on the Pericope Book. This image shares some formal characteristics with a miniature in a manuscript of the Lives of St Kilian and St Margaret that is housed in Hannover, but was produced in Fulda (Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, MS I 189, fol. 11^{v}). For a reproduction, see Michael Brandt and Arne Eggebrecht, eds., *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen*, vol. II (Hildesheim, 1993), p. 325, no. V-56.

17. The following episodes receive two-folio treatment in the Pericope Book: Annunciation to the Shepherds/Birth of Christ (fols 8^{v}–9^{r}); Adoration of the Magi/Mary and Child (fols 17^{v}–18^{r}); Disciples fetch Donkey and Colt/Entry into Jerusalem (fols 77^{v}–78^{r}); Crucifixion-Christ before Caiphas/Descent from Cross-Entombment (fols 107^{v}–08^{r}); Three Marys at the Tomb/Angel at the Tomb (fols 116^{v}–17^{r}); Pentecost/Jesus commissions Disciples (fols 135^{v}–36^{r}); Annunciation to Zachariah-Mute Zachariah/Birth of John the Baptist-Naming of John the Baptist (fols 149^{v}–50^{r}); Death and Assumption of Virgin/Jesus in House of Mary and Martha (fols 161^{v}–62^{r}); Resurrection of the Dead/The Last Judgement (fols 201^{v}–02^{r}).

18. It shares roughly the same layout of the ruler image in the Bamberg Apocalypse, although there is a distinct difference here, as the ruler is seated, crowned, and approached on either side by Peter and Paul. The Apocalypse manuscript has been notoriously difficult to date, and it is still unclear whether it was a commission of Otto III's from *c.* 1000 that he intended for his *Pfalz* on the outskirts of Rome or if Henry II commissioned it expressly for donation to the small church of St Stephan in Bamberg nearly twenty

years later. Peter Klein dates this manuscript to the last years of Otto III's reign. This appears the most plausible, even if the most recent literature on the Apocalypse argues for a production date of 1010. See the essays in *Das Buch mit 7 Siegeln: Die Bamberger Apokalypse*, ed. by Gude Suckale-Redlefsen and Bernhard Schemmel (Lucerne, 2000). This volume contains extensive references to all of the previous scholarship on the Apocalypse. For alternative dating and interpretation, see Peter Klein, 'Die Apokalypse Ottos III. und das Perikopenbuch Heinrichs II. Bildtradition und imperiale Ideologie um das Jahr 1000', *Aachener Kunstblätter*, 56/57 (1988/89), 5–52. Klein presents a similar argument in 'L'Art et l'idéologie impériale des Ottoniens vers l'an Mil, l'Evangelaire d'Henri II et l'Apocalypse de Bamberg', *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 16 (1985), 177–207.

19. The text of the dedication inscription on folio 1^{v} reads: REX HEINRICUS OUANS FIDEI SPLENDORE CORUSCANS / MAXIMUS IMPERIO FRUITUR QUO PROSPER AUITO / INTER OPUM UARIAS PRONO DE PECTORE GAZAS / OBTULIT HUNC LIBRUM DIUINA LEGE REFERTUM / PLENUS AMORE DEI PIUS IN DONARIA TEMPLI / UT SIT PERPETUUM DECUS ILLIC OMNE PER AEUUM / PRINCEPS AECCLESIAE CAELESTIS CLAUIGER AULAE / O PETRE CUM PAULO GENTIS DOCTORE BENIGNO / HUNC TIBI DEUOTUM PRECE FAC SUPER ASTRA BEATUM / CUM CUNIGUNDA SIBI CONREGNANTE SERENA / HOC PATER HOC NATUS NECNON ET SPIRITUS ALMUS / ANNUAT AETERNUS SEMPER DEUS OMNIBUS UNUS. (My translation: 'King Henry, rejoicing and gleaming in the splendour of faith, the greatest by ancestral rule which he successfully enjoys, with an inclined breast, pious and filled with the love of God, offers this book, filled with divine law, to the church among diverse other treasures so that it may be there a decoration for all eternity. Prince of the Church, key-holder of the heavenly hall, O Peter, with Paul, the good teacher of the people, make blessings for this man, who is devoted to you, with Cunigunda, his serene co-regent, with your praise above the stars. May the Father, the Son, and the life-giving Spirit, who is eternal and in all always one God, assure this.') The text written between the dedication miniature (folio 2^{r}) reads above: TRACTANDO IUSTUM DISCERNITE SEMPER HONESTUM / UTILE CONUENIAT CONSULTUM LEGIS UT OPTAT. (My translation: 'Practice what is just, distinguish always what is honest, may that which is useful agree with that which the counsel of the law desires.') And below: SOLUIMUS ECCE TIBI REX CENSUM IURE PERENNI / CLEMENS ESTO TUIS NOS REDDIMUS ISTA QUOTANNIS. (My translation: 'Behold, King, we give you the tax according to the enduring law. Be merciful to yours, we bring this each and every year.')

20. Rainer Kahsnitz and Ulrich Kuder have offered the most recent interpretation of the dedication image in the Pericope Book. My identification of the female personifications follows Ulrich Kuder, cat. no. 2, in *Zierde für ewige Zeit*, ed. by Fillitz, Kahsnitz, and Kuder, p. 111: 'Die Personifikation in der Mitte dürfte Roma oder Italia sein, zu ihren Seiten Gallia und Germania. Die [...] auftauchenden Frauen repräsentieren die deutschen Hauptstämme oder, wahrscheinlicher, die sechs Herzogtümer Bayern, Schwaben, Franken, Sachsen, Nieder- und Oberlothringen.'

21. See Thietmar of Merseburg's account of the Frankfurt Council in Warner, *Ottonian Germany*, Book VI, ch. 31, p. 258: 'For the sake of future compensation and because there remains to me no hope of acquiring offspring, I have made Christ my heir. For some time now, I have secretly offered my most valued possessions as a sacrifice to the Unborn Father, namely my own person and whatever I have acquired or am yet to acquire.' The Latin reads: 'Ob recompensationem futuram Christum heredem elegi, quia in sobole acquirenda nulla spes remanet mihi, et, quod precipuum habui, me ipsum cum modo acquisitis seu adquirendis in sacrifitium Patri ingenito iam ductum secreto mentis optuli.' See Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronik*, pp. 276–77. See also Kahsnitz, 'Heinrich II. und Bamberg', esp. p. 10.

22. See note 11 above.

23. See Florentine Mütherich and Karl Dachs, eds, *Das Evangeliar Ottos III* (Munich, 2001), with references to the earlier literature. This work contains essays also found in the text volume of the facsimile edition of Clm 4453, *Das Evangeliar Ottos III. Clm 4453 der bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, 2 vols, ed. by Florentine Mütherich and Fridolin Dressler (Frankfurt a.M., 1978). For recent discussions of the cover of Clm 4453, see Béatrice Hernad, 'Evangeliar Ottos III.', in *Prachteinbände 870–1685*, ed. by Hernad, pp. 16–17; Rainer Kahsnitz, 'Evangeliar Ottos III.: Elfenbeinrelief mit Koimesis', and Martin Dennert, 'Kameo: Johannes der Evangelist', in *Rom und Byzanz*, ed. by Baumstark, pp. 154–58 and 158–59; Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, 2 vols, passim.

24. See Mütherich and Dachs, eds, *Das Evangeliar Ottos III*, for reproductions from Clm 4453. *The Liuthar Gospels* (Aachen, Cathedral Treasury) contains many of the same scenes, which tend to underscore the young king's importance as a sacral figure.

25. See Hagen Keller, 'Ottonische Herrschersiegel: Beobachtungen und Fragen zu Gestalt und Aussage und zur Funktion im historischen Kontext', in *Bild und Geschichte: Studien zur politischen Ikonographie. Festschrift für Hansmartin Schwarzmaier zum fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. by Konrad Krimm and Herwig John (Sigmaringen, 1997), pp. 3–51, who looks to changes in specific details on imperial seals; Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich*, pp. 12–13; Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, pp. 86–103.

26. None of Henry II's commissions contains this type. It is therefore understandable that earlier scholars were quick to brand Henry II's *Herrscherbilder* as portraits. Percy Ernst Schramm devotes some attention to this in *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, pp. 9 and 104–09. I address these issues in my dissertation, 'The Art Policy of Emperor Henry II (1002–1024)' (Northwestern University, forthcoming).

27. Indeed, the only surviving example of Otto III as a participant in the action of a picture is in a prayer book commissioned for his private use (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 30111). Percy Ernst Schramm and Florentine Mütherich suggested that the patron of this work may have been Archbishop Willigis, for the small manuscript was created in Mainz. See Schramm and Mütherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, pp. 146–47. The father of Otto III, Otto II, along with his wife, Theophanou, are represented together on an ivory produced in Milan around 983; see fig. 1 of this volume. Here the royal family kneels before a large figure of Christ in Majesty. The ivory is housed in Milan, at the Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Applicata, Castello Sforzesco, Inv. No. A15. For another reproduction, refer to *Otto der Große: Magdeburg und Europa*, ed. by Matthias Puhle, vol. II (Mainz, 2001), p. 126, no. III.15.

28. Ehlers, 'Magdeburg – Rom – Aachen – Bamberg', pp. 47–72, esp. p. 64. Refer to the following other essays in *Otto III. – Heinrich II. Eine Wende?*, ed. by Schneidmüller

and Weinfurter: Stefan Weinfurter, ‘Otto III. und Heinrich II. im Vergleich: Ein Resümee’, pp. 387–413; Thomas Zotz, ‘Die Gegenwart des Königs: Zur Herrschaftspraxis Ottos III. und Heinrichs II.’, pp. 349–86, esp. p. 377. See also Stefan Weinfurter, ‘Sakralkönigtum und Herrschaftsbegründung um die Jahrtausendwende: Die Kaiser Otto III. und Heinrich II. in ihren Bildern’, in *Bilder erzählen Geschichte*, ed. by Helmut Altrichter (Freiburg i.B., 1995), pp. 47–103.

29. Notable exceptions to this are Hartmut Hoffmann, ‘Eigendiktat in den Urkunden Ottos III. und Heinrichs II.’, *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 44 (1988), 390–423, who discusses Henry II's decrees directly, and, more recently, David A. Wagner, ‘Ritual and Memory in the Ottonian *Reich*: The Ceremony of *Adventus*’, *Speculum*, 76.2 (2001), 255–82, who discusses the issue of historical writing in the Ottonian period.

30. John Bernhardt, ‘Der Herrscher im Spiegel der Urkunden: Otto III. und Heinrich II. im Vergleich’, in *Otto III. – Heinrich II. Eine Wende?*, ed. by Schneidmüller and Weinfurter, pp. 327–48; Hoffmann, ‘Eigendiktat in den Urkunden Ottos III. und Heinrich II.’

31. Weinfurter, *Heinrich II*, pp. 127–67, 186–205.

32. Bernhardt, ‘Der Herrscher im Spiegel der Urkunden’, pp. 336–42. See also Stefan Weinfurter, ‘Die Zentralisierung der Herrschaftsgewalt im Reich durch Kaiser Heinrich II.’, *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 106 (1986), pp. 241–97.

33. Weinfurter, ‘Sakralkönigtum und Herrschaftsbegründung um die Jahrtausendwende’, pp. 47–103.

34. Hoffmann, ‘Eigendiktat in den Urkunden Ottos III. und Heinrichs II.’, pp. 414–16.

35. See Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii*, II.4, 858–72.

36. See note 14.

37. For Thietmar's description of Robert II, refer to Warner, *Ottonian Germany*, Book VII, ch. 46, p. 340. Rodulfus Glaber notoriously underscores the equality of the two rulers. See Rodulfus Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories*, ed. and trans. by John France (Oxford, 1989), 2.1.1, pp. 48–51; 3.2.8, pp. 108–09; 4.8.23, pp. 208–11. Refer also to Carlrichard Brühl, *Die Geburt zweier Völker: Deutsche und Franzosen (9.–11. Jahrhundert)*, 2nd edn (Köln, 2001); Bernd Schneidmüller, *Nomen Patriae: Die Entstehung Frankreichs in der politisch-geographischen Terminologie (10.–13. Jahrhundert)* (Sigmaringen, 1987), pp. 65–67; Ingrid Voss, *Herrschertreffen im frühen und hohen Mittelalter. Untersuchungen zu den Begegnungen der ostfränkischen und westfränkischen Herrscher im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert sowie der deutschen und französischen Könige vom 11. bis 13. Jahrhundert*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, ed. by Egon Boshof, Heft 26 (Köln, 1987); Christian Pfister, *Etudes sur le règne de Robert le Pieux (996–1031)*, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des hautes études: Sciences philologiques et historiques, 64 (Paris, 1885).

38. Adam S. Cohen, *The Uta Codex: Art, Philosophy, and Reform in Eleventh-Century Germany* (University Park, 2000), pp. 137–82, see esp. p. 139; Florentine Mütherich, ‘Die Regensburger Buchmalerei des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts’, in *Regensburger Buchmalerei: von frühkarolingischer Zeit bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, ed. by Florentine Mütherich and Karl Dachs (Munich, 1987), pp. 23–29.

39. For reasons of conciseness, this essay does not include a study of the covers of the Pericope Book and the Regensburg Sacramentary. I have conducted research on the covers; the results of this will appear in my dissertation.

40. See Weinfurter, *Heinrich II*, pp. 42–43; Susanne Künzel, *Denkmale der Herrschaftstheologie Kaiser Heinrichs II* (Munich, 1989), pp. 11–19. See also Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste*, vol. II (Stuttgart, 1968), pp. 166–68, where he provides a description of the *ordo* and the coronation process of the Saxon rulers. Ernst Kantorowicz also devotes attention to the *ordo* in his definitive work *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley, 1958), esp. pp. 90–92. For a general discussion of the *Adventus*, with a host of references to the wider literature, see Wagner, ‘Ritual and Memory in the Ottonian *Reich*’, pp. 255–82.

41. Most recently, Ulrich Kuder has tentatively identified these figures as Italia, Germania, Gallia, and Sclavinia. See his essay ‘Die Ottonen in der ottonischen Buchmalerei’, p. 199. Earlier, in his catalogue entry for *Regensburger Buchmalerei*, he simply refers to them as ‘huldigende Provinzen’, or subject territories. See Ulrich Kuder, ‘Sakramentar Heinrichs II’, in *Regensburger Buchmalerei*, ed. by Mütherich and Dachs, pp. 32–33, number 16.

42. Note that this inscription, like the one in the Pericope Book, makes explicit mention of the king's lineage. The inscriptions on both folios read as follows:

On folio 11^{r}: ECCE CORONATUR DIVINITUS ATQUE BEATUR / REX PIUS HEINRICUS PROAVORUM STIRPE POLOSUS. / HUIUS ODALRICUS COR REGIS SIGNET ET ACTUS, / EMMERAMMUS EI FAVEAT SOLAMINE DULCI. / PROPULSANS CURAM SIBI CONFERT ANGELUS HASTAM, / APTAT ET HIC ENSEM CUI PRAESIGNANDO TIMOREM. (My translation: ‘Behold, the pious, renowned King Henry is crowned and blessed by God through the lineage of his ancestors. May Ulrich bless the heart and acts of the king; may Emmeram favour him with sweet solace. An angel, warding off sorrow, confers upon him the lance; the other presents him the sword, with which he will spread fear.’) In Christ's *mandorla*: CLEMENS, CHRISTE, TUO LONGUM DA VIVERE CHRISTO, / UT TIBI DEVOTUS NON PERDAT TEMPORIS USUS. (My translation: ‘Merciful Christ, give your anointed one a long life, so that he, devoted to you, does not waste the use of time.’)

On folio 11^{v}: ECCE TRIUMPHATIS TERRARUM PARTIBUS ORBIS / INNUMERE GENTES DOMINANTIA IUSSA GERENTES / MUNERIBUS MULTIS VENERANTUR CULMEN HONORIS. / TALIA NUNC GAUDE FIERI REX O BENEDICTE / NAN DITIONE TUA SUNT OMNIA IURA SUBACTA, / HEC MODO SUSCIPIAS, CELI SUMPTURE CORONAS. (My translation: ‘Behold, after parts of the globe have been conquered, countless peoples fulfil the orders of the ruler and venerate the leader of honour with many gifts. Rejoice, o blessed king, that such things happen now, for all is subject to your law. Take this on now, in the future you will receive the heavenly crowns.’)

43. Georg Swarzenski reproduced all of the miniatures in the Regensburg Sacramentary in *Die Regensburger Buchmalerei des X. und XI. Jahrhunderts. Studien zur Geschichte der deutschen Malerei des frühen Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1901), p. 64; see his *excursus* on the Crucifixion/Resurrection series on p. 82. For a discussion of the importance of the Easter celebration and its connection to the celebration of the king, see Gerald Bayreuther, ‘Die Osterfeier als Akt Königlicher Repräsentanz und Herrschaftsausübung unter Heinrich II. (1002–1024)’, in *Feste und Feiern im Mittelalter*, ed. by D. Altenburg, J. Jarnut, and H. H. Steinhoff (Sigmaringen, 1991), pp. 245–53; Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*,

i, 119–55; Ernst Kantorowicz, 'Ivories and Litanies', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5 (1942), 56–81.

44. Stefan Weinfurter has interpreted the standing image of Henry II in the Sacramentary as evidence of Henry's Moses-like kingship due to the buds that sprout from his lance; they recall, he argues, the staffs of the leaders of the twelve tribes Israel that sprouted almonds. See *Heinrich II*, pp. 42–44. He notes this detail in his earlier essays 'Otto III und Heinrich II im Vergleich', pp. 387–43, and 'Sakralkönigtum und Herrschaftsbegründung um die Jahrtausendwende', pp. 47–103. Susanne Künzel also proposed such an interpretation in *Denkmale der Herrschaftstheologie Kaiser Heinrichs II*, pp. 24–26. For more background on this, refer to Numbers 17 and Jan Assmann, *Moses der Ägypter. Entzifferung einer Gedächtnisspur* (Munich, 1998).

45. Cf. note 42 above.

46. Indeed, even this sequence could be a veiled reference to the legacy of Charles the Bald, who reportedly procured relics of Christ's passion and donated them to St Denis, where he was a lay abbot.

47. *The Basileos Psalter*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Cod. Graec. 17, fol. 3^r. For a discussion of the use of a related model at Regensburg, see Mütherich, 'Die Regensburger Buchmalerei des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts', pp. 23–29.

48. Georg Leidinger, *Der Codex Aureus der bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München*, vol. vi (Munich, 1925), p. 47, where he discusses the manuscript's dating; O. K. Werckmeister, *Der Deckel des Codex Aureus von St Emmeram, ein Goldschmiedewerk des 9. Jahrhunderts* (Baden-Baden, 1963), pp. 76–80, for a discussion of the image of Charles the Bald enthroned; refer to Cohen, *The Uta Codex*, for a consideration of the stylistic influence of this work in Regensburg.

49. Leidinger, *Der Codex Aureus*, pp. 28–29. Leidinger recounts this legend from Arnold, the eleventh-century prior of St Emmeram who wrote three histories of the abbey's patron saint. Arnold wrote his version of the legend between 1035 and 1037. Excerpts from Arnold's history appear in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, 4, ed. by K. Waitz, rev. by Georg Heinrich Pertz, 2nd edn (Stuttgart, 1963), pp. 543–74. Arnold's original manuscript is housed at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, Clm 14870.

50. Warner, *Ottonian Germany*, Book IV, ch. 20, p. 165: 'Go quickly to your homeland, put your government in order, and never oppose your king and lord. I much regret ever having done so myself.' The original text reads: 'Vade celeriter ad patriam ac dispone regnum ac numquam regi ac domine resistas tuo. Multum enim me penitet hoc umquam fecisse.' See Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronik*, pp. 136–37.

51. Adam Cohen has mentioned the relationship between the patterned background in the image of Henry the Quarrelsome and works produced at Trier or Reichenau. See *The Uta Codex*, pp. 141–43 and Cohen's n. 17. The dedication miniature in pontifical/benedictional from Seeon has a similar formal arrangement, where Henry II stands with his arms supported by two bishops (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Lit. 53, fol. 2^v).

52. Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich*, pp. 12–14.

53. To name only a few: Ferdinand Geldner, 'Kaiser Heinrich II., der Bücherfreund auf dem deutschen Thron und sein schöpferisches Werk: Hochstift und ''Bücherstadt'' Bamberg', *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 4 (1974), 397–420; Mütherich, 'Die Regensburger Buchmalerei des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts'; Mütherich, 'The Library of Otto III', pp. 11–25; Kuder, 'Die Ottonen in der ottonischen Buchmalerei', pp. 137–244.

54. The famous dedication inscription in the *Liuthar Gospels* ('Hoc auguste libro tibi cor deus induat Otto, quem Liuthario te suscepisse memento', Aachen, Cathedral Treasury) reveals that the work was dedicated to Otto, but does not specify which one. Indeed, the inscription is equally a commemoration of Liuthar, the putative scribe of the work. The manuscript was probably produced for Otto III, but scholars do not agree upon its date of production. Here, too, the inscription praises not only the ruler for whom it was created, but also all of those who bore his name; the conflation of all of the Ottos in one type is, in my estimation, and in this specific case, intentional.

55. Adam Cohen discusses this in relation to the Uta Codex. See *The Uta Codex*, pp. 171–79.

4. Monastic Architecture and the Gorze Reforms Reconsidered

WARREN SANDERSON

During the early Middle Ages Lorraine was a land fertile with the seed of Church reforms. These were focused first on the efforts of Saint Benedict of Aniane (d. 822) to return monastic life to the rules of Saint Benedict of Nursia (*c.* 480–553). The Carolingian reformer, invited by 814 to the court of Emperor Louis the Pious at Aachen, founded a monastery at Inda under imperial auspices and continued his work of Church reform in Lorraine until his death. Later, but before Gorze's reformation, Gerard of Brogne sought the same pure reform goals in Lorraine until eventually he, himself, was won over to the newer usages and entered the Gorze monastery. Interestingly, although we may trace Gorze's roots to the mid-eighth century and follow its spiritual fortunes forward from its rich documentation, we never encounter a description of an important monastic church that would have existed at its site.[1] The famed William of Volpiano, often seen as a Cluniac, was active with his version of monastic reform in late-tenth-century Lorraine and there again during the early eleventh century.[2] Alongside such religious ferment the Gorze-Trier reforms arose, flowered, and were lost. It is these reforms and their architecture from the 930s through *c.* 1015–20 that we take up in this chapter.

By 1950/51 Kassius Hallinger had retrieved the tenth-century Benedictine reforming order of Gorze-Trier and its eleventh- and twelfth-century transmutations after nearly a millennium of oblivion.[3] As Anne Wagner pointed out in her book, *Gorze au XIe Siècle* (1996), Hallinger had considered Gorze and Trier to be two monasteries of a single movement, from which arose their eleventh- and twelfth-century forms that he termed the Lorraine mixed observances and the younger Gorze reform. St Gorgonius at Gorze and St Maximin at Trier were actually separate monasteries that were reformed almost simultaneously in 934. Between them there was soon a useful borrowing of talented people, including monks, scribes, priors, and, at times, also abbots. From many telling traces of written records that were systematically and laboriously scratched out of manuscripts of the tenth through the twelfth centuries, he reconstructed (1) the historical networks, liturgy, and theology of the Gorze reforms, (2) their sponsorship at the highest levels of the Ottonian hierarchies, and (3) the rich monastic filiations that became pathways along which exchanges of people and ideas occurred between 934 and approximately 1100. Hallinger's detailed historical restorations of the tenth-century Gorze-Trier reforms and of their eleventh-century offspring, the Lorraine mixed observances and the younger Gorze reform, showed their shared Benedictine usages, changes in practice common to many affiliated houses, and in the eleventh century their increased assimilation of some Cluniac practices. While Hallinger also emphasized the fundamental importance for the Gorze reforms of substantial Ottonian imperial and noble patronage throughout the Germanic empire and its bordering western lands, his articulation of this support varied considerably enough to raise questions about particular reformed houses.[4] Nevertheless, one of Hallinger's unexpected contributions to the history of early medieval art and architecture resides in his having posed from exhaustive studies of documentary data quite specific relationships among and within regionally related groups of monasteries and cathedrals.

More than a half-century after its original appearance, Hallinger's two-volume dissertation on the Gorze-Trier reforms of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, their liturgical practices, and their patronage is still mostly unknown to architectural historians. This may be due largely to his exaggerated contrasts between Gorze and Cluny.[5] A more holistic and convincing consideration of the Gorze reform is seen in a remarkably nuanced and most recent treatment by John Nightingale, which contrasts with Hallinger's groundbreaking work.[6] Rather than finding *Gorze-Kluny* bipolarities in monasteries of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, Nightingale describes a rich societal continuum which preceded by more than a half-century both Cluny's and Gorze's reforms. This societal continuum was changed between 850 and 1000 within monastic enclosures and beyond in the world at large. With Nightingale's much more limited historic and chronological stage his medieval society is much fuller and more enriched with illuminating insights than Hallinger's.[7] He shows that monasteries maintained their respected places and continued to perform faithfully their centuries-old roles, even in the face of sudden cataclysmic destructions by fierce invaders. Despite their highly textured but different contexts, neither Hallinger, Wagner, nor Nightingale was particularly concerned with the architectures of reform.

The Architectural Literature

By 1957 Dieter Grossmann had recognized that architectural motifs may have been developed along lines of filiation of the Gorze-Trier reforms.[8] Aside from his speculation on Hallinger's findings, some very few articles on one or another building of these reforms, and occasional brief mentions in exhibition catalogues, the architecture of the three successive Gorze reform movements has seldom been more than casually considered.

Louis Grodecki's book on Ottonian architecture took no account of these reforms.[9] In my article on St Pantaleon at Cologne I focused on the church's imperial iconography, but omitted discussion of this tenth-century monastery's relationships with the Gorze reform that was zealously advocated by Brun, the archbishop of Cologne.[10] A year later (1971), I considered the form and functions of the external crypt dedicated in 952 at Trier's monastic church of St Maximin, a highly respected, venerable, richly endowed Benedictine monastery outside the Roman city's walls, and I found that close formal, liturgical, and iconographic relationships linked its outer crypt with the Romanesque architecture of seventeen others erected onto the east choir of Lorraine-reform churches.[11]

In the same essay I saw another important trend at monastic churches of the Gorze reforms. When sizeable outer crypts were constructed onto the east, then the westwork at the west terminus of the church was reduced by eliminating a low, vaulted, crypt-like west entrance level that had been a hallmark of the Carolingian full westwork.[12] A year later Luc-Fr. Génicot responded to my views on Gorze-reform architecture, augmenting them with many pertinent footnotes added in his previously completed book manuscript.[13]

H. E. Kubach and A. Verbeek included many Lorraine-reform monastic buildings (that Hallinger had documented) in their highly reliable four-volume inventory and historical interpretation of Romanesque architecture in the regions from the Meuse River to the Rhine, but only mentioned the three reforms twice quite briefly.[14] In an article completed in 1985, I proposed a graphic reconstruction of St Maximin's westwork (949), discussing that monument's interrelationships with other Gorze-reform churches.[15]

Bernward of Hildesheim's reforming interest stemmed from Gorze, Trier, Mainz, and Cologne, but remains not yet fully understood. Though F. Tschan explored a link between Bishop Bernward and the Gorze reform, Beseler and Roggenkamp never pursued it.[16] G. Binding's (1987) fine book on Bishop Bernward as the architect of St Michael's at Hildesheim does little with Bernward's connections with either the Gorze or closely related Trier reforms.[17] R. Schütz's essay concerning Bishop Bernward's installation of the great bronze doors at eleventh-century St Michael's at Hildesheim, though colourfully detailed, barely mentions that many of the interested Church and secular authorities at this event had strong connections with the Lorraine reforms.[18]

Günther Binding and Matthias Untermann paid limited attention to buildings of the Gorze reforms *per se* in their survey of the monastic architecture of medieval Germany.[19] Their work and mine (1971) found resonance in an article by Lex Bosmann who pointed to architectural parallels and Lorraine-reform filiations among St Mary in Capitol at Cologne (1040–65) and the monastic churches at Stavelot, Malmédy (1021–40/46), and Brauweiler (1048–61).[20]

Most studies have hardly considered the importance of built responses to the Lorraine reform's liturgical requirements. For instance, in an otherwise fundamental article G. Binding clarified the sequence of buildings at reformed Hersfeld abbey, but omitted mention of its importance in the Gorze reforms.[21] Twenty years later he again did little with the Gorze reform in his survey of architecture in Ottonian Cologne.[22] In separate monographs on the excavations of St Pantaleon, F. Muhlberg and H. Fussbroich were almost exclusively concerned with archaeological and architectural problems, while virtually ignoring by omission this monastery's solid connections to the Gorze reforms.[23] An excellent monograph by A. Zettler on Reichenau-Mittelzell's monastery missed Abbot Witigowo's formidable late-tenth-century links with Lorraine-reformed abbeys while mentioning Abbot Berno's less important eleventh-century reform filiations. Both abbots figured prominently in completing Reichenau-Mittelzell's monastic church as it was planned *c.* 990.[24] We have considered only the tip of the iceberg, since by the year 1100 more than 160 Lorraine-reformed monasteries dotted the European landscape from St Bertin at St Omer in France on the west to Kremsmunster in Austria on the east, and from Hildesheim, Germany, on the north to Einsiedeln, Switzerland, and at one time as far as Rome on the south.

My 1971 inquiry into the Romanesque architecture of the Lorraine reforms took up the formal characteristics and the liturgical and symbolic reflections of the Gorze-Trier and later Lorraine usages in the outer crypts of seventeen reformed monasteries.[25] A quarter century later Anne Wagner decried Hallinger's exaggerations and his false polarizing of Gorze *versus* Cluny, without discussing Gorze-reformed architecture, but presenting otherwise much useful data about the eleventh-century monasteries affiliated with offspring of the Gorze reforms.[26] Finally, turning away briefly from architecture to art, we find in Henry Mayr-Harting's two-volume treatment of Ottonian book illumination good use of pathways of exchange among Gorze/Trier and their later variant movements, thus making of these reforms a subtle sub-theme.[27]

This summary of the pertinent literature since the middle of the twentieth century makes clear that—despite my investigation of the outer crypt as an architectural type preferred at Gorze-Trier–reformed monasteries—we still lack the necessary follow-ups of thorough and systematic scholarly studies of the Ottonian and Romanesque buildings of the Lorraine reforms.

Historical Background

What then do we know of the Lorraine reforms? In 934 under the patronage of the younger brother of the count of Lorraine, Bishop Adalbert of Metz (929–62), Abbot Einold led seven monks to establish a Benedictine monastic reform at St Gorgonius of Gorze near Metz, a reform that would have far-reaching consequences.[28] At Trier since at least the middle of the ninth century the counts and dukes of Lorraine had often been the lay abbots of St Maximin. In 934, too, soon after Adalbert's and Einold's successful efforts at Gorze, Duke Gisilbert of Lorraine (928/29–39) sponsored Abbot Ogo's Gorze-inspired reform of St Maximin. That very same year, Ogo (934–45) undertook a great building programme that was only completed in 952, seven years after he had left to become bishop of Liège.[29]

Before we study the effects of the Gorze reform upon architecture, let us look more closely into the related reform movements that supplanted it from around the year one thousand well into the eleventh century. After 934 this movement spread near and far to Benedictine houses north, east, and south of Metz and Trier, but seldom westward where the stricter Cluniac reform's affiliates had been implanted since mid-century. Gorze and St Maximin at Trier had reformed some forty monastic houses by the end of the tenth century. The acceptance of Gorze usages in French regions was mainly limited to cities and the outlying areas of Metz, Verdun, and Toul until the first of Gorze's two eleventh-century variants, the Lorraine mixed observances, became effective at Stavelot-Malmédy and Verdun. The rapid spread of the order of Gorze particularly from the reform centre of St Maximin at Trier resulted in extensive interrelated networks of reformed monasteries extending throughout Germany, few of which were altogether newly established. Patrons, abbots, and monks of the newly reformed houses tended to assimilate by consent Gorze's and St Maximin's practices without being asked to follow rigid requirements by their mother houses. Thus, by the time Cluniac reformers sought to move east from Burgundy they found a long-established Gorze presence was difficult if not impossible to dislodge. So the extant Gorze-Trier reform monasteries became obstacles that until well into the eleventh century prevented Cluny and its architectural preferences from gaining more than an occasional toehold east of Burgundy. The Cluniacs' first serious inroads into *Germania* and the so-called Holy Roman Empire occurred only after receiving Emperor Henry II's (d. 1024) support late in his rule.

The Gorze-Trier reform differed from the Cluniac in several respects.[30] Among these were the former's greater emphasis upon the individual—rather than corporate—entity, the arrangement of the liturgical calendar year, hence its churchly celebrations, Gorze-Trier's filiations of monastic communities in loose regional groupings, its much less rigid overall character of monastic organization, its modes of clothing, and its often close relationships with local bishops. Gorze-reformed establishments were usually near and closely related to cities, while Cluny was usually not an urban reform movement since most cathedral cities already had a Benedictine church, and by the last quarter of the tenth century the most powerful of urban clergy were selected from Gorze-Trier centres. As the Gorze-Trier reform's advocates were increasingly elevated to important clerical posts throughout the Germanic empire, variant forms of Gorze usages reached beyond monastic precincts to inform cathedral chapters and imperial chanceries. As early as 951, responding to the request of Pope Agapetus II (946–55), the abbot of Gorze sent monks to reform St Paul's Outside the Walls at Rome.[31]

In England during the third quarter of the tenth century Saint Dunstan (957–65, d. 988) brought to what were essentially the Gorze-Trier customs important sections from certain particularly English usages to form finally the *Regularis Concordia*.[32]

On the continent, Sandrad of St Maximin (d. 984) first set the Gorze-Trier customs to velum toward 960–65.[33] Then, later in the tenth century the 'Lorraine mixed observances' and by the second decade of the eleventh century the 'younger Gorze reform' were developed west and north-west of Trier accommodating the acceptable tenets of the Cluniac order. At Verdun's cathedral city after the new millennium had begun, Abbot Richard's reforms of Benedictine St Vanne stemmed mostly from Gorze, though the abbot himself was from Reims. Richard of St Vanne's (1004–46) successes led some twenty more monasteries into the fold of the Lorraine mixed observances; and Poppo of Stavelot's (1020–48) disciples brought the new revised rules to many more Benedictine houses. Emperor Henry II (1002–24), a strong supporter of Poppo of Stavelot's reforms, named him in 1020 as abbot of St Maximin at Trier. By the end of the eleventh century the original customs recorded by Sandrad at St Maximin were dispersed in many versions that had assimilated some of Einsiedeln's and Cluny's *consuetudines* for use in a great many later Gorze-reformed monasteries.

Considering again Emperor Henry II's furthering of Poppo's and Richard of St Vanne's reforms, we can be sure that more than mere coincidence had led Gisilbert the duke of Lorraine to sponsor the first Gorze-Trier reforms at Gorze and St Maximin. There had been wheels working within wheels within wheels, working to support, maintain, and expand the Gorze-Trier movement under the umbrella of successive Ottonian ruling families (936–1024), the nobility, and the clergy. As Hallinger rightly characterized it more than a half-century ago, the tenth-century Gorze reform and its eleventh-century Lorraine mixed observance remained family concerns of the Ottonian and Salian emperors and their courts.

To exemplify this, we begin with Brun, the younger brother of the king and then emperor, Otto I.[34] Brun was inculcated with a reforming zeal during his early years of schooling at St Maximin of Trier.[35] From there he became abbot of the revered and prestigious monastery of St Nazarius at Lorsch, until his elevation to archbishop of Cologne, an office he held from 953 until his death in 965. When Brun established model monasteries at St Pantaleon in Cologne, St Patroclus at Soest, and Münstereifel, he called their abbots from St Maximin thus extending the Trier reform. Another former monk from St Maximin, a certain Gero, not to be confused with the Margrave Gero who had the abbey at Gernrode built in the 960s, was in 975 abbot of the reformed monastery of Monchen-Gladbach that Sandrad of St Maximin had established two years before. This same Gero followed in Brun's footsteps becoming an archbishop of Cologne. Next Archbishop Heribert of Cologne (999–1024), another longtime adherent of the Gorze-Trier reforms, founded the Benedictine monastery of St Mary at Deutz in 1002 (figs 15 and 16). Most of these few examples are centred at Cologne.[36] History suggests many more prominent reformed centres that require investigation for there is no dearth of architectural topics in the Gorze-Trier reforms and their two later variants. Indeed all the historical personages whom I have just named sponsored, inspired, or actually led building campaigns.

The Architectural Problematic

An active sponsor of construction in Cologne and its neighbouring regions, Archbishop Brun was responsible for renovating the Carolingian Cathedral of Cologne (phase VII) before he founded or renewed St Pantaleon in 964 at Cologne.[37] At St Pantaleon (figs 7, 8, and 30) a single, monumental, wooden-roofed nave without side aisles coursed uninterruptedly from west to east, passing beyond the eastern transept arms' screens, to conclude in a rectangular east choir with a shallowly rounded niche-like apse. Toward the year 1000 a fully semicircular, bolder, apse replaced the original. St Pantaleon's uninterrupted wooden-roofed space recalls those of Charlemagne's audience hall at Aachen and its ultimate model, the Constantinian *aula* at Trier. However, where Charlemagne's audience hall's external blind arcading broadened the proportions of Trier's, there was at St Pantaleon a quickened arcade rhythm; and where structurally the interior of the audience halls at Trier and Aachen were flat surfaces prepared for characteristic decorations, the interior walls of St Pantaleon were articulated in less bold blind arcading dissimilar in proportions to that of its exterior. Despite broad similarities among them, at St Pantaleon the eastern transept arms signalled a departure from both the Constantinian and Carolingian imperial *aulae* that we have seen. They take us instead to Milan where the early Christian Church of the Virgin (rededicated later as S. Simplicianus) with its monumental transept arms lower than the nave's height, may have been a model for Brun's architects. From this I would postulate that at Cologne, Ottonian builders deliberately synthesized a Carolingian audience hall at Aachen, an Imperial Roman basilica type at Trier, and its redesign under Saint Ambrose at his *Basilica Virginum* in Milan. Their goal seems to have been a new Gorze-Trier–reformed Benedictine church type for St Pantaleon.

This latter type seems related to two more buildings that Brun sponsored, St Patroclus at Soest and a church at Munstereifel. The first was evidently begun in 964 as St Pantaleon at Cologne had been, and like the Cologne building its completion was assured by a sum of money that the archbishop left for this purpose. Though at Soest, as at St Pantaleon, a single nave was uninterrupted, complemented by lower eastern transept wings, and probably concluded in an apse that resembled the shallow first apse of St Pantaleon, their ground plans differed in proportions with much longer arms at St Patroclus. The general plan of the Munstereifel church that Brun may have known in his early travels between Cologne and Trier suggests similarities with St Patroclus. Beyond this, and despite quite competent excavations on site, little is known of Munstereifel's early medieval church. From this overview of Archbishop Brun's efforts at establishing a type of church building, the style of which had not been seen since Saint Ambrose's time at Milan, it may well be that Brun's architectural references were intended to call attention to the imperial character of the Gorze-Trier reform's churchly patronage.

As a youthful Byzantine princess, Theophanou (active 972–91) outlived her husband Emperor Otto II (d. 982) and became highly influential in and well beyond Cologne helping prepare that city to become an outstanding centre of art and architecture from the last quarter of the tenth century into the eleventh.[38] Following Archbishop Brun's interment at St Pantaleon, in the early 980s she selected that same formidable monastic centre as her funerary church. In new construction its nave was extended west, a centrally planned structure beyond that was left unfinished, then levelled, and a bold, new westwork was built onto the single nave of the church. The tall flat blind arcading that articulated the exterior of the north and south walls of Archbishop Brun's first phase of the church apparently partly inspired the more delicate articulation of arcades found still today in traces in the interior's two newer western bays. Though Trier's Constantinian audience hall, Charlemagne's palace *aula* at Aachen, and the Basilica of the Virgin at Milan had been likely models for St Pantaleon's original hall-like spatial design, the blind arcading at St Pantaleon was much closer to the proportions and quickened sequence of the Milanese hall's external arcading. For Empress Theophanou, however, St Pantaleon's blind arcading may also have recalled the bolder arcading on round piers that she would have known from the exterior of the Myrelaion church (*c.* 920) at Constantinople decades before she travelled to the West.[39]

The stylistic treatment of the interior wall surfaces at St Pantaleon at Cologne was more significant since it was consistent with the building's spatial conception. While externally its arcading upon pilasters echoed that of much earlier buildings at Trier, Aachen, and perhaps Milan, unlike those monuments St Pantaleon's arcading continued within the church and eventually had profound consequences. The creation of two strata upon the walls of the interior—arcading carried on pilasters as a foreground upon the flat wall as background—had implications that did not apply to the exterior. Within the hall-like interior, it brought about a sense of spatial control. Space no longer flowed uninterruptedly from west to east beneath a wooden roof, as it had largely in Carolingian buildings. Space consisted, instead, of a sequence of segments, that is, of individual bays, each framed north and south by a corresponding arcade upon pilasters. Between 964 and the 980s for the first time in the interior of St Pantaleon at Cologne, rising wall surfaces were articulated to become successive bays. Increasingly, St Pantaleon is recognized as a monumental building in which the consolidation and clear articulation of its architectural parts, its external articulation in arcades, its use within of a precursor to the bay structure found in so many eleventh-century buildings, and its much restored cross-shaped westwork were combined to constitute an early, unvaulted, Romanesque style of architecture. The results of these stylistic trends would only become conspicuous by *c.* 1010/15 at Bernward's church of St Michael's of Hildesheim (fig. 19) in the consummate perfection and coordination of its plan, spatial organization, and interior elevation, and its clear and rhythmic massing of architectural elements.[40]

The interior elevation of St Pantaleon's large westwork (fig. 7), built between 984 and *c.* 1002 probably with Theophanou's patronage, employed the reduced two-storeyed arrangement that had been introduced at Werden on the Ruhr in 940–43. St Pantaleon's restored westwork today closely resembles its original form, with a long west entrance hall leading beyond flanking twin stairway turrets to a towered crossing bay between its north and south arms. Galleries over the entry hall and transept arms open to the central west bay on three sides through triple and double arcades on stout piers, while to the east the central bay is framed by a single high arch beyond which the long nave of the church begins. By boldly asserting the form of the cross, the westwork of St Pantaleon at Cologne moved away from the massive block-like westwork that had been preserved at Werden and Corvey and announced the more salient articulation of large architectural elements so typical of Ottonian designs.

After St Pantaleon, another change in the westwork's spatial conception and dedication followed at Hildesheim by 1010–15 (figs 19, 27, and 28). On a hill outside the village, Bishop Bernward erected a monastic church to St Michael as a basilica with nave, counter-apses, side aisles, high transepts east and west surmounted by crossing towers, and internal galleries north and south accessible from stairway turrets. The idea of the west crypt that was rejected at Werden-on-the-Ruhr and at St Pantaleon at Cologne was revived in 964 when the cathedral of Hildesheim (852–72) received a three-aisled hall crypt beneath a simple west tower that housed the relics of St Epiphanius. Some thirty to forty years later, it may have been this nearby forerunner that prompted Bernward to reintegrate the vaulted hall crypt, that outstanding element of Carolingian full westworks, into his new monastic church of St Michael's at Hildesheim.

The hall crypt, resuming its previous (Carolingian) location at St Michael, became part of a new remarkably monumental juxtaposition of spaces that redefined the west building. Beneath the western choir bay and the great semicircular west apse, the groin-vaulted crypt communicated freely with an enclosing semicircular ambulatory that was surmounted by a second vaulted storey. In 1022 the crypt beneath the west choir served as the final resting place of the church's founder, receiving and displaying Bernward's sarcophagus in its midst. Just as he had changed the westwork's form from its traditional Carolingian spatial sequence, so in meaning Bernward went beyond the customary consecration of the west building to the Saviour, adding dedications to the Virgin, the Holy Cross, and 'especially' the Archangel Michael to a newly impressive west complex just outside of Hildesheim.

Bernward's contributions to the history of medieval architecture at St Michael's are clearly visible in his rhythmic arrangements of the nave's columns and piers, in the relatively wide side aisles that linked east and west transepts, in the similar progressions of gallery arcades in the elevations at the ends of the four transept arms, and in his use of abstractly geometric, cuboidal, cushion capitals that had been introduced elsewhere only two or three decades before. Whether any or all of these are preponderant in other eleventh-century churches of the Lorraine reforms remains to be seen. However, in the east choir, one inferior and one superior apsidal chapel of each transept arm and a larger apse concluding the chancel bay beyond the crossing comprised five elements: a major space in the main apse and two lesser spaces aligned vertically in each of the two lateral apses. The changes in altar dedications, in liturgical usages, and necessarily in the processionals at St Michael's at Hildesheim accorded with the Gorze reform of Benedictine monasticism disseminated from Trier since 934 with the support of the Ottonian court and nobility. Careful observation shows that at Hildesheim St Michael's passageways lead from the transept galleries through masonries of the north-east and south-east corners of the building into the chapels that surmount the lateral apses. These correspond very well to similar passageways at St Maximin, one of which led through an analogously placed north-eastern choir masonry, while the other at St Maximin may be reconstructed by comparison with that of St Michael's at Hildesheim and on the broader basis of the very likely bi-symmetrical plan of St Maximin.

Though not without Carolingian or early Ottonian forerunners, at St Michael's of Hildesheim Bishop Bernward proved himself a man of towering innovative architectural intelligence. First, he reintegrated the westwork, hall crypt, and two-storeyed annular crypt with the large towered west transept; second, he combined piers and columns in a new manner, topping the columns with cuboidal cushion capitals; and, third, he invented an east choir and transept complex with towers that mirrors the west transept's design. Finally, he provided a new solution to the arrangement of altar spaces that seems more fluent and coherent than that which we may reconstruct for one of his most respected possible models, the monastic church of St Maximin of Trier.

In the monastic churches of the Ottonian empire architectural changes reflected liturgical innovations that were spread along the lines of filiation of the Lorraine reforms from the mid-tenth century.[41] At reformed monastic churches, westworks were reduced in size when outer crypts were built east of, and linked with, the main choir. Simultaneously in Gorze-Trier circles the *locus* of the cult of the Saviour was transferred from the westwork to the outer crypt.[42] As the outer crypt increased in liturgical importance and in symbolic meaning at well-known reformed centres including St Maximin at Trier (952), St Emmeram at Regensburg (980), St Michael's at Hildesheim (997–1020), St Amand (1040), Stavelot (1046) and Malmédy (1040), and St Riquier at Centula (1056), in their westworks the cult of the Archangel Michael displaced that of the Saviour. Serious inroads by the Cluniacs into the monasteries of Gorze-Trier during the mid- to late eleventh century resulted in the practical eradication of the Order of Gorze by the late twelfth century.

Conclusions

We have discussed the architectural literature, the historical background, some architectural problematics, and some contributions to Romanesque architecture of Lorraine's Gorze-Trier movements and their two ensuing reforms, from the second third of the tenth century well into the eleventh century. From Gorze and from Trier, reformers organized at regional subcentres, each of which then constructed its own network of lineages, normally by means of reciprocal consent between religious houses. The lines of filiation of Gorze, Trier, Verdun, and Stavelot, for instance, each constituted networks over which exchanges of architectural ideas, building techniques, liturgies, and theological concerns occurred, some of which contributed to developments in Romanesque architecture. Among the reformed houses at which significant buildings were constructed, as I have previously mentioned, were St Maximin at Trier, St Willibrordus at Echternach, St Pantaleon at Cologne, St Emmeram in Regensburg, St Michael's at Hildesheim, St Nazarius at Lorsch, Stavelot-Malmédy, Fulda, Hersfeld, Corvey, Reichenau-Mittelzell, and Einsiedeln. Among reformed monastic churches erected later were St Vanne at Verdun (1004–85), Lobbes (1020–1131), and St Bertin at St Omer (1021–1101). The Gorze-Trier reform and its later variants, the Lorraine mixed observances and the younger Gorze reform, reached beyond monastic precincts into cathedral chapters and imperial chanceries. With such potential patronage, creative impulses were amply nourished in many workshops of the reform throughout the large geographic regions in which Romanesque architecture prospered for nearly two centuries. We have focused on some of the monastic churches of the first Gorze and Trier reforms of the 930s and on their successors in the first decades of the eleventh century while mentioning others as well. Future researchers into Lorraine-reform architecture may look to John Nightingale's historical model, learning from it to limit the problem carefully, research it widely and intensively, and be judicious in selecting from the available data. To this I need add only that one must also remain aware that buildings for the highest of purposes were erected for people and by them.

A systematic scholarly study of the major tenth- and eleventh-century buildings of the Lorraine reforms that stemmed originally from Gorze and Trier, and then from Verdun and Stavelot, remains to be written. To accomplish this, the architectural historical paradigm of a centrally controlled, unified stylistic grouping anticipated in studying Cluniac or Cistercian buildings, for instance, must be set aside so that we may account for the various styles of Romanesque architecture almost certainly to be found among the much more loosely affiliated monasteries of the Gorze and Trier customs.

Only after studying each monastery's architecture individually and within its regional groupings will the building and design norms and the innovations that accommodated the Lorraine reforms become apparent. Only then may this architectural research fill a void of more than a century in our knowledge of the buildings of the Middle Ages.

NOTES

I should like to express my gratitude to Canada's Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council for a substantial grant that made possible my research in Europe into the fundamental data upon which this chapter is based.

1. For the documentation on Gerard of Brogne's movement, see the summary in Anne Wagner, *Gorze au* XI^e *Siècle* (Paris, 1996). In the same volume Wagner treats the data on Gorze and its related monasteries much more extensively.

2. See especially Neithard Bulst, *Untersuchungen zu den Klosterreformen Wilhelms von Dijon (962–1031)*, Pariser Historischer Studien, 11 (Bonn, 1973).

3. Kassius Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny: Studien zu der monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensatzen im Hochmittalalter*, 2 vols, Studia Anselmiana, 22–25 (Rome, 1950; 2nd edn 1970).

4. I would caution prospective researchers into the art and architecture of the Gorze reform and its offspring reform movements to probe more fully the few highly hypothetical pathways of exchange among those presented by Hallinger. Their existence is clear in some cases from Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: An Historical Study*, 2 vols (London, 1991), and my essay, 'Monastic Reform in Lorraine and the Architecture of the Outer Crypt, 950–1100', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 61.6 (1971), 1–46.

5. Wagner, *Gorze au* XI^e *Siècle*.

6. John Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons in the Gorze Reform: Lotharingia c. 850–1000* (Oxford, 2001).

7. Nightingale's history contains a much richer combination of details about specific monasteries and their dealings with one another, whether concerning the exchange of large, even huge tracts of land, the intervention or patronage of one or another of the more highly placed nobility or royalty itself, the levying of requirements for troops upon monasteries by both clerics and secular leaders, or the activities of one or another *scriptorium*. Recognizing this, it is disappointing for an architectural historian to learn a great deal about the people and times of a monastery yet almost nothing of its construction. The author remains strictly within the limits of his title, studying three monasteries of considerable consequence in the time span between *c.* 850 and 1000 in Lorraine.

8. Dieter Grossmann, review of Hallinger 1950 in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 13 (1955), 221–23; also idem, 'Zum Stand der Westwerk-Forschung', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, 19 (1957), 253–64.

9. L. Grodecki, *Au seuil de l'art roman: L'architecture ottonienne* (Paris, 1958).

10. Warren Sanderson, 'The Sources and Significance of the Ottonian Abbey Church of St Pantaleon at Cologne', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 29 (1970), 83–96.

11. Sanderson, 'Monastic Reform in Lorraine', 1–46.

12. The Carolingian westwork may best be defined as a towered structure with a central space enclosed on three sides by galleries that open into it, the whole surmounting a low vaulted entry-level crypt that is located west of, and adjoined, the church proper. For the westwork, see Dagmar von Schönfeld de Reyes, *Westwerkprobleme: Zur Bedeutung der Westwerke in der kunsthistorischen Forschung* (Weimar, 1999).

13. Luc-Fr. Genicot, *Les églises mosanes du* XI^e *siècle*, vol. I, *Architecture et société* (Louvain, 1972).

14. H. E. Kubach and A. Verbeek, *Romanische Baukunst an Rhein und Maas*, vols I–III (Berlin, 1976), and vol. IV (Berlin, 1989).

15. Warren Sanderson, 'Considerations on the Ottonian Monastic Church of St Maximin at Trier', in *Baukunst des Mittelalters in Europa: Hans Erich Kubach zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. by Franz J. Much (Stuttgart, 1988), pp. 173–98.

16. Francis J. Tschan, *St Bernward of Hildesheim*, vol. I, *Bernward's Church of St Michael*, vol. II, *His Works of Art*, and vol. III, *Plates*, Publications in Mediaeval Studies of the University of Notre Dame (South Bend, 1951); also H. Beseler and H. Roggenkamp, *Die Michaeliskirche in Hildesheim* (Berlin, 1954).

17. G. Binding, *Bischof Bernward als Architekt der Michaeliskirche in Hildesheim* (Köln, 1987).

18. R. Schütz, 'Die Bernwardstür in Hildesheim', in *Festschrift für Hermann Fillitz zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by Ulrich Schneider (Köln, 1994).

19. Günther Binding and Matthias Untermann, *Kleine Kunstgeschichte der Mittelalterlichen Ordensbaukunst in Deutschland* (Darmstadt, 1985), pp. 75–108, esp. 75–87.

20. Lex Bosmann, 'Architektur und Klosterreform: Die Zusammenhänge zwischen Stablo, Brauweiler, und S. Maria im Kapitol', *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, 41.4 (1987), 315, 10 illus.

21. G. Binding, 'Die karolingisch-salische Klosterkirche Hersfeld', *Aachener Kunstblatter*, 41 (1971), 189–201.

22. G. Binding, 'Ottonische Baukunst in Köln', in *Kaiserin Theophanu: Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, ed. by Anton von Euw and Peter Schreiner, 2 vols (Köln, 1991), I, 281–98.

23. Fried Mühlberg, *Köln: Sant Pantaleon und sein Ort in der karolingischen und ottonischen Baukunst* (Köln, 1989); and H. Fussbroich, *Die Ausgrabungen in St Pantaleon zu Köln* (Mainz, 1983).

24. A. F. Zettler, *Die frühen Klosterbauten der Reichenau: Ausgrabungen-Schriftquellen-St. Galler Klosterplan* (Sigmaringen, 1988).

25. Sanderson 'Monastic Reform in Lorraine'.

26. Wagner, *Gorze au* XI^e *Siècle*.

27. Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*.

28. R. Parisot, *Le royaume de Lotharingia sous les Carolingiens* (Paris, 1898), 614–15; also Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, vol. I.

29. See the brief but edifying mentions of Abbot Ogo in Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, pp. 203, 206, 207, 235–36.

30. Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, vol. II, ch. 5, pp. 869–97, is particularly clear on these and many more differences.

31. Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, I, 76 and nn. 1, 2. Only two

decades later the Gorze reform at S. Paolo was supplanted by Cluny's.

32. For the Dunstan reform's suffusion with elements of the Gorze *consuetudines*, see Sanderson 'Monastic Reform in Lorraine', pp. 7–8, 32. Also Thomas Symons, 'Sources of the *Regularis Concordia*', *Downside Review*, 59 (1941), 14–36, 143–70, 264–89.

33. Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, II, 892–97, 920–21, and 956–59 for the Sandrad customs and those of other reforms.

34. F. Lotter, *Die vita Brunonis des Ruotger*, Bonner Historische Forschungen, 9 (Bonn, 1958), p. 75.

35. Sanderson, 'Monastic Reform in Lorraine', p. 7 n. 17.

36. Binding, 'Ottonische Baukunst', pp. 281–98.

37. For Brun at Cologne cathedral, see Hanns Peter Neuheuser, 'Der Kölner Dom unter Erzbischof Bruno', in *Kaiserin Theophanu*, ed. by von Euw and Schreiner, I, 299–310.

38. See for instance the exhibition catalogue with an accompanying volume of articles: *Kaiserin Theophanu*, ed. by von Euw and Schreiner.

39. Also called Bodrum Camii; R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Baltimore, MD, 1975), pp. 377–85, illus 308–11.

40. It should be noted that the first abbot of St Michael's at Hildesheim, one Goderamnus, was called by Bernward from the Gorze-reformed monastery of St Pantaleon at Cologne.

41. Grossmann, review of Hallinger; Sanderson, 'Monastic Reform in Lorraine'; Bosmann, 'Architektur und Klosterreform'.

42. Sanderson, 'Monastic Reform in Lorraine', pp. 29–34.

5. Architecture and Liturgy in England *c.* 1000: Problems and Possibilities

HELEN GITTOS

The interrelationship between liturgy and architecture has long been acknowledged, yet the nature of the connections between them remains elusive. It is particularly tempting to seek links during periods of ecclesiastical reform, when investment tends to be made in both books and buildings.[1] In England, the decades either side of the first millennium span the height of the Benedictine reform movement, the vicissitudes suffered during a resurgence of Viking activity, and the beginnings of revived interest in church building. It is also during this period that one first has surviving liturgical books of the kind most appropriate for this sort of study.

This paper attempts first to assess current knowledge of the architecture of the period so that it can be considered alongside the continental papers presented here. Secondly, it examines the evidence that both architecture and liturgy reveal about their own relationship. For Anglo-Saxon England most of the research on the spatial context for the performance of the liturgy has relied on the *Regularis Concordia* as the prime liturgical source. In the process many other contemporary manuscripts have been neglected. The richness of this material will be highlighted, together with its limitations for architectural historians. Though the problems are severe, it is suggested that there are ways in which both liturgical and architectural sources may be used in conjunction to provide a better understanding of the culture of the late Anglo-Saxon Church.

Architecture and Liturgy in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Some Problems

The correlation between liturgy and architecture tends to be approached in two ways. Given sufficient evidence for both media it may be possible to reconstruct the liturgy of a particular building, or architectural evidence, such as the articulation of particular parts of a building, can suggest the relative liturgical importance of certain locations or the position of liturgical furnishings.[2] Such studies are largely concerned with precisely how buildings were used: what was done where.[3] Alternatively, one can examine architecture and liturgy as evidence for theological, or political, concerns.[4] The difficulties in establishing a close interaction between the two are notorious.[5] Church officers did not need written instructions for how to perform services: largely they learnt through oral tradition and by experience, so liturgical books of this period should not be expected to provide detailed information about ritual performance. The inherently conservative nature of the liturgy means that rites rarely reflect local customs, often fossilize outdated practices, and need not be performed as they were intended. To compound the problem, it is rarely possible to relate a particular text to a building at a certain stage in its evolution. There are also more fundamental difficulties: functional requirements can result in different architectural solutions; architectural motifs may be retained, and their functions modified, even when they have lost their original purpose; the liturgical ideal may not coincide with architectural reality, especially where older buildings are adapted, the two can change at different times and different rates; some architectural changes are not related to liturgical evolution; other factors such as private devotion, the influence of patrons, or local wealth and fashion may have dramatic architectural impact without significant liturgical change.[6] Architectural form is influenced by liturgy, but it is not its *raison d'être*.

For early medieval England liturgical manuscripts can inform interpretation of architectural function, but they rarely coincide in a precise manner. The reform period does not appear to have resulted in significant architectural innovation, except in rare cases such as Winchester. The apparent extent to which this was a period of major liturgical change is a question which requires further, more integrated study. The two need not coincide. Certainly, it is rarely possible to reconstruct with any precision the liturgical arrangement of a particular building or of an architectural form. Yet there are ways in which they can shed light on one another if approached in an appropriate manner. Medievalists are in an enviable position to examine the dynamics of ritual activity and the relationship between space and rite.

Anglo-Saxon Architecture c. 970–c. 1030

Church architecture of the reform period is notoriously elusive. There are no substantial standing remains from any of the major sites. It is little wonder, then, that Anglo-Saxon architecture is not renowned for its monumentality. Yet the foundations unearthed beneath the cemetery north of Winchester Cathedral are testimony to what could be achieved by Anglo-Saxon patrons on the eve of the millennium. Richard Gem has demonstrated that the later tenth century saw a revival of interest in church building, though only those foundations in receipt of substantial royal patronage display significant innovation. Many architectural features look towards earlier traditions from England as well as the continent.[7] These trends can only have been exacerbated during the last decade of the tenth century with renewed, and costly, Viking activity. Evidence for church building from the end of the tenth century and the early parts of the eleventh century is meagre and momentum was not regained until nearer the middle of the eleventh century. As Gem argues, though there were certainly significant economic constraints, it is more likely that the inhibiting factors were the more pressing need to restore artefacts and land, combined with an anxiety about making major investment during a period of uncertainty.[8]

Our knowledge of the projects commissioned by Dunstan (d. 988), the earliest of the reforming bishops, is limited. He was remembered, however, as a builder at Glastonbury and his work there serves as an appropriate framework for examining some themes of the architecture of this period. According to his earliest biographer, his first task as Glastonbury's abbot was to construct monastic buildings around a cloister.[9] Foundations for such structures have been found south of the church, apparently laid out to a coherent plan.[10] Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester 963–84, is said to have built domestic buildings at Thorney (Suffolk),[11] and restored them at the New and Old Minsters at Winchester, both of which were also provided with water.[12] Thirteenth-century additions to the Abingdon Chronicle record that Æthelwold also provided water for his refounded monastery at the site.[13] Similarly the construction of domestic buildings was thought to have been the first act of Bishop Wulfsige at Sherborne (Dorset), when monks were introduced in 998, and Byrhtferth records that Oswald's first tasks at Ramsey (Cambridgeshire) were to prepare the foundations of the dormitory and refectory as well as the church.[14] The cloister built at Eynsham (Oxfordshire) after its refoundation in 1005 has been recently recovered by excavation, and a pre-Conquest cloister has also been found at Canterbury, St Augustine's.[15] This is a reminder that one of the primary concerns when establishing a monastic community was the provision of domestic buildings, vital utilities such as water, and possibly also boundary enclosures.[16] At those places which were refounded, or where monks were introduced, these may have been more immediate tasks than alterations to the churches themselves.

Amongst the other building activity attributed to Dunstan's abbacy at Glastonbury, his earliest biographer records the construction of a small church dedicated to St John the Baptist, located west of Sts Peter and Paul and the old church.[17] There are indications that Dunstan retained his position as abbot of Glastonbury for some time after becoming archbishop of Canterbury in 959,[18] so the church may not have been erected until the late 950s or 960s.

Its position may be preserved by a later medieval church found in the excavations.[19] This later building appears to have formed a gateway into the monastery, probably with a chapel at first-floor level. The position and scale of the church suggest that it is best understood within Dunstan's reorganization of the precinct rather than as a significant liturgical feature.

A far more substantial project was initiated by Oswald at Worcester following his reform of the community. A new Marian church in addition to the principal building dedicated to Peter was probably begun in the 960s and completed in 983.[20] This was almost certainly intended for use by the monks, with the older building being retained for the use of the clerks.[21] The episcopal throne remained in St Peter's. Though the churches had different functions, their coherence is emphasized in the story of Wulfstan's visits to each church within the precinct during his 'nocturnal rambles'.[22] Later examples of the building of additional churches at existing sites include the one dedicated to the Trinity built by Earl Leofric and his wife at Evesham (Worcestershire). The church was constructed prior to 1033x1038 and complemented the existing church of St Mary, perhaps replacing the earlier church as the main building.[23] A string of churches also seems to have grown up at Bury St Edmunds (Suffolk) following its refoundation by Cnut *c.* 1020.[24]

Anglo-Saxon religious communities of some status commonly comprised groups of buildings rather than one monolithic structure. Though there is comparatively little evidence for the construction of new groups of churches around the first millennium, the tradition remained alive throughout the pre-Conquest period.[25] The liturgical significance of these arrangements is most obviously apparent in those major feasts that were celebrated stationally with processions between several churches.[26]

Amongst Dunstan's other work at Glastonbury, William of Malmesbury thought that he added a tower to Sts Peter and Paul's and enlarged the church so that it was as wide as it was long, adding aisles or *porticus*.[27] The long series of excavations at Glastonbury remain poorly published and extremely poorly dated. There is, however, evidence for substantial foundations to support a tower over the earlier *hypogeum*, or crypt, at the east end of the nave and some evidence for flanking *porticus* to north and south.[28] The result would have been to lengthen the church eastwards and to create a central space beneath the tower. Whether or not this remodelling is attributable to Dunstan, it is characteristic of late-tenth- and eleventh-century architecture, where the axial extension of churches and the location of altars at the east end of the nave flanked by *porticus* are recurring features.[29]

Few of the foundations associated with the period of the reform movement were made at virgin sites; most utilized existing institutions, the reported state of dilapidation of which historians have long known to treat cautiously. Wholesale rebuilding was rare; more commonly, existing structures were rebuilt and extended. The pattern is so common that it appears to have been largely the result of choice rather than circumstance. The pre-eminent example is Winchester, Old Minster, where the royal purse could amply have extended to complete reconstruction if desired. Rather, the tendency reflects the emphasis placed by the reforming bishops on reconstructing, and drawing authority from, the history of the Church in England, most notably the golden age of Bede. The result was that the form of new buildings was to a large extent dependent on the nature of the original design.

In terms of plan, the most common form during this period was an unaisled cruciform building[30] except where inherited forms were retained as at Canterbury Cathedral and Glastonbury. This was not a recent innovation, indeed it was the form in which Winchester, Old Minster, was built in the late seventh century, but it was so widely adopted during the later tenth century that alternatives were rare. The prevalence of central towers and the changing role of eastern *porticus* added emphasis to the cruciform nature of these buildings. Confirmation of the significance of this form is found in contemporary sources which emphasize this element. Oswald's new church at Ramsey (ded. 974) was described by Byrhtferth as 'in the fashion of a cross: a *porticus* on the east, on the south, and on the north; a tower in the middle', and the chapel added to the church at Wilton in the 970s or early 980s is described as being 'with a threefold *porticus* on the scheme of a cross'.[31]

There does, however, seem to have been an alternative design in use during this period which is almost entirely known from problematic medieval descriptions: the rotunda.[32] The evidence is difficult to interpret but worthy of attention. Æthelwold seems to have constructed a new church at Abingdon (Oxfordshire) *c.* 955–63.[33] The only description of the building is in an early-thirteenth-century document which says that 'the chancel was round; the church also was round, having twice the length of the chancel; the tower likewise was round'.[34] On the basis of this and other evidence, Gem has suggested that it was an aisled rotunda, the central space rising up to a tower, with an eastern chancel.[35] Bury St Edmunds (Suffolk) was founded during Cnut's reign (*c.* 1020) and closely connected with him. The new church, designed principally as a shrine for the royal saint Edmund, was dedicated in 1032 but is known only from later sources that have been interpreted as describing a rotunda with ambulatory.[36] The only excavations of such a building are those of Wulfric's unfinished aisled rotunda at Canterbury, St Augustine's, which linked together the older buildings of Sts Peter and Paul and St Mary.[37] An intriguing example may have been found in recent excavations outside the chapter house at Worcester.[38] How these buildings functioned liturgically is extremely difficult to recover especially without surviving floor surfaces.

One of the characteristic architectural features of this period was the presence of a central space at the east end of the nave, often associated with a tower. Canterbury, St Augustine's, is said to have been rededicated by Dunstan in 978.[39] Though it is not possible to prove an association between this event and the excavated sequence, at some stage in the later Anglo-Saxon period a cross wall was constructed dividing off the eastern section of the nave, possibly to support an eastern tower, and additions, including a narthex, were made at the west end.[40] Oswald appears to have built an entirely new church at Ramsey (Cambridgeshire), begun in 969 and dedicated in 974, which had a central tower whose collapse necessitated a rebuilding in 991.[41] The second dedication of the Old Minster, Winchester, in 992–94 is associated with work at the east end said to have involved the construction of a five-storey tower probably over the high altar.[42] An extant example may remain at Cholsey (Berkshire), though the church has been heavily rebuilt.[43] The monastery was founded *c.* 986 under the patronage of King Æthelred and retains a central tower, perhaps of this period.[44] The wall dividing the east end of the nave at Gloucester, St Oswald's, was strengthened, probably in the late tenth century, and plausibly in order for it to support a tower.[45] Other, slightly later, extant examples are St Mary-in-Castro, Dover (Kent), and Breamore (Hampshire).[46]

Whether these spaces had a liturgical function, such as for a liturgical choir, is unclear. Certainly, the division of an eastern section of the nave from the body of the church was not an innovation of the late tenth century. The earliest Anglo-Saxon examples are at Brixworth, probably dateable to the late eighth or early ninth century; Deerhurst, for which the evidence is more tenuous and dating difficult but probably ninth century; and Gloucester, St Oswald's, where the dividing wall seems to have been added soon after the construction of the church in the early tenth century.[47] The location of axial central towers over the eastern bay of the nave in unaisled buildings seems to be an Anglo-Saxon innovation.[48] When this was initiated is uncertain, though evidence for such features prior to the later tenth century is rare. It is certainly possible that central towers originated earlier, yet they were not widely employed until this period and they were commonplace in major buildings throughout the eleventh century.

At the Old Minster, Winchester, the central space seems to have been the location of the high altar rather than the monastic choir. By analogy with Eadmer's description of the cathedral at Canterbury, the choir would have been west of the steps leading to the altar within the nave. Whether this is a common pattern is difficult to determine. By the later eleventh century there is evidence that the central space was typically used for the choir, with the main altar to the east. This is what is described at Westminster Abbey, begun in the 1050s.[49] In Lanfranc's arrangement of Canterbury, as in other Romanesque buildings, the choir seems to have extended westwards from the crossing.[50]

Some of the most useful evidence for the location of altars during this period has come from the excavation of more minor buildings.[51] They illustrate the beginnings of a trend to move the principal altar eastwards into the chancel and gradually closer to the east wall. The altar in the mid-tenth-century church at Raunds Furnells (Northamptonshire), a tiny single-cell building, was towards the east end of the nave.[52] In the early eleventh century, a chancel was added into which the altar seems then to have been moved.[53] Remnants of the earlier tradition of more westerly altar positions can be seen at sites of the late tenth or early eleventh century such as Barton-upon-Humber (Lincolnshire) and St Mary, Tanner Street, Winchester.[54] In both cases there were screens immediately behind the altar enclosing an area likely to have been used as a sacristy. In the smallest churches of this period there is a clear tendency for the main, or only, altar to be located within an eastern *porticus* that can now be clearly described as a chancel.

Patterns are more difficult to assess for larger and more complex buildings with multiple altars. In the Old Minster, Winchester, as inherited by Æthelwold, the main altar seems to have been located immediately west of the chancel arch, flanked by *porticus* to the north, south, and east. In the rebuilding of the east end, dedicated in 992–94, the floor level was raised so that the high altar was reached by a flight of steps, and the altar itself was moved eastwards, situated above a crypt, and also flanked by *porticus* to north and south.[55] This was a central location; it was at the eastern end of the nave but not within a chancel, and on the vertical axis rising from the crypt and probably beneath a tower, its centrality emphasized by the three apses surrounding it. There is less evidence for the location of the many other altars with which the church was certainly equipped.[56] The position of a well shaft on the main east-west axis within the east end of the nave suggests that there may have been an altar in this position, close to the point from which the crypt was entered. Whether there were other altars in the nave, or rather, where they were placed, is impossible to suggest, especially given that one has no indications for the position of the monastic choir. The series of chambers stretching north and south from the nave seems intended to provide a series of chapels, and there were many others in the western structure housing the shrine of St Swithun, probably on several floors.[57] Amongst the most important of these must have been the altar associated with the shrine itself.[58]

Though Eadmer, writing in the early twelfth century, bequeathed a detailed description of the altars at Canterbury Cathedral, one ought to be cautious about the extent to which it reflects early-eleventh-century arrangements. There are, however, correspondences with the arrangement at Winchester, despite their different plans. An altar of St Wilfrid stood adjacent to the easternmost wall of the church; west of this was the high altar from which steps lead down to the choir where there was an altar; and at the far west end was a Marian altar behind which was the episcopal throne.[59] The location of multiple altars is also described at Thorney (Suffolk) where Æthelwold built a church *c.* 973x975. Here they were placed in the eastern presbytery, the nave, and a northern *porticus*.[60] Three altars are also described in the small chapel said to have been built by Æthelwold at Thorney.[61] These references to triple altars seem to reflect the emphasis placed on cruciform symbolism. On the basis of the available evidence it would appear that major churches had a series of axial altars, the high altar at the east end of the nave, and subsidiary altars within chapels, sometimes including a western altar.

The late Anglo-Saxon Church was not fond of aisles, nor even of the flanking *porticus* that had grown up around some buildings in the seventh and eighth centuries. The prevalent form for subsidiary rooms was a pair of flanking *porticus* at the east end of the nave in the location of later transepts. In their earliest manifestations they are clearly related to the seventh-century layout of the Old Minster, Winchester, where the *porticus* were small in relation to the nave and entered through narrow openings, retaining their identity as separate rooms. There are comparable examples from this period at Breamore (Hampshire) and Gloucester, St Oswald's. In some cases, best seen at Deerhurst (Gloucestershire), there were substantial first-floor openings from these *porticus* into the nave.[62] The potential for central towers to have balconies running around the interior has been demonstrated at Barton-upon-Humber (Lincolnshire).[63] During the mid- to late eleventh century these flanking *porticus* tended to be built as open transeptal chambers.[64] Prior to this, there is limited evidence for how the *porticus* were used. At the Old Minster, Winchester, the northern one had traditionally been the site of the baptistery, substantially remodelled and elaborately decorated in the late tenth century.[65] Yet in the extensions to the east end, new flanking *porticus* were added and the high altar was no longer adjacent to the baptistery. At the nunnery of Wilton (Wiltshire), Edith, daughter of King Edgar, added a chapel to the south side of the sanctuary in the late tenth century, perhaps 984.[66] The description reads as though it were virtually a church in its own right, though its position suggests that the chapel was located in the position of a flanking *porticus*. Certainly, the form of these rooms suggests that they were used for chapels, perhaps for major relics. Their proximity to the high altar also suggests they were used for storing sacred vessels and other items best kept close to the altar. The width of the openings means that any communication with the central space would have been best achieved, as at Deerhurst, at an upper level.

West chapels are of special interest to students of the relationship between liturgy and architecture.[67] There is certainly evidence for their presence in this period in England though they are also found at earlier sites such as Gloucester, St Oswald's. Æthelwold constructed an elaborate western structure at the Old Minster, Winchester, between *c.* 971 and *c.* 980. It was designed with two objectives in mind: as a setting for St Swithun's shrine and, probably, as an appropriate setting for royal participation in the liturgy.[68] This latter function reflected the location of the royal palace immediately west of the cathedral and the significant role played by Edgar in the monastic reform. The westwork was the main entrance into the church, the location of the shrine, flanked at ground-floor level by multiple chapels, and above it rose twin towers flanking the facade with balconies at first-floor level, and a central western tower may have provided space for the royal throne. This structure reflected the royal patronage it received and its contemporary pre-eminence. Unfortunately, arguments about whether the western chapel at Canterbury Cathedral was at ground-floor or first-floor level, and its origins, have not been resolved by excavation.[69] William of Malmesbury describes Oswald praying in a western *porticus* at an altar dedicated to All Saints in the church that he built at Worcester (ded. 983).[70] Internal western galleries also became more common during the tenth and eleventh centuries, for example at Dover (Kent), reflecting the increasing prevalence of western towers.[71]

In the context of the function of west ends it is also worth noting that in minor churches of the late tenth and eleventh centuries there is a noticeable shift in the location of the major entrance. Where before the west end was the favoured location it became replaced by access from north or south, with the west end claimed as a liturgical space, sometimes known to be the location of the font.[72] However, in most major buildings the main ceremonial entrance was preserved at the west end.

This brief survey of the principal architectural features of the buildings of the period has concentrated on those aspects most clearly related to liturgical requirements. One should not, however, forget that there were also other structures which had an impact on how churches were used, such as shrines, major relics, and burials.

Architectural and archaeological evidence, especially when employed in conjunction with other sources, can reveal something about usage. Groups of churches, forms of layout, the position and number of altars, subsidiary rooms, upper chapels, and balconies, and the position of furnishings reveal something of contemporary attitudes to spatial arrangement. They certainly hint at aspects of liturgical function, but even those buildings for which detailed evidence has survived can only convey a skeletal outline of how they were used. The problems in interpreting the function of central spaces, or reconstructing the position of choirs, demonstrate the limitations of the evidence. What one needs to know is precisely how the liturgy was practised within these buildings.

Anglo-Saxon Liturgical Sources c. 970–c. 1030

The types of manuscripts most useful for understanding how the liturgy was performed are those containing rubricated *ordines* or which describe how liturgical life should be practised. The surviving Anglo-Saxon customaries are the manuscripts of the *Regularis Concordia* and Ælfric's *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*.[73] For rubricated *ordines* one has to rely almost entirely on pontificals, books designed to be used by a bishop at the rites reserved for him, though they often include other material. Benedictionals, bishops' books giving the blessings said by the bishop at certain masses throughout the year, sometimes include rubrics. There are also more miscellaneous books that have *ordines* for services such as baptism and burial.[74] This type of material only survives from the mid- or late tenth century onwards. Other sorts of information can be found in tropers, saints' lives, homilies,[75] and manuscript illuminations. Sources for the liturgical life of the late Anglo-Saxon Church are relatively plentiful and it is therefore unfortunate that so much attention has been focused on the *Regularis Concordia*—often with a passing nod to Ælfric's *Letter*—by scholars interested in the architectural context for the liturgy.[76]

To some extent, this is a product of the lack of general work on late Anglo-Saxon liturgy. Although the reform movement has received considerable attention in the last fifteen years, liturgical research tends to be confined to specialist studies. There are, for example, new editions of Ælfric's *Letter* and of the *Regularis Concordia* and its Old English glosses, and studies of particular types of manuscript such as benedictionals, yet there is little which places them within a broader framework.[77] How do the surviving pontificals and benedictionals relate to the reform movement? Is there any association between the survival of so many episcopal books and contemporary concerns? Do they suggest a particular emphasis on the office of the bishop?[78] What do they reveal about the preoccupations of the reformers? What was the relationship between the liturgical products of the *scriptoria* of Winchester and Canterbury?[79] Though the editors of the customaries have noted relationships with other contemporary Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, little work has focused exclusively on such comparisons. How reliable are the surviving manuscripts of the *Regularis Concordia* for the way that it was originally drawn up and disseminated?[80] What are we to make of the instances where the customaries diverge from other liturgical evidence? How reliable is the *Regularis Concordia* as evidence for how the liturgy was practised, and for what sort of time span is it useful?[81] These are difficult and complex questions which have a direct bearing on the issues at hand.

Only two complete Latin texts of the *Regularis Concordia* survive, both produced at Christ Church, Canterbury in the mid-eleventh century.[82] The text of Ælfric's *Letter*, written for Eynsham Abbey *c.* 1005, survives in a single manuscript probably produced at Worcester in the mid- to late eleventh century.[83] Whilst the *Regularis Concordia* is likely to provide good evidence for the late-tenth-century liturgy of the Old Minster, Winchester, and Ælfric's *Letter* indicates how it could be adapted for the use of another house,[84] there are obvious problems in using the surviving sources as faithful evidence for the liturgy as practised in either place. Aside from their manuscript history, they were intended to provide generalized models for adaptation, with the result that they avoid specific references to local topography.[85] In addition, the council at which the *Regularis Concordia* was agreed took place prior to the major phase of rebuilding at the Old Minster; though much of it must have been planned, the east end was not completed for another twenty years. So even in the one building most closely associated with the customary, about which we have, happily, detailed information, a close correspondence between building and liturgy cannot be assumed. Æthelwold's architectural plan must have been intended, amongst other things, to provide the most appropriate conditions for the liturgical life as outlined in the agreement.[86] Yet the scheme for remodelling the church will have existed only in plan and in the mind's eye: the *Regularis Concordia* is more a record of what was intended than what was done.

In addition to these manuscripts, and those containing partial texts of the *Regularis Concordia*, there are at least twelve complete or substantial sections of pontificals and benedictionals containing rubricated *ordines* from the half-century surrounding the millennium.[87] Of these, two may have a Winchester provenance, most are associated with Canterbury, and there are some examples from the west country.[88] They are useful not only for the additional evidence they provide for services not described in the *Regularis Concordia* but also as a control for its validity as a source. The relation between the customary and these books, in terms of their value for architectural historians, will be examined briefly in two ways. The first approach is concerned with aspects of the *Regularis Concordia* which have been cited as evidence for the architectural context of the liturgy, the second with a comparison of rites found in it for which there is detailed comparative material.

Of the many architectural references made in the *Regularis Concordia*, two passages have been considered particularly revealing. The first refers to the celebration of the daily office of All Saints at an altar, apparently situated outside the choir, to which the community processed singing an antiphon in honour of the saint to whom the *porticus* was dedicated.[89] Arnold Klukas has suggested that the chapel must have been at some distance from the choir, large enough to hold the entire community, and likely to have been at the west end.[90] This is, however, the only indication in Anglo-Saxon sources that it was performed in this way. The direction is not made in Ælfric's *Letter*, though this need not indicate a deliberate omission because it frequently assumes knowledge of existing customs.[91] The lack of evidence is also a product of the nature of the sources because the books designed for the celebration of the office rarely provide such rubrics. Certainly a number of continental customaries from the early medieval period explicitly provide for a procession to another place, usually to a *chorus* or a chapel.[92] Nevertheless, without corroborative evidence one ought to be very cautious when making assumptions about the ubiquity of this practice in England, let alone its architectural significance.

The second section of the *Regularis Concordia* that has been cited as evidence for architectural function concerns the night office on Maundy Thursday when, following the extinguishing of lights in the church,

> two children should be appointed who shall stand on the right hand side of the choir and shall sing *Kyrie eleison* with clear voice; two more on the left hand side who shall answer *Christe eleison*; and, to the west of the choir, another two who shall sing *Domine miserere nobis*.[93]

The whole choir responds; the exchanges are repeated three times and then performed on each of the following two nights. In the *Regularis Concordia* this custom is followed by a lengthy explanation of its purpose, which emphasizes that it is optional and in doing so employs the first person singular for the sole occasion in the entire book.[94] In Ælfric's *Letter* it is not optional and instead of being performed on the 'right hand side [...] left hand side [...] to the west' the boys stand in 'the southern porch [...] the northern porch' and two men, not boys, sing 'from the west side'.[95] The partial Old English translation of the *Regularis Concordia* in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201 (s. xi^{1}) also specifies the south and north *porticus*.[96] The precision of the later texts suggests they reflect the custom as actually practised. The implication is that the two pairs of boys flanking the choir were placed in the *porticus* commonly found at the east end of the nave, either at ground- or first-floor level. The lack of reference to a *porticus* at the west end implies either that the term was not used in relation to western chapels or that the boys did not move to the other end of the church but simply stood to the west of the choir. However, this is not true for Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201 which contains an extremely rare instance of a vernacular term for an architectural feature to describe the position of the singers at the west end. The term is 'westheowag' which has been interpreted to mean 'western-high-wall'.[97] The implication is that this refers to a western gallery or raised chapel and the choice of such specialized vocabulary to translate a more general direction strongly suggests that it describes the practice as known by the manuscript's compiler.[98] There is, then, some evidence that this was one of the functions of eastern *porticus* and an indication that in some houses western chapels were used to add dramatic emphasis to the ceremony.[99]

The second approach is to compare rites found in the *Regularis Concordia* with those for which there are rubricated *ordines* in other sources. The form for Candlemas, as also of rites such as Palm Sunday, is particularly suitable given that there is so much evidence for them. Care must be taken when comparing rites found in different sorts of books created for different purposes. The customaries describe the practice of monastic houses and give the basic form for the day with at most occasional *incipits* of the liturgical texts; the pontificals and benedictionals give the order as it should be practised by a presiding bishop with the texts that he needed to have in front of him. Nevertheless comparisons are possible.

The forms for Candlemas found in the *Regularis Concordia* and Ælfric's *Letter* involve a silent procession from the mother church to another church. The monks enter, sing a psalm and antiphon in honour of the saint to whom the church is dedicated, bless and distribute the candles, and then process back to the mother church singing antiphons. Here they hold a station at the church door where the antiphon 'Responsum accepit Symeon' is sung with the prayer 'Erudi quaesumus Domine', and finally enter singing 'Cum inducerent Puerum': Terce and Mass follow.[100] This is the basic form found in all Anglo-Saxon *ordines*.[101] Because the *Regularis Concordia* only gives three incipits they must serve as points of comparison. All extant Anglo-Saxon rites have the 'Responsum' antiphon. Four of the earliest books preserve almost precisely the same rite: the late-tenth-century part of the *Leofric Missal* (s. x^{1}/x^{2}/xi$^{\text{med}}$, ?Wells or Canterbury and Exeter) and the pontificals known as *Dunstan* (s. x^2, Canterbury), *Anderson* (*c.* 1000, ?Canterbury), and *Lanalet* (s. xi^1, west country).[102] None of these mentions the prayer 'Erudi quaesumus' or the entrance antiphon 'Cum inducerent'. However, both these texts are found in later manuscripts: the *Samson* pontifical (s. xi^1, ?Winchester or Canterbury); the *Missal of Robert of Jumièges* (s. xi^1); the *Canterbury Benedictional* (s. xi^{med}, Canterbury); the *Missal of the New Minster Winchester* (s. xi^2, Winchester); London, British Library, Add. MS 28188 (s. xi^2, Exeter).[103] They preserve a variant *ordo* containing a rubric closely comparable with instructions in the *Regularis Concordia* and all also have the 'Cum inducerent' entrance antiphon.[104] Given the dates and provenances of the manuscripts, the *ordo* found in the first group of texts may be a pre-*Regularis Concordia* rite[105] or one that was in use at Canterbury. Similarly, the second group may well have been written with reference to the *Regularis Concordia* or share forms with an earlier rite used at Winchester on which the customary was based. Yet in one respect the *Regularis Concordia* diverges from all other Anglo-Saxon sources. The use of the prayer 'Erudi quaesumus' for the station in front of the mother church is unparalleled: all other rites assign the prayer 'Perfice in nobis'.[106] 'Erudi quaesumus' is usually said once they have entered the church and prior to Mass.[107] One must conclude that in this respect either the compilers of the *Regularis Concordia* were attempting to change established custom, in which they failed, or they simply made an error.

This digression into liturgical minutiae cautions that the prescriptions of the *Regularis Concordia* need to be understood within the wider framework of late Anglo-Saxon liturgy and also illustrates quite how much liturgical evidence survives. The exercise could and ought to be replicated for other parts of the customary where such comparison can be made. It also demonstrates the sort of information available for reconstructing the liturgical life of major pre-Conquest churches.

The abundant evidence for processions enables one to examine in some detail how groups of churches were used, and how patterns changed over time.[108] Internal arrangements are more difficult to reconstruct. There are celebrated references to local topography, such as the church of St Martin as a destination in the Palm Sunday procession at Canterbury and the location of the episcopal throne in Canterbury Cathedral, yet they are exceedingly infrequent.[109] And even here one must exercise the sort of care with which all liturgical texts must be approached, in terms of their validity as evidence for liturgy as actually practised. The rubrics for Candlemas do have something to tell us about the function of churches within particular groups, and of the importance of stations at church doors, but little about how the churches themselves were used. Yet the liturgical evidence is rich, though at times frustratingly opaque, and can reveal a great deal about how churches were perceived. However, the evidence needs to be examined without a presumption of finding solutions to precise functional problems. The questions need to be more imaginative and more sensitive to the material before one can make broadly based connections with the architecture.

Architecture and Liturgy in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Some Possibilities

Though the liturgical sources rarely provide evidence for church layout they do reveal much about how sacred spaces were perceived and interpreted. These ideas are fundamental to understanding the buildings themselves. Whilst it is unusual to find close architectural parallels for concepts embodied in the liturgy they do sometimes occur, and it is only through looking anew at the buildings from this perspective that such insights can be found. Two brief examples, those of the church floor and door, must suffice to demonstrate the potential of the material. Rather than looking for links between church and rite in strictly functional terms, instead one might ask what the liturgy can tell us about the nature of sacred space. Sometimes this allows one to suggest interpretations of architectural phenomena.

The first example emerges from the way in which churches were consecrated. Though these rites were seldom performed, their early medieval development suggests sustained interest in the ritual and its meanings which necessitated frequent revision.[110] This is certainly true of the Anglo-Saxon evidence.[111] One of the things which emerges from a careful study of the surviving *ordines* is the perceived characteristics of each part of the structure: the importance of defining the boundaries of the building and the differences between the interior and exterior walls; the liminal space of the doorway; the twin foci of the centre of the nave and high altar; and the precise significance of the floor. These are not abstract notions: they are reflected in the architecture itself.

The dedication of the pavement was a major element in the rite: the bishop stood in the centre of the nave and traced two alphabets diagonally across it, followed by a cross sprinkled in holy water. In the late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, this part of the rite becomes increasingly more elaborate, with additional chants and prayers. Its importance is highlighted in the creation of an *ordo* for blessing a pavement that has been moved from another place. And it is during this period that one begins to see the use, in pre-Conquest churches of the highest status, of polychrome relief tiles. In their effect they were akin to later medieval floor tiles in form and decoration, though their high relief will have made them tangible to the feet as well as the eyes. Such tiles have been found at many sites including Winchester, Westminster Abbey, St Alban's (Hertfordshire), Bury St Edmunds (Suffolk), Abingdon (Oxfordshire), Peterborough (Cambridgeshire), Coventry (Warwickshire), Canterbury, and All Saints, Pavement, York.[112] They are clearly related to Winchester ware pottery which began to be produced in the vicinity of the city from the 950s.[113] The dating of the tiles is difficult but they seem to span a short period from the mid-tenth to the eleventh century. They were an expensive, labour-intensive product some of which seem to have been produced by a limited number of, presumably, itinerant tile makers.[114] No close connection between the decoration of the floors and their importance in the liturgy can be proved but the coincidence of the elaboration of both is remarkable. Neither form need be directly influenced by the other; perhaps the best explanation is simply a symbiotic one reflecting changing attitudes to this part of the building, the liturgy and decoration reinforcing one another.

Medieval liturgy also has the potential to aid interpretation of the dynamics of ritual activity. How does liturgy work? What is the role of sacred spaces? In order to begin to approach an understanding of these questions, I have examined, in a previous study, the rituals which took place at a single location in a church.[115] The space in front of the church door is useful as a case study because it occupied an important place in pre-Conquest liturgy and, though *ordines* from this period tend to be skeletal, its transitional location means that it is mentioned more frequently than spaces within the church itself. It was a common location for stations to be held either as part of a liturgical procession or for extra-liturgical events which took place prior to a service. At this period some of these rites would only have occurred at major churches, though with the increase in the provision of pastoral care, and of local churches, this distinction would have become less significant. This was the location for the celebration of Simeon's acceptance of Christ into the Temple at Candlemas and of Jesus's triumphal entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday; it was where the new fire was kindled, and there is some evidence that it was also a location for events at the rites of baptism, burial, and, later, marriage. Each of these events emphasizes a different aspect of the doorway as entrance into the temple, into the historical and heavenly Jerusalem, into the church as community, and so on. The doorway is intimately associated with Christ and his powers of transformation but this is understood less through the knowledge of such symbolism than through experience of the actions themselves.

Examining the relationships between buildings and rites in this way enables one to begin to understand the fundamental importance of the role of sacred places in the way that liturgy works.[116] What concerns me here, though, is whether the liturgical importance of the doorway, not simply its value as decorative focus, is reflected architecturally. The connections are more difficult to assess than they are for the church floor. This is exacerbated by the scarcity of surviving high-status buildings from late Anglo-Saxon England. Pre-Conquest portals are undeniably less elaborate than their twelfth-century successors. However there is some, admittedly slim, evidence for architectural sculpture in this position in the eleventh century. The two large crucifixions at Headborne Worthy and Breamore (both Hampshire) seem to have been located above principal doorways.[117] Frustratingly, much of the sculpture is now *ex situ*. However, the dedication inscriptions at churches such as Kirkdale (Yorkshire) and Mary-le-Wigford, Lincoln, and the sundials at Daglingworth (Gloucestershire), Bishopstone (Sussex), Great Edstone (Yorkshire), and Stoke d'Abernon (Surrey) are suggestive of the elaboration of doorways.[118] In order to understand the extent to which there were architectural responses to this liturgically resonant place one requires a proper survey of the decoration of Anglo-Saxon doorways and their imposts. Certainly, the ceremonial importance of the principal entrance helps to explain why major churches retained western entrances when they tended to be transferred to other locations in more minor buildings. It also helps to interpret the elaborately decorative ironwork found on many medieval doors, the pre-eminent pre-Conquest example being that which is depicted in the church dedication ceremony in the Lanalet Pontifical.[119] Though the relationship between the extant architectural evidence and the liturgical sources must remain a point of conjecture, such questions can only be posed by drawing upon the full potential of the liturgical evidence.

These two examples are simply explorations of how liturgical evidence can be used and how approaching it in less obviously functional ways can reveal contemporary perceptions that have a close relationship with architectural forms. Similar research could be done on those rites which have detailed directions for activity around the altar, such as the blessing of the oils on Maundy Thursday and the veneration of the cross on Good Friday, or what appears to be a reference to an entrance into the choir in the *Regularis Concordia*, or the processions to the font at Easter and Pentecost. There also seem to be hints in some of the later Anglo-Saxon books that the trend towards liturgical activity being confined within a single building was taking root prior to widespread Norman rebuilding. One of the most fruitful ways of approaching periods when the sources are relatively scarce, or bear no close association with a particular building, is to work over long time spans.[120] It would be instructive to examine closely the nature of changes in the performance of the liturgy in parallel with the major architectural developments of the twelfth century.[121] This in turn ought to throw into relief some characteristics of spatial articulation in late Anglo-Saxon liturgy. Such approaches could also be adopted for other periods and places.

The relationship between liturgy and architecture in England around the first millennium is a problematic subject if treated in terms of precise questions about architectural function. More imaginative approaches result in a richer understanding of the character of sacred space which is reflected in both liturgy and architecture.

NOTES

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1. Eric Fernie, *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons* (London, 1983), pp. 93–94.

2. Examples include Edward B. Foley, *The First Ordinary of the Royal Abbey of St.-Denis in France: Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 526*, Spicilegium Friburgense, 32 (Fribourg, 1990), esp. pp. 183–260; David Parsons, '*Sacrarium*: Ablution Drains in Early Medieval Churches', in *The Anglo-Saxon Church: Papers on History, Architecture, and Archaeology in Honour of Dr H. M. Taylor*, ed. by L. A. S. Butler and R. K. Morris, Council for British Archaeology, Research Report, 60 (London, 1986), pp. 105–20; Eric Fernie, 'The Spiral Piers of Durham Cathedral', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Durham Cathedral*, The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 3 ([n.p.], 1980), pp. 49–58; Eric Fernie, 'The Use of Varied Nave Supports in Romanesque and Early Gothic Churches', *Gesta*, 23 (1984), 107–17. See also Elizabeth C. Parker, 'Architecture as Liturgical Setting', in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, ed. by Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (Kalamazoo, MI, 2001), pp. 273–326.

3. Sible de Blaauw, 'Architecture and Liturgy in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Traditions and Trends in Modern Scholarship', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 33 (1991), 1–34, is a useful bibliographic essay.

4. Examples include Carol Heitz, *Recherches sur les rapports entre architecture et liturgie à l'époque carolingienne* (Paris, 1963); Susan A. Rabe, *Faith, Art, and Politics at Saint-Riquier: The Symbolic Vision of Angilbert* (Philadelphia, 1995).

5. See, for example, the almost despairing comments made in Kees van der Ploeg, *Art, Architecture and Liturgy: Siena Cathedral in the Middle Ages* (Groningen, 1993), pp. 1–2, 26–27, 31–33, 165–67.

6. Peter Draper, 'Architecture and Liturgy', in *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200–1400*, ed. by Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (London, 1987), pp. 83–91 (p. 83); Richard Gem, 'How Much Can Anglo-Saxon Buildings Tell Us About Liturgy?', in *Ritual and Belief: The Rites of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. by M. Bradford Bedingfield and Helen Gittos (forthcoming); de Blaauw, 'Architecture and Liturgy'; van der Ploeg, *Art, Architecture and Liturgy*, pp. 23–28, 165–67.

7. Richard Gem, 'Tenth-Century Architecture in England', *Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, 38 (1991), 803–36 (pp. 832–33).

8. Richard Gem, 'A Recession in English Architecture during the Early Eleventh Century, and Its Effect on the Development of the Romanesque Style', *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser., 38 (1975), 28–49.

9. 'Tunc ergo perprudens opilio, primum scepta claustrorum monasticis ædificiis cæterisque inmunitionibus, ut jam olim a quodam sene sibi denotatum per revelationem fuerat, ex omni parte firmiter muniuit': 'Vita Sancti Dunstani, auctore B', in *Memorials of Saint Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. by William Stubbs, Rolls Series, 63 (London, 1874), pp. 3–52 (p. 25); C. A. R. Radford, 'Glastonbury Abbey Before 1184: Interim Report on the Excavations, 1908–64', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Wells and Glastonbury*, The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 4 ([n.p.], 1981), pp. 110–34 (pp. 118–19); Fernie, *Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 95–96.

10. Radford, 'Glastonbury Abbey', pp. 118–19, 124–25; Philip Rahtz, *English Heritage Book of Glastonbury* (London, 1993), fig. 44.

11. C. R. Hart, *The Early Charters of Eastern England*, Studies in Early English History, 5 (Leicester, 1966), p. 167; P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London, 1968), no. 792; Gem, 'Tenth-Century Architecture', p. 826.

12. *Liber vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, ed. by Walter de Gray Birch, Hampshire Record Society, 6 (London, 1892), p. 8; *Frithegodi monachi Breuiloquium vitæ Beati Wilfredi et Wulfstani cantoris Narratio metrica de Sancto Swithuno*, ed. by Alistair Campbell (Turin, 1950), p. 66, lines 37–40; R. N. Quirk, 'Winchester Cathedral in the Tenth Century', *Archaeological Journal*, 114 (1957), 28–68 (pp. 43–44); Martin Biddle, '*Felix urbs Winthonia*: Winchester in the Age of Monastic Reform', in *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and* Regularis Concordia, ed. by David Parsons (London, 1975), pp. 123–40 (p. 134); Martin Biddle, ed., *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: An Edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday*, Winchester Studies, 1 (Oxford, 1976), pp. 283–84.

13. *Chronicon monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. by Joseph Stevenson, Rolls Series, 2, 2 vols (London, 1858), II, 278.

14. Gem, 'Recession in English Architecture', p. 28; J. H. P. Gibb, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral at Sherborne', *Archaeological Journal*, 132 (1975), 71–110 (p. 106; cf. pp. 87–88); C. H. Talbot, 'The Life of Saint Wulsin of Sherborne by Goscelin', *Revue Bénédictine*, 69 (1959), 68–85 (pp. 76–77); Byrtferth, 'Vita Oswaldi Archiepiscopi Eboracensis', in *The Historians of the Church of York and Its Archbishops*, ed. by James Raine, Rolls Series, 71, 3 vols (London, 1879–94), I, 399–475 (p. 430).

15. John Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire* (Stroud, 1994), pp. 114–16; Richard Gem, 'Reconstructions of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, in the Anglo-Saxon Period', in *St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, ed. by Nigel Ramsay, Margaret Sparks, and Tim Tatton-Brown (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 57–73 (pp. 66–67).

16. For boundaries, see for example the reorganization at Winchester: Biddle, *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 308.

17. 'Vita Sancti Dunstani, auctore B', p. 48.

18. Nicholas Brooks, 'The Career of St Dunstan', in *St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, ed. by Ramsay, Sparks, and Tatton-Brown, pp. 1–23 (pp. 21–22).

19. Radford, 'Glastonbury Abbey', pp. 123–24; Gem, 'Tenth-Century Architecture', pp. 813–14.

20. For a recent, though still controversial, discussion of the reform of Worcester and the dates of construction of St Mary's, see Julia Barrow, 'The Community of Worcester, 961–c. 1100', in *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed.

by Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt (London, 1996), pp. 84–99.

21. Barrow, 'Community of Worcester', pp. 91–92.

22. Barrow, 'Community of Worcester', pp. 90–91.

23. Gem, 'Recession in English Architecture', p. 30 and references.

24. Richard Gem and Laurence Keen, 'Late Anglo-Saxon Finds from the Site of St Edmund's Abbey', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, 35.1 (1981), 1–30, esp. pp. 1–2.

25. This subject is treated more fully in Helen Gittos, 'Sacred Space in Anglo-Saxon England: Liturgy, Architecture and Place' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2001), ch. 2. For groups of churches see John Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters: A Topographical Review', in *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, ed. by Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester, 1992), pp. 226–66 (pp. 246–58).

26. Gittos, 'Sacred Space', ch. 3. For processions and stational liturgy more generally see Angelus Albert Häussling, *Mönchskonvent und Eucharistiefeier: Eine Studie über die Messe in der abendländischen Klosterliturgie des frühen Mittelalters und zur Geschichte der Meßhäufigkeit*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, 58 (Münster, 1973), and John F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 228 (Rome, 1987).

27. 'Hanc ille adiecta turri ad multum spatium prorogavit, et ut latitudo longitudini conquadraret, alas vel porticus quas vocant adiecit'. William of Malmesbury, 'Vita Sancti Dunstani', in *Memorials of Saint Dunstan*, ed. by Stubbs, pp. 250–324 (p. 271).

28. Radford, 'Glastonbury Abbey', pp. 119–22.

29. For other examples see Gem, 'Tenth-Century Architecture', pp. 822–23, 829–30.

30. Gem, 'Tenth-Century Architecture'.

31. 'in modum crucis, porticum in oriente, in meridie, et in aquilone, turrim in medio': Byrtferth, 'Vita Oswaldi', p. 434; 'Trina porticu in cruces scemate amplificauit': Richard Gem, 'Documentary References to Anglo-Saxon Painted Architecture', in *Early Medieval Wall Painting and Painted Sculpture in England*, ed. by Sharon Cather, David Park, and Paul Williamson, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 216 (Oxford, 1990), pp. 1–16 (p. 8 n. 27 and cf. pp. 6–10). For discussion of cruciform symbolism see Richard Gem, 'Towards an Iconography of Anglo-Saxon Architecture', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 46 (1983), 1–18 (pp. 12–15).

32. Gem, 'Towards an Iconography', pp. 7–12.

33. Wulfstan of Winchester, *The Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. by Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom (Oxford, 1991), p. 24; *Charters of Abingdon Abbey*, ed. by S. E. Kelly, Anglo-Saxon Charters, 7, 8, 2 vols (Oxford, 2000–01), i, xxxvi–xxxix; Gem, 'Towards an Iconography', pp. 8–9.

34. 'Cancellus rotundus erat, ecclesia et rotunda, duplicem habens longitudinem quam cancellus; turris quoque rotunda erat': *Chronicon monasterii de Abingdon*, ii, 277–78; Gem, 'Towards an Iconography', p. 8.

35. Gem, 'Towards an Iconography', p. 8; cf. Martin Biddle, H. T. Lambrick, and J. N. L. Myres, 'The Early History of Abingdon, Berkshire, and Its Abbey', *Medieval Archaeology*, 12 (1968), 26–69 (pp. 44–45, 62–65, 67).

36. Gem, 'Recession in English Architecture', pp. 35–37; Gem and Keen, 'Late Anglo-Saxon Finds'.

37. Gem, 'Reconstructions of St Augustine's', pp. 69–71.

38. Sally Crawford and Chris Guy, 'The Cathedral Chapter House', *The Recorder*, 57 (Spring 1998), 13; Sally Crawford, 'A Late Anglo-Saxon Sculptural Fragment from Worcester Cathedral', *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, 3rd ser., 17 (2000), 345–48; cf. Glyn Coppack, 'The Worcester Chapter House: A Twelfth Century Cœmeterium?', *The Recorder*, 58 (Autumn 1998), 14.

39. Thomas of Elmham, *Historia monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis*, ed. by Charles Hardwick, Rolls Series, 8 (London, 1858), p. 22.

40. Gem, 'Reconstructions of St Augustine's', pp. 63–66.

41. Byrtferth, 'Vita Oswaldi', pp. 433–34; Gem, 'Tenth-Century Architecture', pp. 822–23.

42. Quirk, 'Winchester Cathedral', pp. 61–62; Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Old Minster, St Swithun's Day 1093', in *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years, 1093–1993*, ed. by John Crook (Chichester, 1993), pp. 13–20 (pp. 19–20); Richard Gem, 'Staged Timber Spires in Carolingian North-East France and Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 148 (1995), 29–54 (pp. 44–45).

43. For Cholsey, St Mary-in-Castro, Breamore, and other Anglo-Saxon churches mentioned here, see also Thurlby, Chapter 7 below.

44. Richard Gem, 'Church Architecture in the Reign of King Æthelred', in *Ethelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference*, ed. by David Hill, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 59 (Oxford, 1978), pp. 105–14 (pp. 105–09).

45. Carolyn Heighway and Richard Bryant, *The Golden Minster: The Anglo-Saxon Minster and Later Medieval Priory of St Oswald at Gloucester*, Council for British Archaeology, Research Report, 117 (York, 1999), p. 67.

46. H. M. Taylor and Joan Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1965–78), i, 94–96; Warwick Rodwell and E. Clive Rouse, 'The Anglo-Saxon Rood and other Features in the South Porch of St Mary's Church, Breamore, Hampshire', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 64 (1984), 298–325 (pp. 298–301); Gem, 'Tenth-Century Architecture', pp. 829–30. See also Thurlby, Chapter 7 of this volume.

47. Michel Audouy and others, 'Excavations at the Church of All Saints' Brixworth, Northamptonshire 1981–2', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 137 (1984), 1–44; Diana S. Sutherland and David Parsons, 'The Petrological Contribution to the Survey of All Saints' Church Brixworth, Northamptonshire: An Interim Study', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 137 (1984), 45–64; Philip Rahtz and Lorna Watts, *St Mary's Church, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire: Fieldwork, Excavations and Structural Analysis, 1971–1984* (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 157; Heighway and Bryant, *Golden Minster*, p. 62.

48. Gem, 'Tenth-Century Architecture', pp. 829–30; Gem, 'Staged Timber Spires', pp. 40–47.

49. *The Life of King Edward who Rests at Westminster Attributed to a Monk of Saint-Bertin*, ed. and trans. by Frank Barlow, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1992), p. 68.

50. Kevin Blockley, Margaret Sparks, and Tim Tatton-Brown, *Canterbury Cathedral Nave: Archaeology, History and*

Architecture, The Archaeology of Canterbury, New Series, 1 (Canterbury, 1997), esp. pp. 121–23; see also Gem, 'How Much Can Anglo-Saxon Buildings Tell Us'.

51. Useful discussions of the location of altars are H. M. Taylor, 'The Position of the Altar in Early Anglo-Saxon Churches', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 53 (1973), 52–58, and Parsons, '*Sacrarium*'. See also Gittos, 'Sacred Space', ch. 4.

52. Andy Boddington, *Raunds Furnells: The Anglo-Saxon Church and Churchyard*, English Heritage Archaeological Report, 7 (London, 1996), pp. 58–64.

53. Gittos, 'Sacred Space', ch. 4.

54. Warwick Rodwell and Kirsty Rodwell, 'St Peter's Church, Barton-upon-Humber: Excavation and Structural Study, 1978–81', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 62 (1982), 283–315 (esp. p. 299); Martin Biddle, 'Excavations at Winchester, 1970: Ninth Interim Report', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 52 (1972), 93–131 (pp. 104–07); Martin Biddle, 'Excavations at Winchester, 1971: Tenth and Final Interim Report: Part II', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 55 (1975), 295–337 (p. 312).

55. The most recent interpretations of the excavations are Martin Biddle, 'Archaeology, Architecture, and the Cult of Saints in Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. by Butler and Morris, pp. 1–31 (pp. 22–25), and Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Old Minster'.

56. For a possible interpretation see Arnold William Klukas, 'Liturgy and Architecture: Deerhurst Priory as an Expression of the Regularis Concordia', *Viator*, 15 (1984), 81–106 (pp. 90–91) which is largely based on C. H. Turner, 'The Churches at Winchester in the Early Eleventh Century', *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 17 (1915–16), 65–68.

57. Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Old Minster', pp. 16–18; Quirk, 'Winchester Cathedral', pp. 42–43, 48–59.

58. Quirk, 'Winchester Cathedral', pp. 42–43, 56; John Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West c. 300–1200* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 163–64.

59. André Wilmart, 'Edmeri Cantuariensis cantoris nova opuscula de sanctorum veneratione et obsecratione', *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, 15 (1935), 184–219, 354–79 (pp. 365–66); H. M. Taylor, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral Church at Canterbury', *Archaeological Journal*, 126 (1969), 101–30; Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (London, 1984), pp. 37–46; Blockley, Sparks, and Tatton-Brown, *Canterbury Cathedral Nave*, pp. 107–10.

60. Hart, *Early Charters*, p. 167; Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 792; Gem, 'Tenth-Century Architecture', p. 826.

61. *Liber vitae*, p. 290; Gem, 'Tenth-Century Architecture', pp. 826–27.

62. Rahtz and Watts, *Deerhurst*, pp. 52–53, 162–66, 169–71.

63. Rodwell and Rodwell, 'Barton-upon-Humber', pp. 295–96; Warwick Rodwell, 'Anglo-Saxon Church Building: Aspects of Design and Construction', in *The Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. by Butler and Morris, pp. 156–75 (pp. 167–71).

64. Fernie, *Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons*, ch. 8; cf. Heighway and Bryant, *Golden Minster*, pp. 67–69.

65. Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Anglo-Saxon Baptisteries of the 7th and 8th Centuries: Winchester and Repton', in *Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae*, ed. by Nenad Cambi and Emilio Marin, Studi di antichità cristiana, 54, 3 vols (Rome, 1998), II, 757–78 (pp. 758–62); Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Old Minster', p. 19; Dominic Tweddle, Martin Biddle, and Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, vol. IV: *South-East England* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 273–323.

66. Gem, 'Documentary References', pp. 6–10.

67. See the paper by Nils Petersen in this volume.

68. Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Old Minster', pp. 16–19.

69. Blockley, Sparks, and Tatton-Brown, *Canterbury Cathedral Nave*, pp. 18–22, 109–11; Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 44–46.

70. *The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury*, ed. by Reginald R. Darlington, Camden 3rd ser., 40 (London, 1928), I.3 (p. 9).

71. Gittos, 'Sacred Space', ch. 4; Taylor and Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, I, 214–17; Gem, 'Tenth-Century Architecture', p. 829.

72. Gittos, 'Sacred Space', ch. 4; Carol Davidson, 'Written in Stone: Architecture, Liturgy and the Laity in English Parish Churches c. 1125–c. 1250' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1998), pp. 208–14.

73. *Regularis Concordia: The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*, ed. and trans. by Thomas Symons (London, 1953); Lucia Kornexl, ed., *Die* Regularis concordia *und ihre altenglische interlinearversion* (Munich, 1993); *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, ed. by Christopher A. Jones (Cambridge, 1998).

74. For the principal Anglo-Saxon sources see Janet L. Nelson and Richard W. Pfaff, 'Pontificals and Benedictionals', in *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Richard W. Pfaff, Old English Newsletter Subsidia, 23 (Kalamazoo, 1995), pp. 87–98; Richard W. Pfaff, 'The Anglo-Saxon Bishop and His Book', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 81.1 (1999), 3–24.

75. For the homilies see Marvin Bradford Bedingfield, 'Dramatic Ritual and Preaching in Late Anglo-Saxon England' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1999).

76. The main studies of Anglo-Saxon liturgy and architecture are Klukas, 'Liturgy and Architecture'; Arnold William Klukas, 'The Architectural Implications of the *Decreta Lanfranci*', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 6 (1984), 136–71; Mark Spurrell, 'The Architectural Interest of the *Regularis Concordia*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 21 (1992), 161–76; D. Rollason, *Two Anglo-Saxon Rituals: Church Dedication and the Judicial Ordeal*, Vaughan Papers in Adult Education, 33 (Leicester, 1988); David Parsons, *Liturgy and Architecture in the Middle Ages*, 3rd Deerhurst Lecture (Deerhurst, 1989); Gem, 'How Much Can Anglo-Saxon Buildings Tell Us'.

77. Kornexl, *Die* Regularis concordia, some of which is summarized in Lucia Kornexl, 'The *Regularis Concordia* and Its Old English Gloss', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 24 (1995), 95–130; *Ælfric's Letter*; Andrew Prescott, 'The Structure of English Pre-Conquest Benedictionals', *British Library Journal*, 13 (1987), 118–58; Andrew Prescott, 'The Text of the Benedictional of St Æthelwold', in *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed. by Barbara Yorke (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 119–47. A brief attempt at a broader summary is found in Wulfstan of Winchester, *Life of St Æthelwold*, pp. lx–lxxxv.

78. Particularly relevant is the provocative discussion in David N. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England: Four Studies* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 88–95.

79. Cf. C. E. Hohler, 'Some Service-Books of the Later Saxon Church', in *Tenth-Century Studies*, ed. by Parsons, pp. 60–83 (pp. 71–74), and Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 91–94.

80. Kornexl, 'The *Regularis Concordia*', esp. pp. 111–12. For the family of manuscripts containing whole or partial texts of the *Concordia* in Latin and Old English, see Joyce Hill, 'The "Regularis Concordia" and Its Latin and Old English Reflexes', *Revue Bénédictine*, 101 (1991), 299–315.

81. Joyce Hill, 'Rending the Garment and Reading by the Rood: *Regularis Concordia* Rituals for Men and Women', in *Ritual and Belief*, ed. by Bedingfield and Gittos, discusses the later development of two practices.

82. Kornexl, 'The *Regularis Concordia*', pp. 104–11; Kornexl, *Die* Regularis concordia, pp. xcvi–clv; N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), nos 155, 186. For further discussion see below Nils Petersen's contribution in this volume.

83. *Ælfric's Letter*, pp. 5–12, 71–91.

84. *Ælfric's Letter*, esp. pp. 39–42.

85. For this subject in connection with Ælfric's *Letter* see *Ælfric's Letter*, pp. 68–69, 170 (n. 98).

86. A comparable example of reform involving both architecture and liturgy is that of Angilbert at Saint-Riquier: Rabe, *Faith, Art, and Politics*.

87. *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals (the Egbert and Sidney Sussex Pontificals)*, ed. by H. M. J. Banting, Henry Bradshaw Society, 104 (London, 1989); *The Claudius Pontificals (from Cotton MS. Claudius A. iii in the British Museum)*, ed. by D. H. Turner, Henry Bradshaw Society, 97 (London, 1971) (Claudius 1); *The Canterbury Benedictional (British Museum, Harl. MS. 2892)*, ed. by Reginald Maxwell Woolley, Henry Bradshaw Society, 51 (London, 1917); *The Leofric Missal: As Used in the Cathedral of Exeter During the Episcopate of Its First Bishop, AD 1050–1072, Together with Some Account of the Red Book of Derby, the Missal of Robert of Jumièges, and a Few Other Early Manuscript Service Books of the English Church*, ed. by F. E. Warren (Oxford, 1883); *Pontificale Lanaletense (Bibliothèque de la ville de Rouen A. 27. cat. 368)*, ed. by G. H. Doble, Henry Bradshaw Society, 74 (London, 1937); *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, ed. by H. A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society, 11 (London, 1896); *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, ed. by H. A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society, 24 (London, 1903); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 44; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 146; London, British Library, Add. MS 57337; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS latin 943.

88. Useful surveys of dates and provenances of the manuscripts are Nelson and Pfaff, 'Pontificals'; Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 66–88.

89. 'Post quas eundum est ad Matutinales Laudes De Omnibus Sanctis, decantando antiphonam ad uenerationem sancti cui porticus ad quam itur dedicata est': *Regularis Concordia*, pp. 14–15. For the history of the office of All Saints see *The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, vol. VI: *Introduction to the English Monastic Breviaries*, ed. by J. B. L. Tolhurst, Henry Bradshaw Society, 80 (London, 1942), pp. 113–20. For the procession, see Edmund Bishop, *Liturgica historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church* (Oxford, 1918), pp. 222–23 n. 1; Thomas Symons, 'Monastic Observance in the Tenth Century', *The Downside Review*, 50 (1932), 449–64; 51 (1933), 137–52.

90. Klukas, 'Liturgy', pp. 85–86, 89–91.

91. *Ælfric's Letter*, esp. pp. 18, 29–30.

92. Examples are edited in *Consuetudines Cluniacensium antiquiores cum redactionibus derivatis*, ed. by Kassius Hallinger, Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum, 7.2 (Siegburg, 1983), pp. 17, 274 (cf. pp. 283–84).

93. 'sint duo ad hoc idem destinati pueri in dextera parte chori qui sonora psallant uoce *Kyrie eleison*, duoque similiter in sinistra parte qui respondeant *Christe eleison*, nec non et in occidentali parte duo qui dicant *Domine miserere nobis*': *Regularis Concordia*, p. 36; cf. Susan Boynton, 'The Liturgical Role of Children in Monastic Customaries from the Central Middle Ages', *Studia Liturgica*, 28.2 (1998), 194–209 (pp. 204–05).

94. *Regularis Concordia*, p. 37; Kornexl, 'The *Regularis Concordia*', pp. 100–01; Kornexl, *Die* Regularis concordia, pp. xlvii–xlviii.

95. 'in australi porticu [...] in boreali porticu', 'in occidentali parte': *Ælfric's Letter*, p. 126 and see pp. 188–89 (n. 178); Klukas, 'Liturgy', pp. 86–87; Spurrell, 'Architectural Interest', p. 169.

96. 'to þan suðportice [...] on þam norðportice': Julius Zupitza, 'Ein weiteres Bruchstück der Regularis concordia in altenglischer Sprache', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 84 (1890), 1–24 (p. 6); *Ælfric's Letter*, p. 188 n. 178; Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 82–90 (no. 49); Mildred Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: An Illustrated Catalogue*, 2 vols (Kalamazoo, 1997), I, 475–86 (no. 29).

97. Joyce Hill, 'Lexical Choices for Holy Week: Studies in Old English Ecclesiastical Vocabulary', in *Lexis and Texts in Early English: Studies Presented to Jane Roberts*, ed. by Christian J. Kay and Louise M. Sylvester, Costerus, n.s., 133 (Amsterdam, 2001), pp. 117–27 (pp. 122–23).

98. There are indications that the manuscript was produced at Winchester and its partial adaptation for a female house suggests that it may have been used at, or reflected the use of, Nunnaminster: Hill, '"Regularis Concordia"', pp. 309–11; Hill, 'Rending the Garment'.

99. Few close continental parallels for this practice exist, the nearest is that in a manuscript from Verdun which is now lost, though neither the *porticus* nor a western station is mentioned: *Consuetudinum saeculi X/XI/XII monumenta non-Cluniacensia*, ed. by Kassius Hallinger, Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum, 7.3 (Siegburg, 1984), p. 394 (cf. p. 109 n. 1). For discussion see Thomas Symons, '*Regularis concordia*: History and Derivation', in *Tenth-Century Studies*, ed. by Parsons, pp. 37–59 (pp. 57–59); Thomas Symons, 'Sources of the Regularis Concordia', *Downside Review*, 59 (1941), 14–36, 143–70, 264–89 (pp. 284–85). For later medieval rites see *Monastic Breviary*, pp. 208–12.

100. *Regularis Concordia*, pp. 30–31; *Ælfric's Letter*, p. 118.

101. Gittos, 'Sacred Space', chs 3, 6 and refs. For the Anglo-Saxon rites see also Bedingfield, 'Dramatic Ritual and Preaching', pp. 74–100; M. Bradford Bedingfield, 'Reinventing the Gospel: Ælfric and the Liturgy', *Medium Ævum*, 68 (1999), 13–31 (pp. 15–23).

102. *Leofric Missal*, pp. 203–04; BN, latin 943, fols 104^{r}–05^{v} ('Dunstan'); BL, Add. 57337, fols 110^{v}–12^{v} ('Anderson'); incipits for the latter two are given in Niels Krogh Rasmussen, *Les Pontificaux du Haut Moyen Âge: gènese du livre de l'évêque*, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, Études et documents, 49 (Leuven, 1998), pp. 230–31, 284–85; *Pontificale Lanalatense*, pp. 89–91 ('Lanalet'). Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 422, pp. 285–88 (s. $\mathrm{xi}^{\mathrm{med}}$, ?Winchester and Sherborne) also appears to have the same *ordo* though the rubrics are difficult to read.

103. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 146, pp. 243–47 ('Samson'); *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, pp. 158–60 (the rite is incomplete as the manuscript is missing a leaf at the end of the rite); *Canterbury Benedictional*, pp. 80–85; *The Missal of the New Minster, Winchester (Le Havre, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 330)*, ed. by D. H. Turner, Henry Bradshaw Society, 93 (London, 1962), pp. 69–72; London, British Library, Add. MS 28188, fols 130^{v}–35^{v}.

104. The rubric refers to the blessing and distribution of the candles: 'benedicat candelas et conspergat aqua benedicta et turificet et sic, accepto cereo ab aedituo, psallentibus cunctis, accipiant singuli singulas acceptasque accendant': *Regularis Concordia*, p. 31. Similar rubrics are found in *Missal of the New Minster*, p. 70; *Canterbury Benedictional*, p. 83; BL, Add. 28188, fol. 133^{r}; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 146, p. 245 ('Samson'); *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, p. 159.

105. I am indebted to Nicholas Orchard for this suggestion and also for pointing out the close correspondence between the rubrics in the *Concordia* and the other texts.

106. For example, *Canterbury Benedictional*, p. 84.

107. For example, *Canterbury Benedictional*, p. 84.

108. Gittos, 'Sacred Space', chs 2 and 3. See also Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters', pp. 246–58; Häussling, *Mönchskonvent*, and Baldovin, *Urban Character of Christian Worship*.

109. *Canterbury Benedictional*, pp. xiv, 26; Brooks, *Early History*, p. 39.

110. The most detailed study of dedication rites is Thomas David Kozachek, 'The Repertory of Chant for Dedicating Churches in the Middle Ages: Music, Liturgy and Ritual' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1995).

111. For this and what follows see Gittos, 'Sacred Space', ch. 5. See also *Claudius Pontificals*, pp. xx–xxiv.

112. Jane Fawcett, 'Cathedrals, Churches and Chapels: Tile, Mosaic, Cosmati, Marble and Stone Pavements, Ledger Stones and Monumental Brasses', in *Historic Floors: Their History and Conservation*, ed. by Fawcett (Oxford, 1998), pp. 1–40 (pp. 2–3); Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Two Anglo-Saxon Relief-Decorated Floor Tiles', in *Canterbury Cathedral Nave: Archaeology, History and Architecture*, ed. by Kevin Blockley, Margaret Sparks, and Tim Tatton-Brown, The Archaeology of Canterbury, New Series, 1 (Canterbury, 1997), pp. 196–200; Gem and Keen, 'Late Anglo-Saxon Finds', pp. 20–26; Laurence Keen, 'Pre-Conquest Glazed Relief Tiles from All Saints Church, Pavement, York', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 146 (1993), 67–86.

113. Martin Biddle and Katherine Barclay, 'Winchester Ware', in *Medieval Pottery from Excavations: Studies Presented to Gerald Clough Dunning, with a Bibliography of his Works*, ed. by Vera I. Evison, H. Hodges, and J. G. Hurst (London, 1974), pp. 137–65 (pp. 149–52).

114. Ian M. Betts, 'Analytical Analysis and Manufacturing Techniques of Anglo-Saxon Tiles', *Medieval Ceramics*, 10 (1986), 37–42; Gem and Keen, 'Late Anglo-Saxon Finds', p. 26.

115. For this and what follows see Gittos, 'Sacred Space', ch. 6. For the symbolism and decoration of portals see Calvin B. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1998), and for the doors themselves see Jane Geddes, *Medieval Decorative Ironwork in England* (London, 1999), ch. 6. For a study of the construction of church porches in twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century Rome in connection with the liturgy see Nancy Spatz, 'Church Porches and the Liturgy in Twelfth-Century Rome', in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, ed. by Heffernan and Matter, pp. 327–67.

116. For this see Gittos, 'Sacred Space', ch. 6 and the conclusion. Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago, 1987) is a study of the role of place in ritual, though it deals inadequately with the medieval evidence.

117. Tweddle, Biddle, and Kjølbye-Biddle, *Corpus*, pp. 28–29, 251–53, 259–60, see also pp. 240–41; Rodwell and Rouse, 'Anglo-Saxon Rood'; for the position of crucifixions see Elizabeth Coatsworth, 'Late Pre-Conquest Sculptures with the Crucifixion South of the Humber', in *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed. by Yorke, pp. 161–93.

118. Kirkdale: Elisabeth Okasha, *Hand-list of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions* (Cambridge, 1971), no. 64; James Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, vol. III: *York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 163–66; Lorna Watts and others, 'Kirkdale – the Inscriptions', *Medieval Archaeology*, 41 (1997), 51–99 (pp. 75–92); John Higgitt, 'The Dedication Inscription at Jarrow and Its Context', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 59 (1979), 343–74. Mary-le-Wigford: Taylor and Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, I, 391–94; Okasha, *Hand-list*, no. 73. For the other examples see Taylor and Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, I, 187–90; Tweddle, Biddle, and Kjølbye-Biddle, *Corpus*, p. 185; Lang, *Corpus*, pp. 123–24.

119. Geddes, *Medieval Decorative Ironwork*, chs 6, 7; *Pontificale Lanalatense*, pl. 1.

120. de Blaauw, 'Architecture and Liturgy', p. 19.

121. I intend to examine this question in future work.

6. The Representational Liturgy of the *Regularis Concordia*

NILS HOLGER PETERSEN

The *Regularis Concordia Anglicae Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonialiumque*, the agreement on a rule for the monks and nuns of the English nation, has been preserved for posterity as the main document of the monastic revival in pre-Conquest England. It seems to have been drawn up at the Winchester Council in the early 970s, which was summoned by King Edgar (957/959–75) and presided over by Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester (963–84). The English monastic revival may be seen—in a rather literal sense—as an effort in the mid-tenth century to revitalize monastic and, in a wider perspective, religious and intellectual life in England after the disastrously low point it had reached during the ninth century, largely caused by the politically unstable period since the early Viking raids at the end of the eighth century. At the same time, the revival must also be seen in the context of the continental monastic reforms of the tenth century, of which the two other main agents of the English church reforms besides Æthelwold, Dunstan, who became archbishop of Canterbury (961–88), and Oswald, bishop of Worcester and later York (961–72 and 972–92), had first-hand experiences. Æthelwold had sent the monk Osgar to spend time in the famous, seemingly Cluniac reformed, monastery of Fleury, the place where also Oswald had spent a number of years.[1]

The *Regularis Concordia* seeks to restore a proper order of monastic life and to construct a model of identity for members of a monastic community.[2] The information given in the document about religious celebrations in the liturgical Hours and for Mass presupposes knowledge of common types of celebrations of such ceremonies, predominantly, concerning the Hours, as found in the Rule of St Benedict, but also referring to the so-called Roman or secular (i.e. non-monastic) liturgy.[3] Monastic *consuetudines* in the Middle Ages normally give important and sometimes detailed information, but at other times leave many questions unanswered and seem to skip over parts of celebrations with no apparent reason. The necessary documentation of the local liturgical practices would, of course, in each case have been written out in details in the appropriate liturgical books. These were made for each church and each monastic house in order to make it possible for the clerics or monks to be able to carry out the ceremonies.[4]

For the modern scholar there is a fundamental difference between books written for use in a particular religious community for its normal round of celebrations and some of the so-called *ordines* and *consuetudines*. The latter type of book always gives the general order of the items, but not all details, or texts, and only rarely any music, but in some cases they do not seem to reflect or describe the liturgy actually carried out, but rather to prescribe a liturgy, that is, with a normative purpose. In such cases, the local practices connected to the prescribed liturgy would have to be found in other liturgical books, as indicated in the previous chapter. These would not necessarily be in agreement with the prescribed liturgy in all details. It is only rarely the case that all liturgical books from a community in use at the same time have been preserved and in the case of the liturgy of the *Regularis Concordia* we have few possibilities to correlate the seemingly normative liturgy of this document with descriptive liturgical manuscripts from local houses.

The liturgy as it is set down in the *Regularis Concordia* stands out in certain respects, since it seems to have introduced certain practices, which may be described as representational, at a very early time. These are the type of liturgical traditions with which I shall deal in this study. The most prominent among these practices—at least in its reception history—seems to be the one usually referred to as the *visitatio sepulchri*.[5] The *Regularis Concordia* text for Matins on Easter Day prescribes how monks should carry out a ceremony based on the biblical narratives of the three women coming to Christ's grave on Easter morning where they meet an angel who announces the Resurrection. This is not only supposed to be represented in words and music, but in some sense (see below) intended to be represented mimetically. During the descriptions of the final parts of the office, beginning at its third lesson, four brothers are supposed to vest themselves, one in an alb, the three others in copes. The first of these is supposed to enter what is called the 'place of the grave', where a little later the other three shall come as if looking for something. At the mentioned representation of the grave the announcement of Christ's Resurrection will then take place in conclusion of a short dialogue, which begins with the words *quem queritis* sung by the first brother who represents an angel. The three other brothers, who represent the women of the biblical Resurrection narratives, then announce the Resurrection to the congregation. Thereafter the dialogue carries on leading the brother who represents the angel to show the empty grave to the others whereafter they praise the Resurrection. More or less the same text—often referred to as the *quem queritis* dialogue, after the words mentioned at the beginning—exists in numerous manuscripts throughout the Middle Ages, and even long after, but far from always with any sign of a mimetically represented performance.[6] Since the *Regularis Concordia* has a prescriptive rather than a descriptive character, and even in spite of the high authority this document would seem to have had through its royal protection, one cannot be absolutely sure that something found in the *Regularis Concordia* was actually carried out at any place unless other evidence exists. It is a commmonplace in modern liturgiology that there was no strict liturgical uniformity in the Middle Ages. This has, for instance, been clearly demonstrated for the representational ceremonies with which I will be concerned, among them the *visitatio sepulchri* ceremonies.[7]

In particular cases, however, one may find liturgical manuscripts of a descriptive kind which can be used for comparison with a normative order. The so-called Winchester Troper, preserved in two manuscripts, gives tropes and certain other elements of the liturgy at the Old Minster Cathedral at around 1000, probably to a certain extent preserving liturgical uses from before 980. It contains a *visitatio sepulchri* ceremony which is closely related to the one found in the *Regularis Concordia*, giving both the lines—mainly, but not completely in agreement with the *Regularis Concordia* version—and the music to which it was sung, in adiastematic neumes, that is, in a musical notation which can only be deciphered by reference to later notations.[8] Such a comparison may be illuminating, but it is important to maintain that the texts compared are of a different kind.

Even though the *Regularis Concordia* is not a direct source for actually performed liturgical celebrations, it remains a source for contemporary ideas among the leading men of the English monastic revival about how celebrations were thought to be made in a pious and fitting manner. The words used by the author of the *Regularis Concordia* to introduce the so-called *depositio crucis* (burial of the cross) ceremony on Good Friday seem to corroborate this:

> Now since on that day we solemnize the burial of the Body of our Saviour, if anyone should care or think fit to follow in a becoming manner certain religious men in a practice worthy to be imitated for the strengthening of the faith of unlearned common persons and neophytes [...].[9]

It is important to realize that the vagueness implicit in statements as the above quoted may well reflect that there may not have existed a concept that corresponds to the modern notion of liturgy.[10] At the same time there can be no doubt that such normative thoughts about what would be appropriate for a monastic community—and concerning its educational or edificational role for the general population to which the *Regularis Concordia* makes several references—must have had a strong impact on the actually performed liturgy, on the monastic movement altogether, and also concerning the construction of monastic buildings and churches in the late tenth and eleventh centuries.

The totality of the actually performed liturgical celebrations at any given monastic house can be studied from the point of view of different media, the words or the music used, the gestures and movements that were parts of them, and the architectural space which they employed, and to a certain extent created through processions. All of these media can be taken as points of departure for an understanding of the monastic enterprise, as it were. The same is true, of course, for any religious community. It seems clear that connections between these different sides of the monastic enterprise were not arbitrary and that what in modern times must be approached as the liturgy of such a community must be seen as a phenomenon which crossed the traditional, modern, borders of the disciplines involved.[11]

The Regularis Concordia *and the Architectural History of the Old Minster in Winchester*

It seems possible to find points of connection between the history of the construction of the Old Minster Cathedral of Winchester and the *visitatio sepulchri* in the monastic agreement and the Winchester Troper. In the 1960s Carol Heitz had connected the continental *visitatio sepulchri* practices with processional liturgy to the so-called westwork in Carolingian monasteries; his investigations were followed up by Elie Konigson and also by English authors concerned with the architecture of the English monastic reforms.[12] Heitz's original claim that the so-called dramatic liturgies are found especially where westworks were built has been criticized and modified to some extent.[13] One problem in Heitz's understanding is that a written documentation of these so-called representational ceremonies has only been found more than a hundred years later than the Carolingian constructions he discussed. Thus, it became necessary for him to predate the rise of this type of liturgy beyond what can be substantiated through liturgical documents. Heitz referred to Carolingian visual representations of the three women and an angel announcing the Resurrection at Christ's grave Easter morning, but there are obvious methodological problems connected to such interpretations, since it is difficult to decide whether a representation shows the biblical scene or a liturgical representation of it.[14]

In a more general way, however, the liturgiologist Angelus A. Häussling in his magisterial study of the rise of monastic Mass celebrations argued that the Carolingian striving for authenticity in Mass celebrations, which are not at all dealt with in the Rule of Benedict, belonged to a more general Romanizing tendency. This tendency had also been fundamental for the so-called importation of Roman liturgy at the times of Pepin III and Charlemagne. Häussling developed the idea that although Roman liturgy, and Rome itself, had an intrinsic authority, a liturgical order did seem to become Roman for the Carolingians not by being Roman in a strict, modern, sense, but through a certain use of Roman quotations.[15] Jerusalem, of course, possessed a similar authority, and it is a well-established fact that the grave church at Jerusalem was used as a model quoted in the so-called *sepulchra domini* in the Carolingian era.[16]

Obviously, the question of the relationship between the liturgical order of the *Regularis Concordia* and church buildings in the tenth to eleventh centuries ought to be approached also through other sites than the Old Minster in Winchester.[17] It is, on the other hand, not easy to point to places where one has concrete knowledge about the use of the *Regularis Concordia*. The only two extant manuscripts of the monastic agreement seem to have been written at the Christ Church Cathedral in Canterbury, and both have most recently been dated to the mid-eleventh century. The above-mentioned letter to the monks of Eynsham was probably originally written around 1005, and in any case before the death of Ælfric, the abbot of Eynsham, in 1010, and its only preserved manuscript is also dated to the mid-eleventh century with a Worcester provenance.[18] There seems to be a reliable reference to a lost exemplar of the *Regularis Concordia* in an entry in the catalogue from the Glastonbury Abbey (in 1247/48).[19] In view of the scarcity of such documented connections between the *Regularis Concordia* and church buildings, a discussion of the building history of Old Minster in relation to the representational liturgy in the *Regularis Concordia* will be one among very few possible relevant discussions of this kind, even though one should be careful not to consider the Old Minster to be the very architectural place for which the *Regularis Concordia* was written. This, of course, is true for any church building at the time. On the other hand, it would seem highly unlikely that the assumed and likely author of the *Regularis Concordia*, Bishop Æthelwold, would not have had his own cathedral in some view as one of the places at which his normative liturgy was supposed to be applied.[20] Here it becomes important to draw in the abovementioned Winchester Troper, as a descriptive liturgical manuscript, and its *visitatio sepulchri* ceremony. Such a ceremony is not found in what in recent times has been described as the most important, continental, source for the *Regularis Concordia*, the so-called *Consuetudines Floriacenses antiquiores*, from Fleury in the tenth century. Further, although a tradition of the use of the words, and music, of the *visitatio sepulchri* can be documented on the continent, the connection between the *visitatio sepulchri* in the *Regularis Concordia* and the Winchester Troper is closer than between the former and any other *visitatio* ceremony in the known history of this practice.[21]

The recent datings of the manuscripts bring with them a certain amount of uncertainty concerning the exact original contents of the agreement seemingly drawn up at the council of Winchester. However, there are indications to support that a *quem queritis* text, or *visitatio sepulchri* ceremony, was known at the time.[22] Most importantly, the two sources for the Winchester Troper contain this ceremony. Indeed, both are probably manuscripts of the eleventh century.[23] The Bodleian Library MS 775 has been interpreted as an anachronistic manuscript giving liturgical materials from shortly before 980.[24] If this is true, the Winchester Troper seems to indicate that the *quem queritis* in the version found there was performed at a time very close to the Winchester council. A scenario, which I have suggested elsewhere, could be that the divergences between the Winchester Troper version and the one found in the *Regularis Concordia* stem from a revision of the actually performed version, as seen in the descriptive Winchester Troper. In this way, also, the otherwise strange full text of the angelic announcement of the Resurrection in the *Regularis Concordia visitatio sepulchri*, in contrast to all other sung lines which are only indicated by *incipits*, or first words, can be explained. CCCC MS 473 (of the Winchester Troper) may then be understood to indicate that the revision in the *Regularis Concordia* did not affect the words or melodies of the celebration in the Old Minster, at least not until after the time of this manuscript.[25] Further, the revision of this text in the *Regularis Concordia* may mean that the ceremony was, at least intended to be, moved to a different place. I have tried to understand the much disputed liturgical placement of the *quem queritis* in MS 775 to the effect that the celebration could have taken place during a procession at some time Easter night with a so-called station (*statio*) at a construction—possibly even a *sepulchrum domini*—at the grave of the important Winchester saint, Swithun (bishop in Winchester in the ninth century), west of the Old Minster; some construction at the site of Swithun's grave has been certified through excavations. The Easter Vigil which started at the Hour of None, in the late afternoon, on Holy Saturday would lead into the procession to the baptismal font, but there is no indication of a baptismal rite in the *Regularis Concordia* except that the procession to and the blessing of the font is mentioned; neither are other ceremonies before the Easter Vigil Mass mentioned. The *Regularis Concordia* may well have given provision for both the situation where there would have been baptism—as had been the traditional use for centuries—and concerning a situation where there were no children to be baptized. In the latter case it would seem to have been normal to have a procession after the blessing of the font and before a procession finally entered into the main church for the Easter Vigil Mass, originally at midnight, but gradually moved forward in time, though never, it seems, before the rise of the first star on the firmament.[26]

The revision of the *visitatio*, or *quem queritis*, ceremony may have been combined with the idea of moving it to the High Altar after the eastward extension which seems to have been planned close to the time of the council, and which was carried out in 993–94. In 980 a different rebuilding of the Old Minster was ready: the westwork was dedicated at the place where St Swithun's grave had been. Originally the construction seems to have been planned as a large-scale *martyrium* for the saint, but plans must have been changed. St Swithun was translated twice, first to the inner part of the cathedral in 971 and followed by another translation where his earthly remains were divided, so that from 974 one part was kept in the High Altar and the other in the sacristy.[27] Thus, in 980 the ceremony which—according to my speculation—might have taken place during an Easter procession outside the cathedral during Easter night could in a completely natural way have continued to take place at its usual place, which in the meantime had been incorporated into the new westwork, an equally natural goal for an Easter night procession as far as the evidence mentioned earlier indicates.[28] What happened in the longer run after the last rebuilding of 993–94 and until the Old Minster was torn down to give place to the present cathedral (dedicated in 1093) is not easy to guess and belongs to a discussion of the long-term reception of the *Regularis Concordia*.

The interest in this, admittedly, speculative account is that it makes it possible to account partly for the differences between the normative documentation and the descriptive manuscript evidence at the same time as it provides a scenario for why one would even have considered changing what seems to have been a natural setting for the ceremony during Easter night into a setting during the Nocturns. The changes might have been furthered by a more consistent large-scale planning of the representational liturgy, to which I will now turn.

Representational Liturgy

Karl Young had argued for a completely different scenario for what he saw as a general move of the *quem queritis* texts from an early position among tropes for the introit of the Easter Mass—construed as literary, musical additions to the official liturgy—to a position during the Divine Hours, specifically at the end of Matins, called Nocturns in the *Regularis Concordia* and at the time. The idea behind his construction, which he, of course, felt able to substantiate through manuscript evidence, was that the new position at Matins had given more freedom to realize the postulated dramatic impetus of the *quem queritis* text. This way Karl Young—and with him more than a generation of liturgical drama scholars—constructed the beginnings of the medieval history of European drama.[29] The critique of O. B. Hardison (1965), followed up by C. Clifford Flanigan and others, led to very different ways of thinking about the *quem queritis* text and its early medieval uses.[30] It is no longer clear at all that what is found in the *quem queritis* texts is something that can adequately be dealt with by using the concept of drama, which is not a concept found in the manuscripts themselves and which it seems difficult to use without anachronistic connotations.[31] The emphasis in most recent scholarship on the *quem queritis* and similar representational texts has to a much larger extent been on liturgy or ritual than on drama.[32] Since O. B. Hardison's above-mentioned new departure in 1965, the broader concept of representation instead of drama has become increasingly relevant.[33] Understanding the concept of drama through Aristotle's *Poetics*, Hardison pointed to the allegorical understanding of the liturgy in the *Liber officialis* by Amalar from the 820s as a fundamental basis for the mentioned representational practices as found in liturgical documents of the tenth and, it may be added, the following, centuries.[34] At the same time, he found that what he considered to be the specifically representational ceremonies, for instance the mentioned *visitatio sepulchri* practice, but also ceremonies like the *depositio* and *elevatio hostiae* or *crucis*—the burial and elevation of the host or the cross as alluded to above[35]—and others, were the result of a certain alienation from the traditional Carolingian liturgy necessitating a more direct type of representation.[36]

Recently, Michal Kobialka has made the concept of representational practice his point of departure in an important study.[37] He refuses to define what representation meant in the Middle Ages, for instance at the time of the Winchester council, considering representation as something in the process of being negotiated. Kobialka sees the rise of an interest in liturgical representation in the context of the history of the fundamental but difficult theological precisions about the nature of the Eucharist, discussed throughout the history of Christianity, but raised as a fundamental problem between a literal or a metaphorical understanding of the sacrament by two monks of the monastery at Corbie in the ninth century, a conflict which was not officially resolved before the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. In other words, according to Kobialka, the question for which an answer was sought regarded in which ways Christ—and his body—could be represented in the church.[38]

It is important to have a look at words used in the *Regularis Concordia* itself to describe or to define the so-called representational practices. I will here simply use this modern notion to refer to such practices found in the orders of the *Regularis Concordia* where a combination of words, music, and/or choreographic design seems to make present either a biblical narrative or some other kind of theological interpretation for the assembled congregation.

The most important of such practices are the Palm Sunday procession, the *mandatum* ceremonies on Maundy Thursday, the adoration of the cross and its earlier mentioned deposition on Good Friday, as well as the elevation and the *visitatio sepulchri* on Easter Day.[39] Mostly, these ceremonies are described matter-of-factly, not separating them from any other, seemingly more traditional, types of ceremony. Occasionally, however, specific words are found which may be taken to indicate an awareness of the use of some kind of mimetic action in certain ceremonies. The short description of the deposition of the cross on Good Friday contains the following phrase: 'When they have laid the cross therein, in imitation as it were of the burial of the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, they shall sing the antiphon [...].'[40] One of the four monks supposed to participate in the *visitatio sepulchri* must wear an alb 'as though for some different purpose', in order to take the role as the angel.[41] The three carrying out the roles of the women are supposed to go to the place of the sepulchre ('ante locum sepulcri') 'as though searching for something'.[42] More generally the whole procedure is referred to in these words: 'Now these things are done in imitation of the angel seated on the tomb and of the women coming with perfumes to anoint the body of Jesus.'[43]

A particularly interesting wording is found in connection with the night ceremony on Maundy Thursday, that is, the night before Maundy Thursday, where boys are positioned in, as it seems, three groups of two, to the right and the left sides and to the west of the choir, singing a *Kyrie* in alternation, also with the chorus, after all the lights have been put out and before the final prayer of the night. This procedure is first referred to in the following way, as translated by Thomas Symons: 'a practice [...] whereby compunction of soul is aroused by means of the outward representation of that which is spiritual [...]'.[44] After the ceremonial has been described it is even interpreted in the text:

> This manner of arousing religious compunction was, I think, devised by Catholic men for the purpose of setting forth clearly both the terror of that darkness which, at our Lord's Passion, struck the tripartite world with unwonted fear, and the consolation of that apostolic preaching which revealed to the whole world Christ obedient to His Father even unto death for the salvation of the human race. Therefore it seemed good to us to insert these things so that if there be any to whose devotion they are pleasing, they may find therein the means of instructing those who are ignorant of this matter; no one, however, shall be forced to carry out this practice against his will.[45]

Clearly, words used about the so-called representational practices in the *Regularis Concordia* do not have the character of a terminology. There is no unified way of expressing the idea of representation in the liturgy, but more so in the quoted English translations than in the Latin text. All the same, there seems to be a consciousness that some of these ceremonies stand out in some way and that they should therefore not be obligatory. This is also the case with the ceremony of the deposition on Good Friday.[46] On the other hand, not all the representational ceremonies are mentioned to be optional. The *visitatio sepulchri* is not.[47] A number of other representational details in the Easter liturgy are not at all pointed to as something unusual. This is true for the Palm Sunday procession, the *Mandatum* ceremonies, the *adoratio crucis*, and the elevation and the *visitatio sepulchri*. And it is true for a small detail during the reading of the Passion, at John 19. 24:

> When the words *Partiti sunt vestimenta mea* and the rest are read in the gospel, straightaway two deacons shall strip from the altar the cloth which had before been placed under the book of the gospels.[48]

What is striking is rather the long-term strategy of the ritual planning. One detail of the *visitatio sepulchri* text is not understandable without reference to the mentioned *depositio* and *elevatio* ceremonies. The song of the angel, *venite et videte locum* ('come and see the place'), calls back the women after the announcement of the Resurrection. Referring to the angel the text continues: 'and then, rising and lifting up the veil, he shall show them the place void of the Cross and with only the linen in which the Cross had been wrapped.'[49]

What makes the representational liturgy an interesting phenomenon is much more than just the few illustrative points made during some of the ceremonies. This is what O. B. Hardison pointed out many years ago concerning the liturgy of the period as understood by Amalar, and, of course, not by him alone. But there does, in fact, seem to be a special emphasis of this aspect in the *Regularis Concordia*.

Certainly, its Easter liturgy can be seen as a complex event where the monks—and not least the abbot—relive or re-experience the fundamental historical events of salvation history as something they and he are allowed to witness, to take part in. For that reason, it would seem, the words of the *Regularis Concordia* not only specify what should be done and what may be helpful for the religious compunction of the monks, but also on two important occasions specify or maybe rather presuppose the emotional engagement of the monks. During the adoration of the cross, it is stated:

> As soon as it has been unveiled, the abbot shall come before the holy Cross and shall prostrate himself thrice with all the brethren of the right hand side of the choir, that is, seniors and juniors; and with deep and heartfelt sighs shall say the seven Penitential psalms and the prayer in honour of the holy Cross.[50]

Similarly, the *visitatio sepulchri* ceremony ends with the following statement:

> When the antiphon is finished the prior, rejoicing in the triumph of our King in that He had conquered death and was risen, shall give out the hymn *Te Deum laudamus*, and thereupon all the bells shall peal.[51]

It is tempting to compare this with a seemingly similar expression of emotional engagement in the passion of Christ in a much more personal, individualized prayer text by Anselm of Canterbury:

> So, as much as I can, though not as much as I ought, I am mindful of your passion, your buffeting, your scourging, your cross, your wounds, how you were slain for me, how prepared for burial and buried, and also I remember your glorious Resurrection, and wonderful Ascension. [...] Alas for me, that I was not able to see the lord of Angels humbled to converse with men, when God, the one insulted, willed to die that the sinner might live. Alas that I did not deserve to be amazed in the presence of a love marvellous and beyond our grasp. Why, O my soul, were you not there to be pierced by a sword of bitter sorrow [...]?[52]

Apart from the obvious differences, including the completely different type of text in question, I will point out a difference which may easily be overlooked. The interest in or presupposition of an emotional engagement in the Passion and Resurrection of Christ for the monks in the *Regularis Concordia*, which in a certain way is similar to what is found in Anselm's prayer, has clearly been much heightened in Anselm's seemingly personal text. At the same time, it is worth noting that the point of departure for Anselm is that he was not present, nor able to be, at the crucial events. Conversely, I would read the representational liturgy of the *Regularis Concordia*—but certainly in agreement with the general mode of such representational liturgical ceremonial wherever it is found—to the effect that this liturgy enables the congregation to be witnesses, to be present at the events, although this would necessarily have been thought to take place in a spiritual way, outside historical time. This corresponds to the way in which C. Clifford Flanigan many years ago read the tropes for the introit of the Easter Day Mass in the early tenth century from the famous St Martial monastery as they have been preserved in the above-mentioned troper.[53] The words of the tropes—and in particular the words of the *quem queritis* dialogue—may be understood in a sort of literal way. The procession of the monastic community entering for High Mass is obviously seeking the resurrected Christ. He is not in his tomb, not specifically at the altar, but in Heaven. When, finally, the introit text (*resurrexi et adhuc tecum sum*, from Psalm 138) is sung, the congregation—as the tropes show according to Flanigan's convincing reading—witnesses not only the resurrection of Christ, but even his words as he returns to the Father.

In a somewhat similar way, it seems to me, the liturgy of the *Regularis Concordia*— concerning both the Passion and the Resurrection—made it possible for the congregation to celebrate the rituals, pray and hear the announcements, and receive the sacraments. But in between these points of immediate connection to the Divine presence in human life, manifested in a religious ritual, there were also points of the opposite, where the participants in the religious practices were given the possibility to be present at the Divine acts of salvation—where they were able to be transposed to a quasi-historical time where they could experience and re-experience the events which lay at the basis for the ritual as such.

I believe, as I have argued elsewhere, that the experimentation with such ritual devices did carry with it new techniques which eventually led into something which must be seen in continuity with drama history.[54] At the same time it is equally important to see that within the contemporary context, these texts can be understood as a pious experimentation with liturgical ceremonial in a way which deserves the modern notion of representational practice, but not liturgical drama.

NOTES

1. The *Regularis Concordia* is preserved in two manuscript copies, both in British Library, London: Cotton MS Faustina B III and Cotton MS Tiberius A III. Concerning the date and provenance, see below at note 18. I further refer to *Regularis Concordia: The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*, ed. and trans. by Thomas Symons (London, 1953). This edition (and translation) is referred to as *RC* and text excerpts in English translations are quoted from this edition. The *Regularis Concordia* was re-edited by Th. Symons and S. Spath in *Consuetudinum saeculi X/XI/XII monumenta non-Cluniacensia*, ed. by K. Hallinger, Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum, 7.3 (Siegburg, 1984), pp. 61–147. The Latin text of the *Regularis Concordia* is quoted from this edition, referred to as *RC* 1984. An edition of the document and its Anglo-Saxon glosses with an extensive introduction has also been published in later years: Lucia Kornexl, ed., *Die* Regularis Concordia *und ihre altenglische interlinearversion* (Munich, 1993). Another text, which is clearly dependent on the *Regularis Concordia* yet in certain respects deviates from it, has recently been edited with an English translation: *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, ed. by Christopher A. Jones (Cambridge, 1998), containing yet another important introduction to the historical background for these pre-Conquest monastic documents. For general accounts and discussions of the English monastic revival and the background for the English monastic order, I also refer to the classic account in David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 31–56, as well as to Thomas Symons, '*Regularis Concordia*: History and Derivation', in *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and* Regularis Concordia, ed. by David Parsons (London, 1975), pp. 37–59. The volume *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed. by Barbara Yorke (Woodbridge, 1988) contributes a number of articles from various view-points, among which I refer especially to Michael Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', pp. 89–117.

2. Michal Kobialka, *This Is My Body: Representational Practices in the Early Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor, 1999), esp. pp. 62–72. The first chapter of this book (pp. 35–99) constitutes a reading of the *Regularis Concordia*.

3. Concerning the reception of the Rule of St Benedict in England and its Latin text tradition as well as the Anglo-Saxon translation—presumably by Bishop Æthelwold around the time of the Winchester synod—see Mechthild Gretsch, *Die Regula Sancti Benedicti in England und ihre altenglische Übersetzung* (Munich, 1973). Concerning Æthelwold's authorship, see esp. pp. 9–11.

4. Kornexl, *Die* Regularis Concordia, pp. lvii–lx. For the organization of liturgical books (prayers, readings, songs, etc.) see Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office* (Toronto, 1982); for the history of such source materials, see Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. and rev. by William Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen (Washington, DC, 1986). Concerning the role of *consuetudines* and their relationship with other liturgical manuscripts and in particular concerning Ælfric's letter to the monks of Eynsham, see *Ælfric's Letter*, pp. 29–30 and 37.

5. A term probably not used before the thirteenth century, but used also about the text in the *Regularis Concordia* by, among others, Karl Young—according to criteria concerning his concept of drama—in his *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols (London, 1933), i, 249–51. In scholarship such mimetic practices have more generally been termed *liturgical drama*, cf. the title of Susan Rankin's contribution 'Liturgical Drama', in *The New Oxford History of Music II*, ed. by Richard Crocker and David Hiley (Oxford, 1990), pp. 310–56, and see esp. p. 320 n. 25.

6. *RC*, pp. 49–50; *RC* 1984, pp. 124–27. For brief accounts of the history of these texts, liturgical ceremonies, or dramas as they have been treated by various disciplines, see C. Clifford Flanigan, 'Medieval Latin Music-Drama', in *The Theatre of Medieval Europe: New Research in Early Drama*, ed. by Eckehard Simon (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 21–41, and Rankin, 'Liturgical Drama'. For further discussion of parts of this text in the *Regularis Concordia*, see below.

7. See C. Clifford Flanigan, 'Medieval Liturgy and the Arts: Visitatio Sepulchri as Paradigm', in *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of C. Clifford Flanigan*, ed. by Eva Louise Lillie and Nils Holger Petersen (Copenhagen, 1996), pp. 9–35 (p. 17).

8. Cambridge, Corpus Cristi College, MS 473, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 775. See below, and see Nils Holger Petersen, 'Les textes polyvalents du *Quem quaeritis* a Winchester au X^{e} siecle', *Revue de Musicologie*, 86.1 (2000), 105–18, with further references to modern editions and discussions. A descriptive liturgical manuscript fragment sup-

porting parts of the *Regularis Concordia* Good Friday adoration of the cross ceremony was found among Norwegian liturgical fragments in Oslo and was discussed and published in Lilli Gjerløw, *Adoratio crucis* (Oslo, 1961), pp. 29–67. See also C. E. Hohler, 'Some Service-Books of the Later Saxon Church', in *Tenth-Century Studies*, ed. by Parsons, pp. 60–83 (p. 74).

9. *RC*, p. 44, *RC* 1984, p. 118: 'Nam quia ea die depositionem corporis saluatoris nostri celebramus, usum quorundam religiosorum imitabilem ad fidem indocti uulgi ac neofitorum corroborandam aequiperando sequi, si ita cui uisum fuerit uel sibi taliter placuerit, [...]'.

10. Concerning the use of the word liturgy, see for instance A. G. Martimort, *L'Église en prière: Introduction à la Liturgie*, 3rd edn (Paris, 1965), p. 3. I give a brief discussion, with further references, of the question concerning the existence of a generally shared idea corresponding to the post-Reformation idea of liturgy in my '*Danielis ludus* and the Latin Music Dramatic Traditions of the Middle Ages', in *The Past in the Present*, ed. by Laszlo Dobszay (Budapest, forthcoming).

11. See Petersen, 'Les textes polyvalents', pp. 109 and 118, also my 'Liturgy and Musical Composition', *Studia Theologica*, 50 (1996), 125–43 (pp. 128–31).

12. Carol Heitz, *Recherches sur les rapports entre architecture et liturgie à l'époque carolingienne* (Paris, 1963), esp. pp. 202–21, and Carol Heitz, 'Architecture et liturgie processionnelle à l'époque préromane', *Revue de l'Art*, 24 (1974), 30–47 (esp. p. 43). Elie Konigson, *L'Espace théatral médiéval* (Paris, 1975), esp. p. 36, was in basic agreement with Heitz but critical of the use of the concept of theatre in Heitz's work. Concerning tenth-century English church architecture, see the following articles in *Tenth-Century Studies*, ed. by Parsons: H. M. Taylor, 'Tenth-Century Church Building in England and on the Continent', pp. 141–68, and Martin Biddle, '*Felix urbs Winthonia*: Winchester in the Age of Monastic Reform', pp. 123–40. See also Arnold William Klukas, 'Liturgy and Architecture: Deerhurst Priory as an Expression of the Regularis Concordia', *Viator*, 15 (1984), 81–106.

13. Pamela Sheingorn, *The Easter Sepulchre in England* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1987), esp. pp. 23–24.

14. Heitz, *Recherches*, pp. 202–09 and 218–21.

15. Angelus Albert Häussling, *Mönchskonvent und Eucharistiefeier: Eine Studie über die Messe in der abendländischen Klosterliturgie des frühen Mittelalters und zur Geschichte der Meßhäufigkeit*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, 58 (Münster, 1973). Concerning the medieval technique of quoting, see pp. 102–11; concerning Roman stational processions and their Carolingian appropriation, pp. 187–206 and 323–31 (and see esp. n. 88).

16. Häussling, *Mönchskonvent*, pp. 98–100, and 107–11; Sheingorn, *The Easter Sepulchre*, pp. 3–5, and 6–13.

17. Cf. Klukas, 'Liturgy and Architecture'.

18. Kornexl, *Die* Regularis Concordia, pp. x, ci–cii (concerning the so-called F text), and cxxii–cxxiii (T text). See also *Ælfric's Letter*, p. 21. Concerning Ælfric's letter, see above note 1. For the dating of the letter and the preserved (single) manuscript (the so-called part A of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 265), see *Ælfric's Letter*, pp. 4–5, 11–12 and 23, 71–74 and 82, and Kornexl, *Die* Regularis Concordia, pp. clii–cliii.

19. *RC*, introduction, p. lvii, and Kornexl, *Die* Regularis Concordia, p. cxlviii.

20. Concerning the question of Æthelwold as the author of the *Regularis Concordia*, see Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', pp. 98–100; Kornexl, *Die* Regularis Concordia, pp. xxxi–l; *Ælfric's Letter*, pp. 22 and 150, n. 3.

21. For recent discussions of the sources of the *Regularis Concordia*, see Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', p. 99, and Kornexl, *Die* Regularis Concordia, pp. lxxxiv–xcv. See also K. Hallinger, 'Fleurys Einfluss auf die Synode von Winchester', in *Consuetudinum saeculi X/XI/XII*, ed. by Hallinger, and the mentioned *Consuetudines Floriacenses antiquiores*, ed. by A. Davril and L. Donnat in *Consuetudinum saeculi X/XI/XII*, ed. by Hallinger, pp. 3–60. Concerning the tradition of the words and music of the *visitatio sepulchri*, I refer to the collections of the verbal texts of more than 800 such ceremonies in Walther Lipphardt, ed., *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*, 9 vols (Berlin, 1975–90). The four verbal texts of the *visitatio sepulchri* from the preserved manuscripts of the *Regularis Concordia* and the Winchester Troper are edited in vol. II, pp. 538–41 (nos 394–95), and pp. 576–78 (nos 423–24). Cf. Petersen, 'Les textes polyvalents', pp. 105–06 and 111 (n. 21).

22. See Kornexl, *Die* Regularis Concordia, p. cxliv, and *Ælfric's Letter*, p. 22. Cf. also Petersen, 'Les textes polyvalents', pp. 111–12, speculating whether the version of the *visitatio* ceremony found in (both sources for) the *Regularis Concordia*, but omitted in Ælfric's letter, could possibly have a Canterbury provenance. In *Ælfric's Letter*, however, the omission is explained by reference to the much smaller community in Eynsham and the freedom with which Ælfric obviously treated his source. It seems likely that Ælfric did, in fact, know at least some version of a *visitatio sepulchri* ceremony, either from his time as a monk at Old Minster from some time during Æthelwold's episcopacy (*Ælfric's Letter*, p. 5) or from the *Regularis Concordia*. In M. Bradford Bedingfield's study of Ælfric's sermons or more specifically his retellings of the Gospel pericopes on which he preached, it is shown how Ælfric's account of the Resurrection narrative includes a reference to Christ's burial cloth which is not mentioned in any of the four Gospel accounts, whereas it is a part of the *Regularis Concordia* text of the *visitatio* ceremony used as a kind of prop in connection with the song *venite et videte locum*, which is also part of the Winchester Troper text, although a use of the veil or burial cloth is not specifically mentioned. See M. Bradford Bedingfield, 'Reinventing the Gospel: Ælfric and the Liturgy', *Medium Ævum*, 68.1 (1999), 13–31 (pp. 27–28). I thank Helen Gittos, author of the previous chapter, for drawing my attention to the work of M. Bradford Bedingfield, and Bedingfield himself for personal communication pointing to his more extensive work with Ælfric's homilies in his dissertation, a revised version of which is presently being prepared for publication: *The Dramatic Liturgy of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, forthcoming).

23. See Petersen, 'Les textes polyvalents', p. 106 (n. 4). Recently, scholars tend to date not only Bodl. MS 775 but also CCCC MS 473 to the eleventh century: see David Hiley, 'The English Benedictine Version of the Historia Sancti Gregorii and the Date of the "Winchester Troper" (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 473)', in *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the 7th Meeting, Sopron, Hungary, 1995*, ed. by Laszlo Dobszay (Budapest, 1998), 287–303 (pp. 287 and 296).

24. Andreas Holzschneider, *Die Organa von Winchester* (Hildesheim, 1968), pp. 24–25, and Alejandro E. Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester*, 2 vols (Princeton, 1977), I, 40.

25. Petersen, 'Les textes polyvalents', esp. pp. 114–16.

26. Concerning the supposedly erroneous placement of the *quem queritis* in Bodl. MS 775, see the discussion and the references in Petersen, ‘Les textes polyvalents’, p. 110 (including n. 20). Concerning the beginning of the Easter Vigil Mass, see *RC*, pp. 47–48; *RC* 1984, pp. 119–21. For a contemporary important liturgical order indicating what was done in a monastery when there was no baptism during the Easter Vigil, see the Roman-Germanic Pontifical of the tenth century, probably the most influential liturgical order of its time, written in the St Alban scriptorium in Mainz in the mid-tenth century, *Le Pontifical Romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, ed. by Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, 3 vols (Citta del Vaticano, 1963–72), II, 112. It is indicated that the blessing of the baptismal water takes place. Thereafter a procession is carried out where holy water is sprinkled on each house (‘in omni domo’). Having finished, the procession enters for Vespers, and then after the rise of the first star the Easter Vigil Mass can begin. Concerning the beginning of the Easter Vigil, and the Easter Vigil Mass, see Henry A. Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism: Ritual, Theology, and Drama* (Ithaca, 1985), pp. 223–24 (esp. n. 64). Also Michel Huglo, ‘L’Office du dimanche de Pâques dans les monastères bénédictins’, *Revue grégorienne*, 30 (1951), 191–203 (p. 193). Concerning the idea of a performance of the *quem queritis* ceremony (at a station) during Easter night, cf. Kenneth Levy, ‘The Italian Neophytes Chants’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 23 (1970), 181–227 (pp. 183–84). He speculates about ‘the implicitly dramatic space’ between the Easter Vigil Mass and the Easter Day Mass—a different construction, but parallel in its basic idea.

27. Concerning the building history of Old Minster, see Petersen, ‘Les textes polyvalents’, pp. 114–16, basing the argument on the evidence put forward in Biddle, ‘*Felix Urbs Winthonia*’, pp. 136–39; Martin Biddle and D. J. Keene, ‘Winchester in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries’, in *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Martin Biddle (Oxford, 1976), section 3.iv: ‘The Old Minster and the Norman Cathedral’, pp. 306–08; and Martin Biddle, *Excavations near Winchester Cathedral 1961–1968* (Winchester, 1969), pp. 59–65. For a reconstruction of the early Old Minster, see Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle, ‘The 7th Century Minster at Winchester Interpreted’, in *The Anglo-Saxon Church: Papers on History, Architecture, and Archaeology in Honour of Dr H. M. Taylor*, ed. by L. A. S. Butler and R. K. Morris (London, 1986), pp. 196–209. Cf. the discussion by Helen Gittos in the previous chapter of this book.

28. See above, note 12.

29. Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, I, Preface, p. vii, and mainly pp. 231, 249–51 (and pp. 79–81).

30. O. B. Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore, 1965). For his criticism of Karl Young and his drama concept based on the notion of impersonation, see esp. pp. 29–33. The history of liturgical drama scholarship concerning this most important point has been dealt with by several authors. Cf. note 6 above. For a recent critical discussion of main lines of this scholarship, see Kobialka, *This Is My Body*, Introduction, pp. 1–33 (with extensive notes).

31. See concerning this the discussion in Petersen, ‘*Danielis ludus* and the Traditions’.

32. See my account, ‘Liturgical Drama: New Approaches’ in a forthcoming publication of the proceedings of a session (arranged by Gunilla Iversen, Stockholm University) on liturgy at the medieval conference arranged by the *Fédération internationale des instituts d’études médiévales* in Barcelona, June 1999, ed. by Jacqueline Hamesse (Louvain-La-Neuve).

33. Concerning Hardison’s understanding of representation, see his *Christian Rite*, pp. 39–44, 67–68, and 82–87.

34. O. B. Hardison’s descriptions of the Mass liturgy and the cycle of celebrations of Mass and the Canonical Office during Lent and Easter are based on and refer constantly to Amalar’s understanding. See his *Christian Rite*, pp. 35–177. Amalar’s work is edited in *Amalarii Episcopi Opera Liturgica Omnia*, ed. by I. M. Hanssens, 3 vols, Studi e testi, 139–41 (Città del Vaticano, 1948–50), II, 9–543. For a recent discussion of Amalar’s work, see Wolfgang Steck, *Der liturgiker Amalarius – eine Quellenkritische Untersuchung zu Leben und Werk eines Theologen der Karolingerzeit*, Münchener Theologische Studien, I, Historische Abteilung, 35 (St Ottilien, 2000).

35. Found in the *Regularis Concordia* as the burial of the cross on Good Friday and a brief reference to an elevation ceremony, *RC*, pp. 44–45 and 49; *RC* 1984, pp. 118 and 124.

36. Hardison, *Christian Rite*, pp. 85–86. Cf. C. Clifford Flanigan’s idea that the *quem queritis* may have had something to do with the alienation possibly arising from the substitution of the Gallican rites by the Roman liturgy in the Carolingian realm, see C. Clifford Flanigan, ‘The Roman Rite and the Origins of the Liturgical Drama’, *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 43 (1973–74), 263–84. In Flanigan’s later scholarship, this idea was not used again.

37. Kobialka, *This Is My Body*.

38. ‘The medieval concept of representation, and its practices, however, was never stable but always in flux and always crossed by different modes of seeing until it was, as I argue in this book, stabilized by the constitutions of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215’. Kobialka, *This Is My Body*, Preface, p. viii.

39. Palm Sunday procession: *RC*, pp. 34–36; *RC* 1984, pp. 105–07. *Mandatum* ceremonies: *RC*, pp. 39–41; *RC* 1984, pp. 112–15. The adoration and deposition: *RC*, pp. 42–45; *RC* 1984, 116–18. The elevation and *visitatio*: *RC*, pp. 49–50; *RC* 1984, pp. 124–27.

40. *RC*, p. 45; *RC* 1984, p. 118: ‘Depositaque cruce, ac si domini nostri Ihesu Christi corpore sepulto, dicant antiphonam […]’

41. *RC*, p. 49; *RC* 1984, p. 124.

42. *RC*, p. 50; *RC* 1984, p. 125: ‘[…] pedetemptim ad similitudinem quaerentium quid’.

43. *RC*, p. 50; *RC* 1984, p. 125: ‘Aguntur enim haec ad imitationem angeli sedentis in monumento atque mulierum cum aromatibus uenientium ut ungerent corpus Ihesu.’

44. *RC*, p. 36; *RC* 1984, p. 108: ‘[…] fieri quod ad animarum conpunctionem spiritualis rei indicium exorsum est, […]’.

45. *RC*, p. 37; *RC* 1984, p. 109: ‘Qui, ut reor, aecclesiastice conpunctionis usus a catholicis ideo repertus est ut tenebrarum terror, qui tripertitum mundum dominica passione timore perculit insolito, ac apostolicae predicationis consolatio, quae uniuersum mundum Christum patri usque ad mortem pro generis humani salute oboedientem reuelauerat, manifestissime designetur. Haec ergo inserenda censuimus ut, si quibus deuotionis gratia conplacuerint, habeant in his unde huius rei ignaros instruant. Qui autem noluerint, ad hoc agendum minime compellantur.’

46. See above, note 9.

47. Cf. Kobialka, *This is My Body*, p. 79. Kobialka claims that ‘the representation as it were of a sepulchre, hung about

with a curtain, in which the holy Cross, when it has been venerated, shall be placed [...]' (*RC*, p. 44, *RC* 1984, p. 118: 'quedam assimilatio sepulchri uelamenque quoddam in giro tensum quo, dum sancta crux adorata fuerit, deponatur [...]'), which is indicated to be at some part of the altar, would only have been legitimate if the deposition was actually carried out.

48. *RC*, p. 42; *RC* 1984, pp. 115–16: 'Et quando legitur in euangelio *Partiti sunt uestimenta mea* et reliqua, statim duo diaconi nudent altare sindone que prius fuerat sub euangelio posita in modum furantis.'

49. *RC*, p. 50; *RC* 1984, p. 126: 'Haec uero dicens surgat et erigat uelum ostendatque eis locum cruce nudata, sed tantum linteamina posita quibus crux inuoluta erat.'

50. *RC*, p. 43; *RC* 1984, p. 116: 'Illico ea nudata ueniat abbas ante crucem sanctam ac tribus uicibus se prosternat cum omnibus fratribus dexteriores chori, scilicet senioribus ac iunioribus. Et cum magno cordis suspirio septem penitentiae spalmos cum orationibus sanctae cruci competentibus decantando peroreet.'

51. *RC*, p. 50; *RC* 1984, p. 126: 'Finita antiphona prior congaudens pro triumpho regis nostro, quod deuicta morte surrexit, incipiat ymnum *Te deum laudamus*. Quo incepto una pulsantur omnia signa.' Interestingly, these words resonate words known from a trope for the introit of the Easter Day Mass, placed just before the earliest known version of a *quem queritis* text from the monastery of St Martial, the Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 1240: 'Psallite regi magno devicto mortis imperio'; see Gunilla Björkvall, Gunilla Iversen, and Ritva Jonsson, eds, *Corpus Troporum III, Tropes du propre de la messe 2, Cycle de Pâques* (Stockholm, 1982), p. 167, cf. p. 220 and the section on *Quem quaeritis*, pp. 217–23. The tropes for the Easter Mass introit from this manuscript and from the Winchester Troper are closely related, whereas the quoted trope is uniquely represented in MS lat. 1240 making the use of a similar phrase in the *Regularis Concordia visitatio* remarkable.

52. *The Prayers and Meditations of St Anselm*, trans. and with an introduction by Sister Benedicta Ward (Harmondsworth, 1984), p. 95. (I have quoted the translation as a prose text, in spite of its graphical presentation in the quoted edition.) The Latin text in *S. Anselmi cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, ed. by Franciscus Salesius Schmitt, vol. II (Stuttgart, 1968), Oratio ad Christum, 6–9 (p. 7): 'sic et ego non quantum debeo, sed quantum queo, memor passionis tuae, memor alaparum tuarum, memor flagellorum, memor crucis, memor vulnerum tuorum, memor qualiter pro me occisus es, qualiter conditus, qualiter sepultus, simul memor gloriosae tuae resurrectionis et admirabilis ascensionis: [...] Heu mihi, qui videre non potui dominum angelorum humiliatum ad conversationem hominum, ut homines exaltaret ad conversationem angelorum! Cum deus offensus sponte moriebatur ut peccator viveret, heu qui tam admirabili, tam inaestimabili pietate praesens obstupescere non merui! Cur, o anima mea, te praesentem non transfixit gladius doloris acutissimi, [...].' (The leaving out of the clause *ut homines exaltaret ad conversationem angelorum* in the quoted translation does not affect my use of Anselm's text.)

The prayer to Christ seems to have been written prior to 1104, see *The Prayers and Meditations of St Anselm*, Introduction, p. 60.

53. See above, note 51. See C. Clifford Flanigan's reading in 'The Liturgical Context of the *Quem Queritis* Trope', *Comparative Drama*, 8 (1974), pp. 45–62, esp. pp. 57–60.

54. See especially my '*Danielis ludus* and the Traditions'.

7. Anglo-Saxon Architecture beyond the Millennium: Its Continuity in Norman Building

MALCOLM THURLBY

The scarcity of standing remains at the major Anglo-Saxon sites of the reform period has already been pointed out in an earlier chapter of this volume.[1] Yet this may be partly compensated for by the surprising extent to which Saxon building and its details were subsequently incorporated into Norman architecture. At first glance, it would be hard to overestimate the implications of the Norman Conquest for the history of English architecture. Indeed, as Eric Fernie has argued, the rebuilding of every cathedral and most major monastic churches in England after the Conquest is a clear demonstration of the imposition of one culture on another.[2] This is well illustrated by Archbishop Lanfranc's demolition of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral of Canterbury to make way for his new church, of a similar scale, modelled on St Stephen's Abbey at Caen.[3] Subsequently, the three-storey elevation of St Stephen's, comprising a main arcade, a similarly proportioned gallery, and a clerestory with wall passage, influenced a large number of English great churches including the cathedrals of Winchester, Ely, and Norwich.[4] Yet at no point in English building after the Conquest do we simply encounter the importation of a complete, 'ready-made' Norman design. At Canterbury Cathedral itself, the crypt, the cushion capital, and the design of the western towers do not follow St Stephen's.[5]

This appears to be part of a pattern, for post-Conquest architecture in England is eclectic in the extreme. Elements are taken from Normandy, the Loire Valley, the Pilgrimage churches, the Low Countries and Germany, northern Italy, Constantinian Rome, even Byzantium, and, of course, from the indigenous Anglo-Saxon tradition.[6] Let me stress at the outset that the Anglo-Saxon element is just one of the factors in a complex equation, and one that, on occasion, has been overemphasized.[7] Be that as it may, one means of adding to our knowledge of Anglo-Saxon church planning and construction is the recovery of these pre-Conquest elements from their survival, or revival, or both, in Anglo-Norman building.[8] Accordingly, this paper investigates the survival of Anglo-Saxon construction in minor Norman cruciform churches and examines some motifs from earlier in the millennium in both minor and major buildings after the Conquest.

Both these aspects of the present study are likely to have implications ultimately for our understanding of the building technology of the period, with regard to the organization of labour, working practices, the availability and use of tools, local and imported materials, the working of quarries, transportation, and so forth. It is also likely to raise questions of precedent, concerning techniques and motifs, and the issue of continental influence on both, and on patronage and programming. Although all of these are matters which must necessarily remain beyond the scope of this brief survey, it is hoped that it may nevertheless point to some useful areas for further research in these important fields.

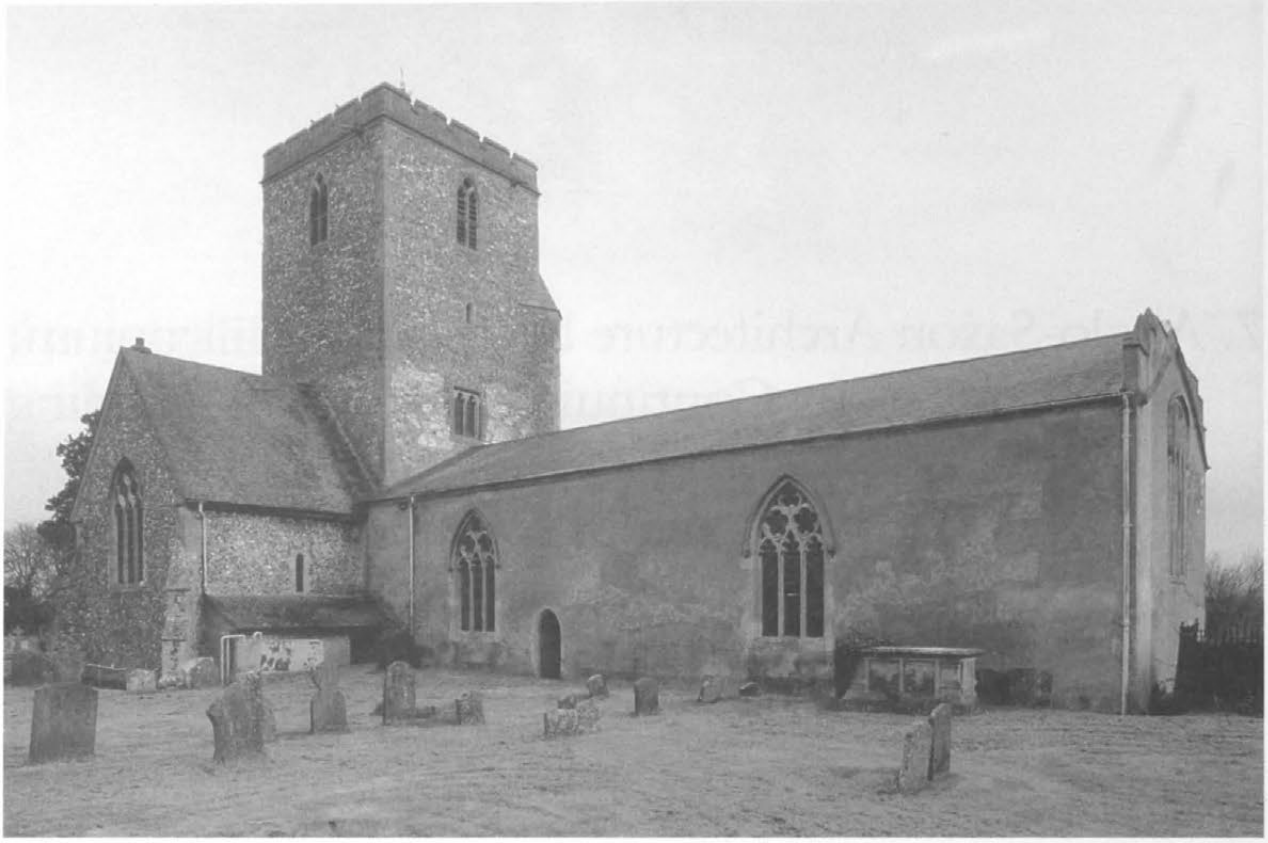


Fig. 44. Cholsey (Berks.), St Mary, exterior from north-west; photo M. Thurlby.

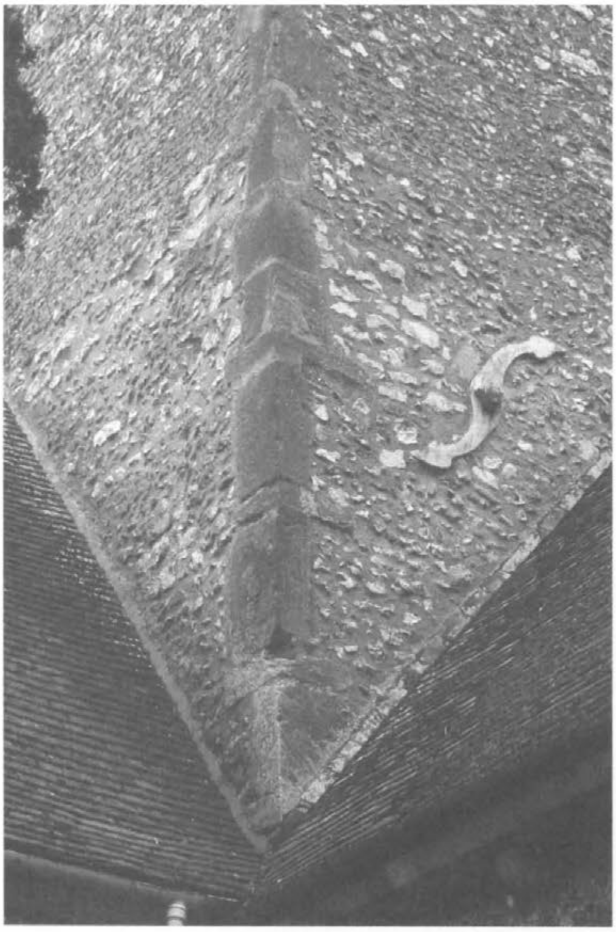


Fig. 45. Cholsey, St Mary, detail north-east angle of crossing tower; photo M. Thurlby.

Minor Cruciform Churches

The pre-Conquest cruciform churches of Breamore (Hants), St Mary-in-Castro at Dover (Kent), Great Paxton (Hunts.), and Worth (Sussex) were all of minster status and include various features that continued in some minor cruciform churches after the Conquest.[9] For example, the salient angles of the crossing at Breamore and Dover appear in the twelfth-century church at Eyke (Suffolk). The doorway in the terminal wall of the north transept at Dover appears in both the north and south transepts at North Newbald (Yorks.), a Norman prebendary church of York Minster. The absence of a western crossing arch at Breamore and Worth, and possibly Great Paxton, is paralleled after the Conquest at Bicester (Oxon) and Bromfield (Salop). The rectangular crossing at Great Paxton continued in both major and minor churches after the Conquest.[10]

Aisleless cruciform churches in Norman England often may be associated with the site of a former Anglo-Saxon minster.[11] On occasion one finds clear evidence for the retention of pre-Conquest masonry in a church remodelled in Norman times as in the long-and-short

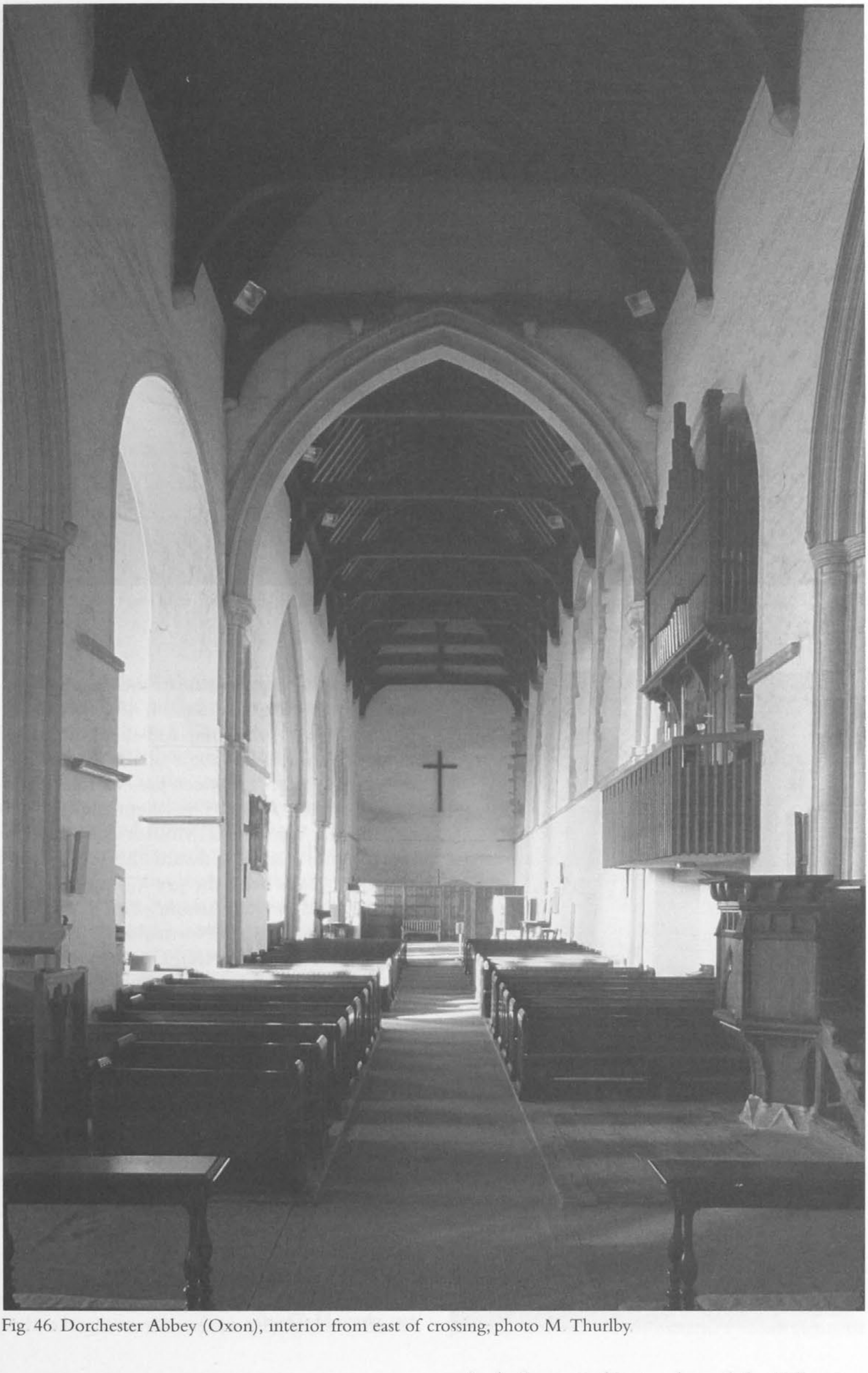


Fig. 46. Dorchester Abbey (Oxon), interior from east of crossing, photo M. Thurlby.

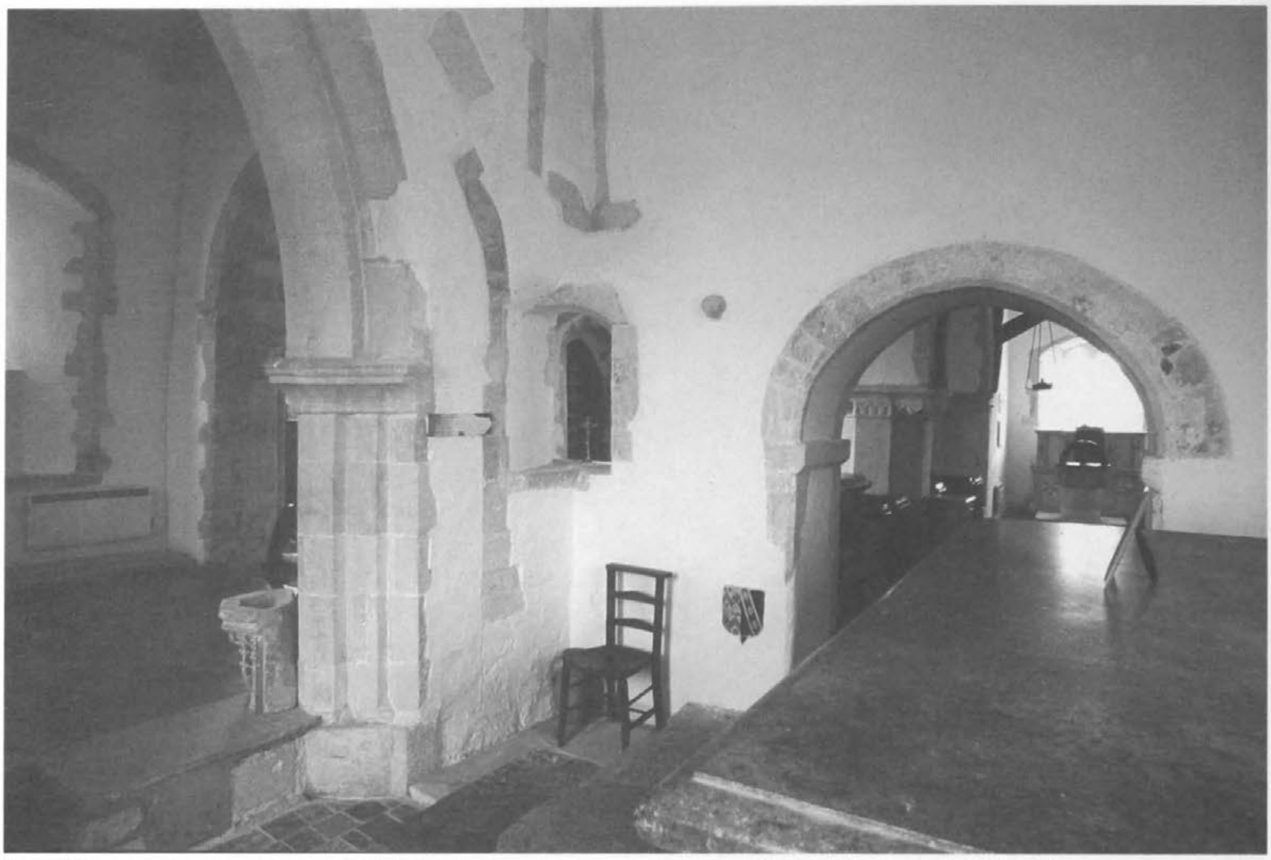
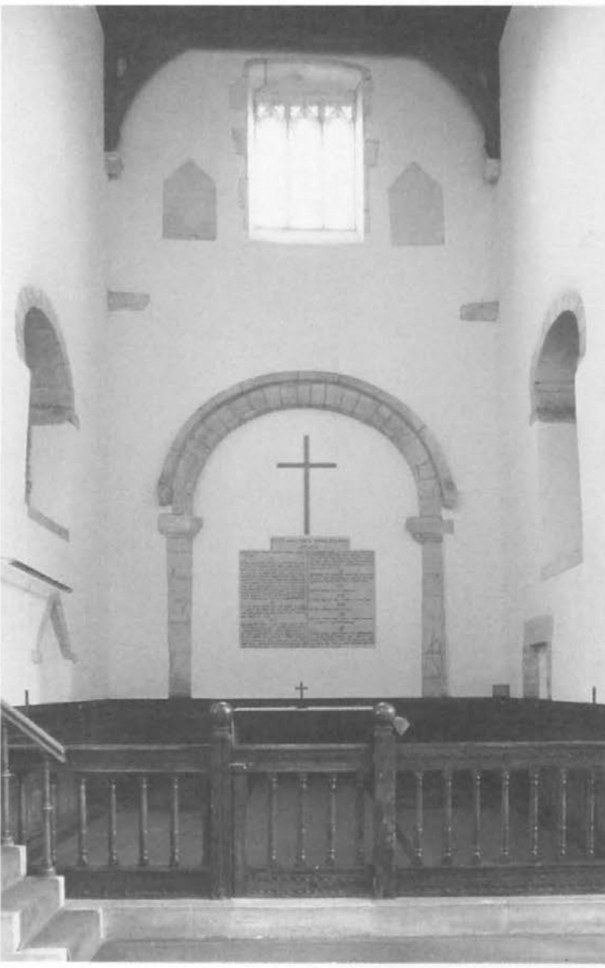


Fig. 47. Stoke Charity (Hants), St Michael, interior to west from north chapel, photo M. Thurlby.



quoins on the lower section of the crossing tower at Cholsey (Berks.) (figs 44, 45).[12] At Hook Norton (Oxon) the long-and-short quoins of the salient north-east angle of the Anglo-Saxon crossing project between the Norman chancel and north transept. The salient angles of the crossing of Wimborne Minster continue the rectangular plan of Edward the Confessor's church.[13] Elsewhere, the pre-Conquest crossing provided the core around which remodelling was undertaken in Norman and later times, as at Bere Regis (Dorset), Corsham (Wilts.), Nether Wallop (Hants), and Tamworth (Staffs.).[14] The former Anglo-Saxon cathedral of Sherborne (Dorset) was refounded as an abbey by Bishop Roger of Salisbury (1102–39) and this was accompanied by a rebuilding of the Anglo-Saxon church.[15] However, the rebuilding did not increase the size of the pre-Conquest church but rather made use of its foundations and even seems to have retained specific reference to the Anglo-Saxon crossing

Fig. 48. Deerhurst Priory (Glos.), chancel, interior to east; photo M. Thurlby.

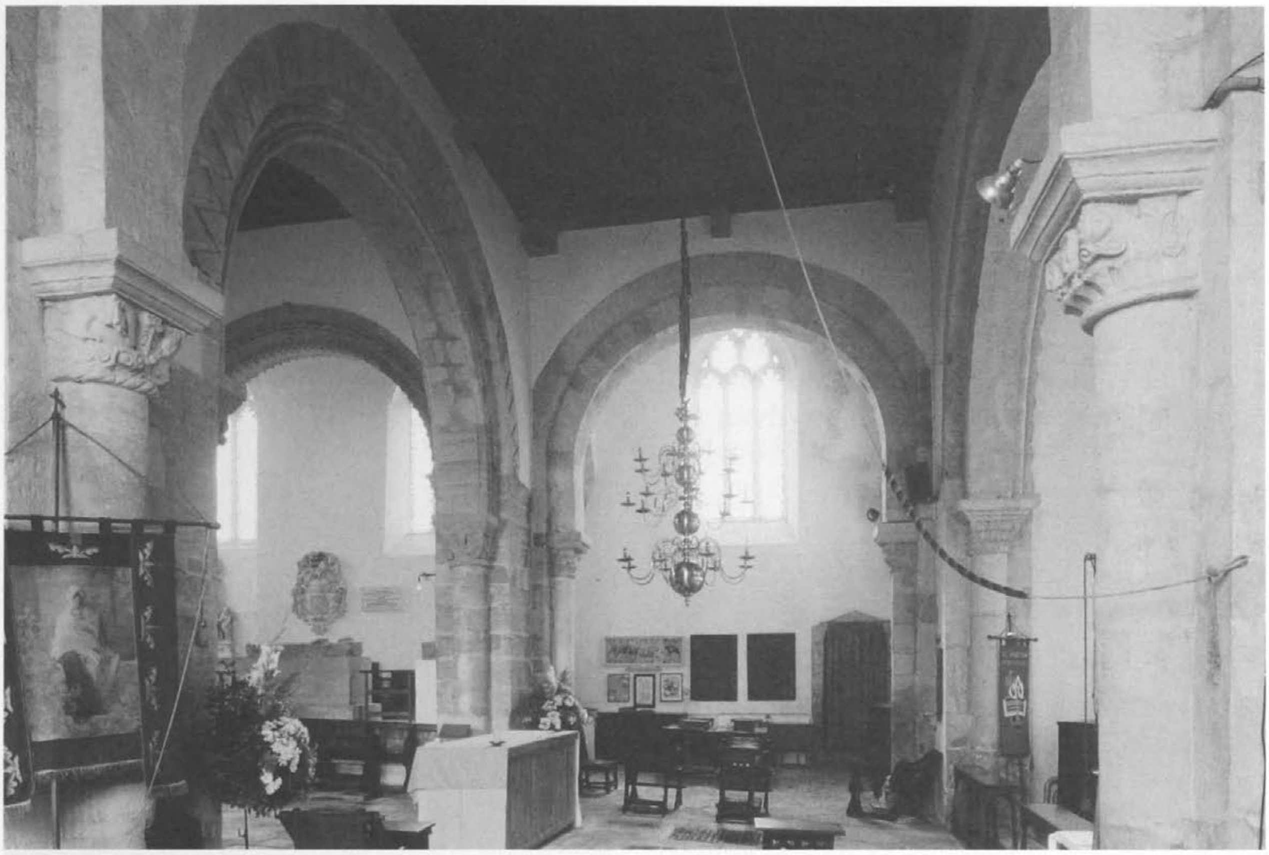


Fig. 49. Stogursey Priory (Somerset), crossing to south; photo M. Thurlby.

in the inclusion of the strange cylindrical masses in the angles of the transepts and crossing.

At Dorchester (Oxon), site of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral before removal of the see to Lincoln (1072/5), the single-order, round-headed north and south crossing arches have been variously dated from pre-Conquest to seventeenth even eighteenth century (fig. 46).[16] It is clear that they are quite distinct from the mid-twelfth-century western crossing arch with its pointed form and acanthus capitals. Moreover, close examination of the arches reveals that they use non-radial voussoirs, a technical detail that almost certainly assures a pre-Conquest date.[17] It must be admitted that the narrow chamfer is unusual in a pre-Conquest context. However, this feature does occur in the arch from the north transept to the north nave aisle at Stoke Charity (Hants), which is probably the west arch of the crossing of the former pre-Conquest minster church (fig. 47). The chamfer on the Dorchester arches is not continuous throughout the arch and jambs. An interruption on the west jamb of the south arch suggests that there was a door to the south transept (*porticus*) and that above there was the large, round-headed arch, a larger version of the arrangement flanking the chancel at Deerhurst (figs 46, 48). In 1049 Edward the Confessor made a Norman, Ulf, bishop of Dorchester and priest of his household.[18] It is tempting to associate the building at Dorchester with Ulf.

The rectangular plan of the putative Anglo-Saxon crossing at Dorchester is reflected in the superstructure of the tower at Cholsey (fig. 44) and, with wider arches to the east and west than to the north and south, at Wimborne Minster, Stogursey (fig. 49), Sherborne abbey, Leonard Stanley (Glos.), and St John's at Devizes (Wilts.). Much later, in the Perpendicular fabric of All Saints, Westbury (Wilts.), we once again find the bold rectangular plan to the crossing tower accompanied by larger arches to the east and west than to the north and south. The Domesday entry from Westbury records that the church holds one and one-half hides of this manor which suggests that it was a minster church.[19] In light of this one wonders whether the rectangular plan of the crossing may be built on pre-Conquest foundations. Only excavation would provide a definitive answer, but it is worth recording that the nearby cruciform church of St Denys at Warminster also appears largely Perpendicular. Yet, in Blomfield's restoration of

1887–89, a Norman altar niche was revealed in the east wall of the north transept, the position and form of which recall nothing more clearly than the one in this position in Edward the Confessor's church at Wimborne Minster.[20]

These last examples, and others cited above, illustrate the way in which the form of Anglo-Saxon cruciform churches conditioned the manner in which later modifications and additions were conceived. By extrapolating back from the rebuilt pre-Conquest minster churches we should be able to learn more about this type of Anglo-Saxon church dating from earlier in the millennium.

Anglo-Saxon Construction and Motifs after the Conquest

The continued use of Anglo-Saxon construction after 1066 is also most apparent in minor churches. This includes the use of rubble construction, long-and-short quoins, pilaster strips, mid-wall shafts in belfry openings, non-radial voussoirs, through stones in doorways and windows, and jambs with megalithic stones which may even be cut with more than one order. These are features associated with the so-called overlap, Saxo-Norman period, or the Taylors' period classified as C3, which they place 1050–1100. Determining absolute dates for these buildings is a difficult task. While regional historical circumstances generally favour a post-Conquest date, there are possible exceptions to this rule, and none more intriguing than Wittering (Northants). Most recently it has been discussed by Fernie who points out that Wittering is located just two miles from Barnack, one of the most productive quarries in Anglo-Saxon and early Norman England.[21] With the introduction of Norman techniques at the quarry at least by 1083, when Ely Cathedral was commenced, it would be difficult to imagine that Wittering could have been designed much after that date. The soffit roll on the chancel arch has been seen as an import from Normandy but equally it may read as a continuation into the arch of the half shaft below the capital.[22] The soffit roll also appears on the arch to the former south-east chapel at Deerhurst priory which may be associated with the grant of Edward the Confessor of the greater part of the lands of Deerhurst to the Benedictine monastery of St Denis around 1059.[23] Moreover, the emphasized keystone on the western roll moulding of the chancel arch at Wittering is a motif unknown to me in any Anglo-Norman building but it is paralleled on the east and west crossing arches of St Mary-in-Castro at Dover (Kent) (fig. 50), a church universally accepted as pre-Conquest. While this does not prove a pre-Conquest date for Wittering it makes one after the mid-1080s hard to accept.

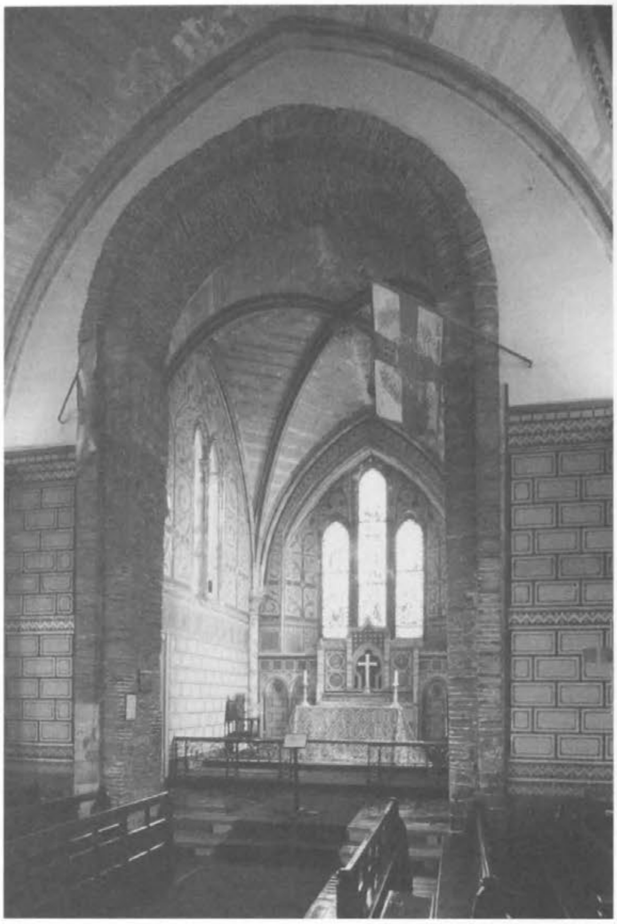


Fig. 50. Dover (Kent), St Mary-in-Castro, chancel arch; photo M. Thurlby.

Of the many churches grouped with the Saxo-Norman overlap, the upper storeys of the west tower at Monkwearmouth (Co. Durham) date from arrival of monks in the 1070s or after 1083.[24] Billingham tower (Co. Durham) may well date after Durham regained the church between 1089 and 1091.[25] Norton (Co. Durham) was probably built after Bishop William of St Calais resettled former Durham clerks there in 1083.[26] At Harmston (Lincs.) the volute capitals of the arch from the nave to the west tower were executed by craftsmen who worked on the westblock of Bishop Remigius's Lincoln Minster (*c.* 1072/5–92).[27] The west tower at Thurlby (Lincs.) was part of the church consecrated in 1112, and the west tower at

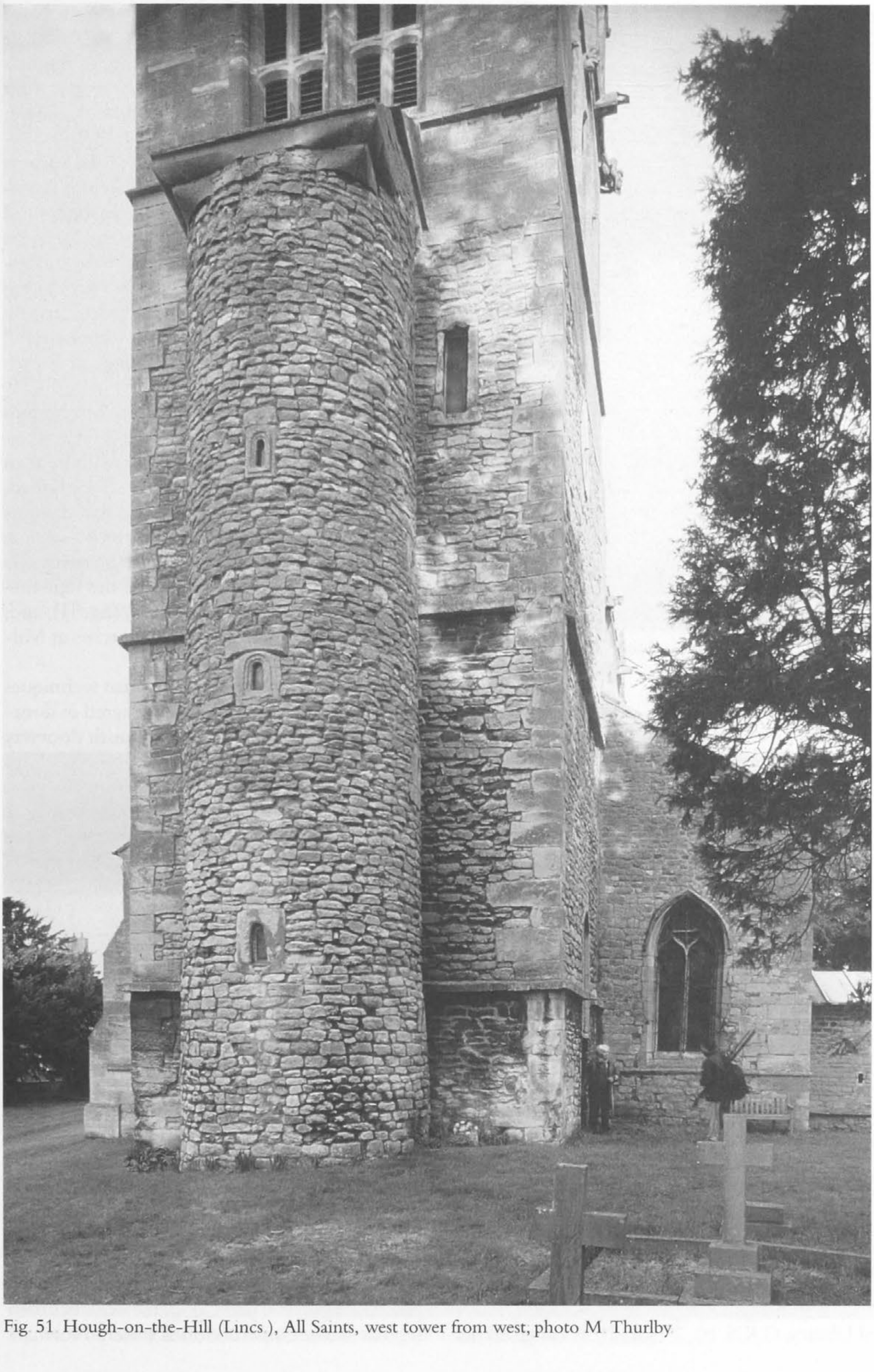


Fig. 51 Hough-on-the-Hill (Lincs.), All Saints, west tower from west; photo M. Thurlby

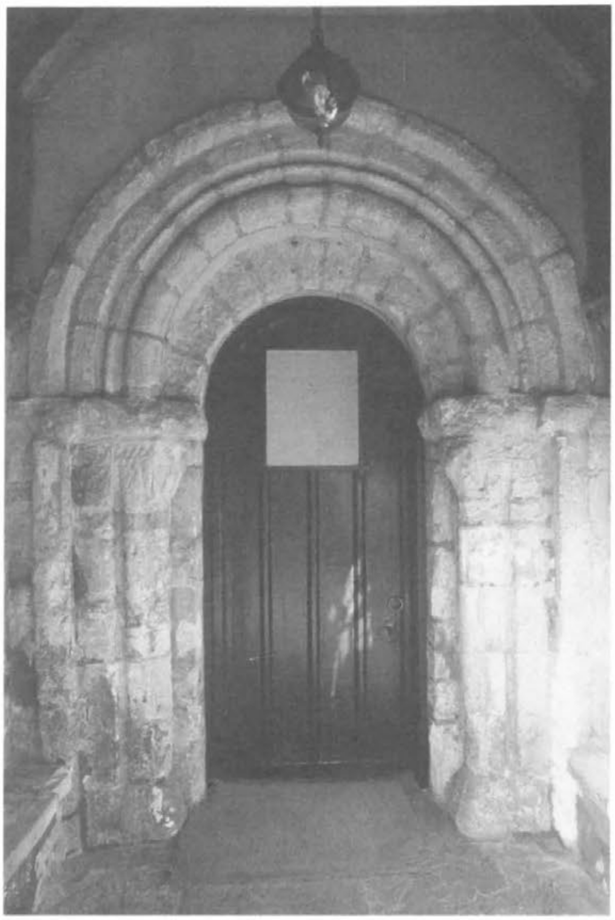


Fig. 52. Finningley (Notts.), Holy Trinity, south doorway; photo M. Thurlby.

Wharram-le-Street (Yorks.) may be as late as the 1120s.[28]

The Domesday entry for Nether Avon (Wilts.) records that Nigel the Doctor holds the church of this manor with one hide, and adds that the church 'is derelict and the roof so damaged it is almost a ruin'.[29] The church therefore dates to around 1090 at the earliest, and yet would have featured an entirely Anglo-Saxon arrangement of the north and south *porticus*.[30] At Nether Avon the articulation of the east arch of the axial west tower is quite different from that of the west arch, and there is an analogous differentiation in the east and west arches of the central axial tower at Langford (Oxon).[31] The pilaster strips on the angles of the Langford tower have flat, stepped capitals cut from single stones in the manner of the bases of the pilaster strips on the chancel at St Laurence, Bradford-on-Avon (Wilts.). The foliage above the foliate capitals at springing of arch is an ordered version of the same motif in the canon tables of the Copenhagen Gospels (Copenhagen, Royal Library, G.K.S. 10, 2°, fol, 2^{v}).[32] Langford has been attributed to the patronage of Aelfsage of Faringdon who held the manor in 1086.[33] Blair has characterized the roll mouldings of the belfry openings at Langford as Norman but their placement on the front, rather than the angle, of the arch, has more to do with an Anglo-Saxon tradition. The Doric capitals of the eastern crossing arch are paralleled at the former Benedictine abbey churches of Tewkesbury and Gloucester. This may support a post-Conquest date for Langford but the motif is not especially Norman and might equally well belong to an Anglo-Saxon tradition as represented by the capitals on a gravestone from Winchester.[34] Therefore, it is possible that Langford is pre-1066.

The differences in detail between the responds of the chancel and transept arches at Great Paxton (Hunts.), *c.* 1050, while quite different in form from either Nether Avon or Langford, belong to the same aesthetic, one that delights in variety as opposed to any notion of Norman uniformity.[35] The same applies to the nave piers at Great Paxton, the windows of the stair turret at Hough-on-the-Hill (Lincs.) (fig. 51), and, *c.* 1080, the bases of the crossing arches at Milborne Port (Somerset).[36]

Mixed Anglo-Saxon and Norman techniques and motifs are frequently encountered in doorways, as at Finningley (Notts.), south doorway (fig. 52), Reed (Herts.), north doorway, and both the north and south nave doorways at Winstone (Glos.), to cite just three examples.[37]

At Dymock (Glos.) the polygonal plan of the apse recalls Deerhurst, while the placement of the upper external blind arcade on the Dymock chancel relates to the chancel of St Laurence at Bradford-on-Avon.[38] Two further details at Dymock also reflect Bradford-on-Avon. First, the triple shafts of the Dymock chancel blind arcade are found in the gable of the north *porticus* at Bradford-on-Avon. Secondly, the pilasters in the nave and former tower bay at Dymock, while wider than traditional Anglo-Saxon pilaster strips, continue part of the stone in the plane of the wall as in the Bradford-on-Avon chancel. Dymock probably dates from around 1120 and the technique of pilaster construction continues in the region at Castle Frome (Herefs.), around 1130, and Kilpeck (Herefs.) in 1134.[39] On the west tower at Maxey (Northants) the scale and placement of the pilaster strips recall pre-Conquest work but their regular ashlar construction is purely Norman.

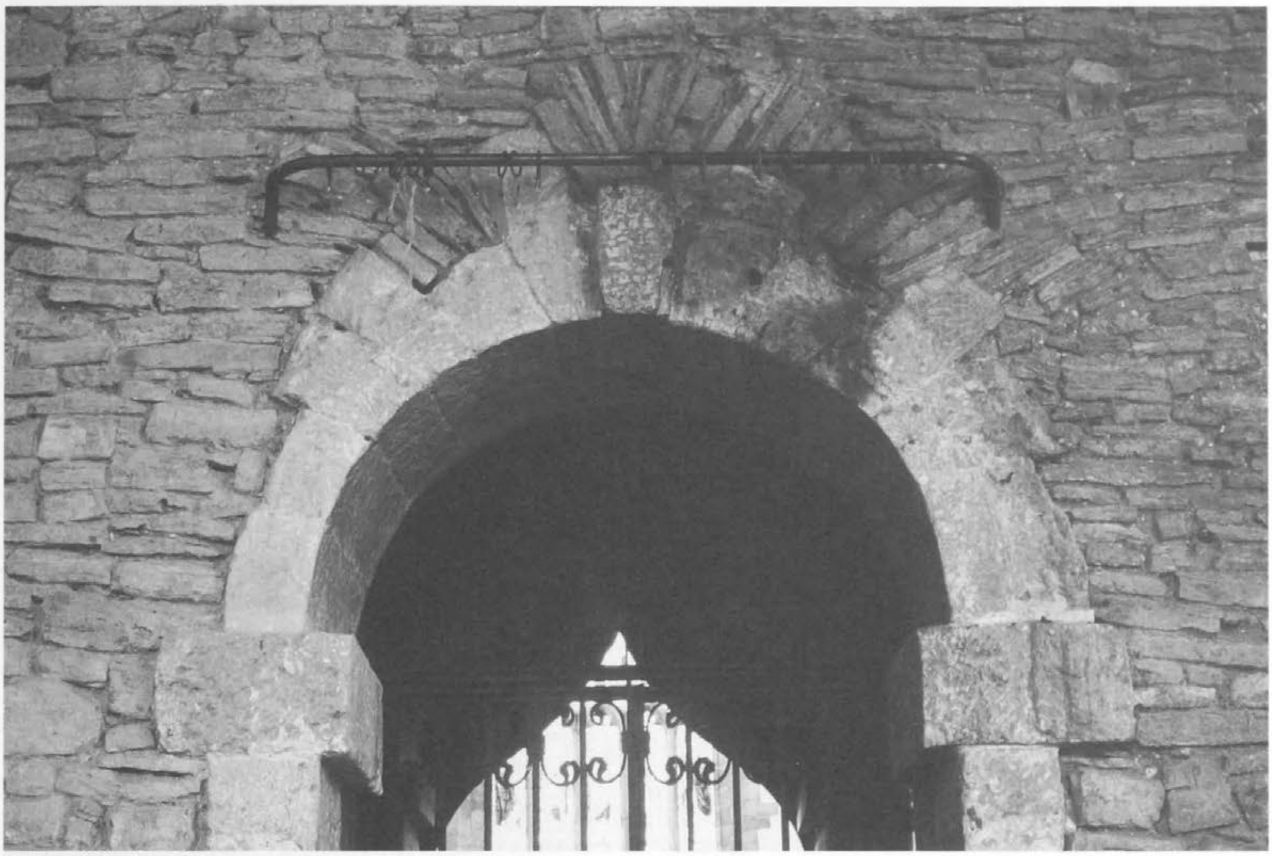


Fig. 53. Wooton Wawen (Warks.), St Peter, chancel arch from east; photo M. Thurlby.

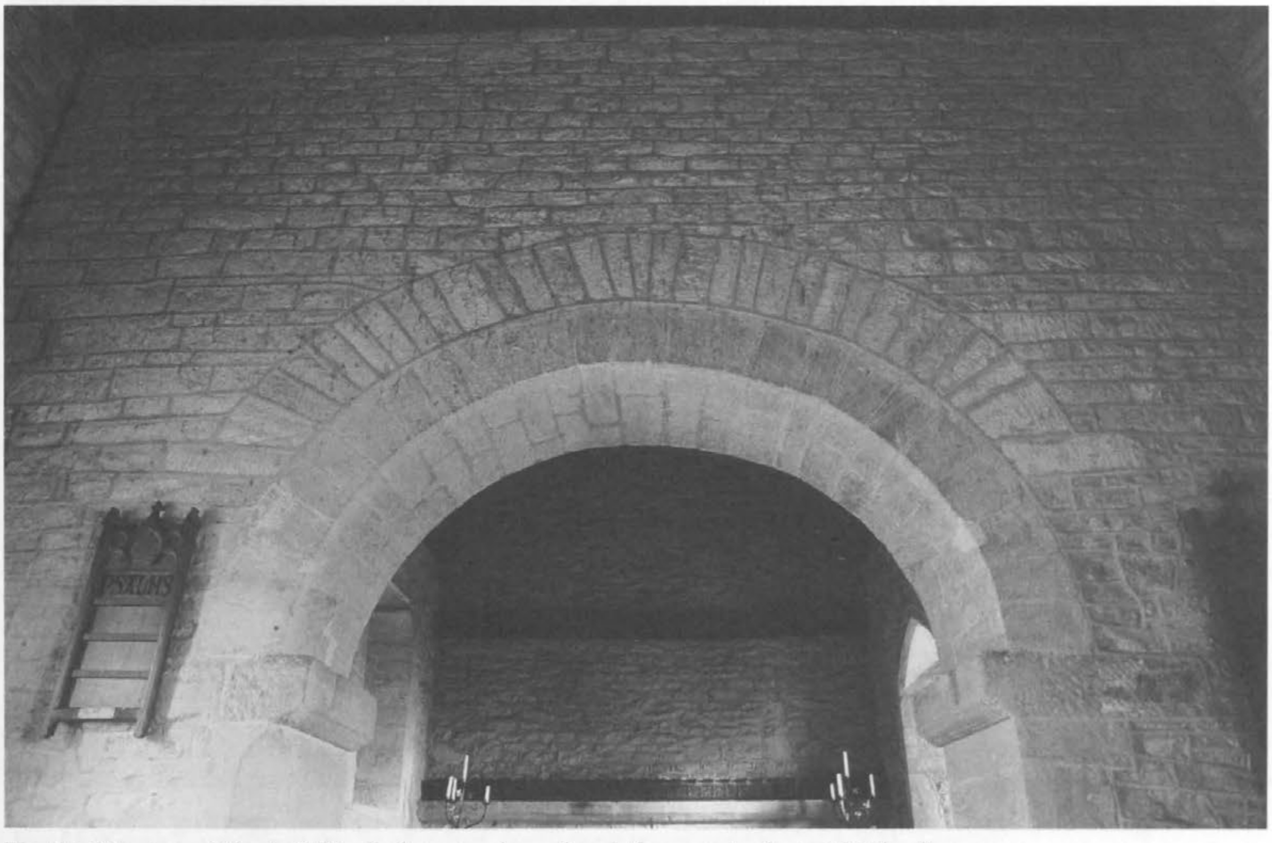


Fig. 54. Winstone (Glos.), St Bartholomew, chancel arch from west; photo M. Thurlby.

Other architectural details and the sculpture of Maxey relate it to the same *atelier* as Castor (Northants), a church consecrated in 1124.

The continuation and adaptation of Anglo-Saxon technical details after the Conquest are not confined to minor churches. Above the outer order of the principal arch of the Exeter castle gatehouse (*c.* 1068) is a rubble-built retaining arch between ten and two o'clock.[40] This feature appears before the Conquest above the eastern crossing arch at Wooton Wawen (Warks.) and in the late eleventh century above the chancel arch at Winstone (Glos.) where it has been translated into ashlar (figs 53, 54). The latter treatment is subsequently found above the crossing arches of Pershore Abbey and the chancel arch of Holy Trinity at Much Wenlock (Salop).

At Durham Cathedral (1093–1133) the intersecting arches of the aisle dado arcades are carried on paired shafts cut from single stones in the manner of grouped shafts at St Laurence at Bradford-on-Avon.[41] In the aisle and clerestory windows at Durham the hood mould continues as a string course between the windows. Instead of being contiguous with the *abaci* of the nook-shaft capitals, as is the practice in Normandy, the string is set immediately above the *abaci* in the manner of the north doorway at Laughton-en-le-Morthen (Yorks.).[42] Jean Bony has also invoked the Anglo-Saxon tradition to explain the decoration of the columns of the main arcades at Durham and the set-back shafts on the gallery sills in the presbytery and transepts.[43] The motif of the intersecting arcade is paralleled in pre-Conquest manuscripts and may signify a conscious historical association for the new resting-place of St Cuthbert.[44] Be that as it may, such associationism is unlikely to demand that the shafts of the dado arcades should be cut according to pre-Conquest practice. Similarly, neither the articulation of the aisle and clerestory windows nor the inclusion of a double-splay window in the stair turret of the north transept are likely to have been prescribed by the patron. These are technical matters that reflect the working habits of the masons.

The tall, stepped plinths of the easternmost piers of the nave arcades at Selby Abbey relate to those of the crossing piers at Stow (Lincs.) and to the arch to the south *porticus* at Hadstock (Essex).[45] The plinth of the south-west tower at St Margaret's, Kings Lynn (fig. 55), has a similar form, the location of which finds pre-Conquest precedent in the plinth of the chancel at Repton (Derbs.).[46] It further seems possible that this tradition inspired the treatment of the plinths in the keeps at Canterbury (Kent) and Castle Hedingham (Essex).

The major piers of the main arcade and all the piers in the nave gallery at Norwich Cathedral have three coursed shafts to carry the broad inner order of the arch. This is in contrast to the thinner inner order at St Stephen's at Caen where there is just a single shaft, but recalls the grouped shafts that carry the single-order arch of the north transept at Great Paxton (Hunts.).[47] Similarly, the multiple shafts of the westernmost piers of St Margaret's, King's Lynn (Norfolk) (fig. 56), with their juxtaposition of round and angled shafts, rework the idea of the shafts separated by angle fillets of the chancel arch at Great Paxton. Allied to this are the grouped angle shafts of the south-west tower at St Margaret's, King's Lynn, and the crossing tower of Norwich Cathedral, which recall this motif on the angles of the chancel at St Laurence at Bradford-on-Avon. Similarly, the patterned surfaces of the Norwich Cathedral crossing tower may be read as an ordered version of pilaster strip decoration on the west tower of Earls Barton (Northants).

The variety in pier form in eastern bays of the nave of Blyth Priory, and throughout the nave at Rochester Cathedral and the presbytery at Orford (Suffolk), is an inventive adaptation of the aesthetic sensibilities of the piers and responds of Great Paxton.[48] A more precise reference to the pattern of the Great Paxton nave piers is encountered in the nave clerestory at Waltham Abbey and in the nave arcades of Kirkstall Abbey.[49] Kirkstall also includes some remarkable examples of pre-Conquest-inspired interlacing ornament.[50]

The alternation of continuous and non-continuous orders in the responds of the choir aisles in the former Benedictine abbey church, now the cathedral, at Gloucester follows in principle, if not in detail, the east and west crossing arches at St Mary-in-Castro, Dover (fig. 50). The same principle is found in the crossing at Stogursey Priory (Somerset) (fig. 49) and, in more elaborate form, in the arch to the south transept chapel at Worcester Cathedral (1084–89) and the chancel arch at Quatford (Salop).

The triangular-headed opening was popular with Anglo-Saxon masons and appears after the

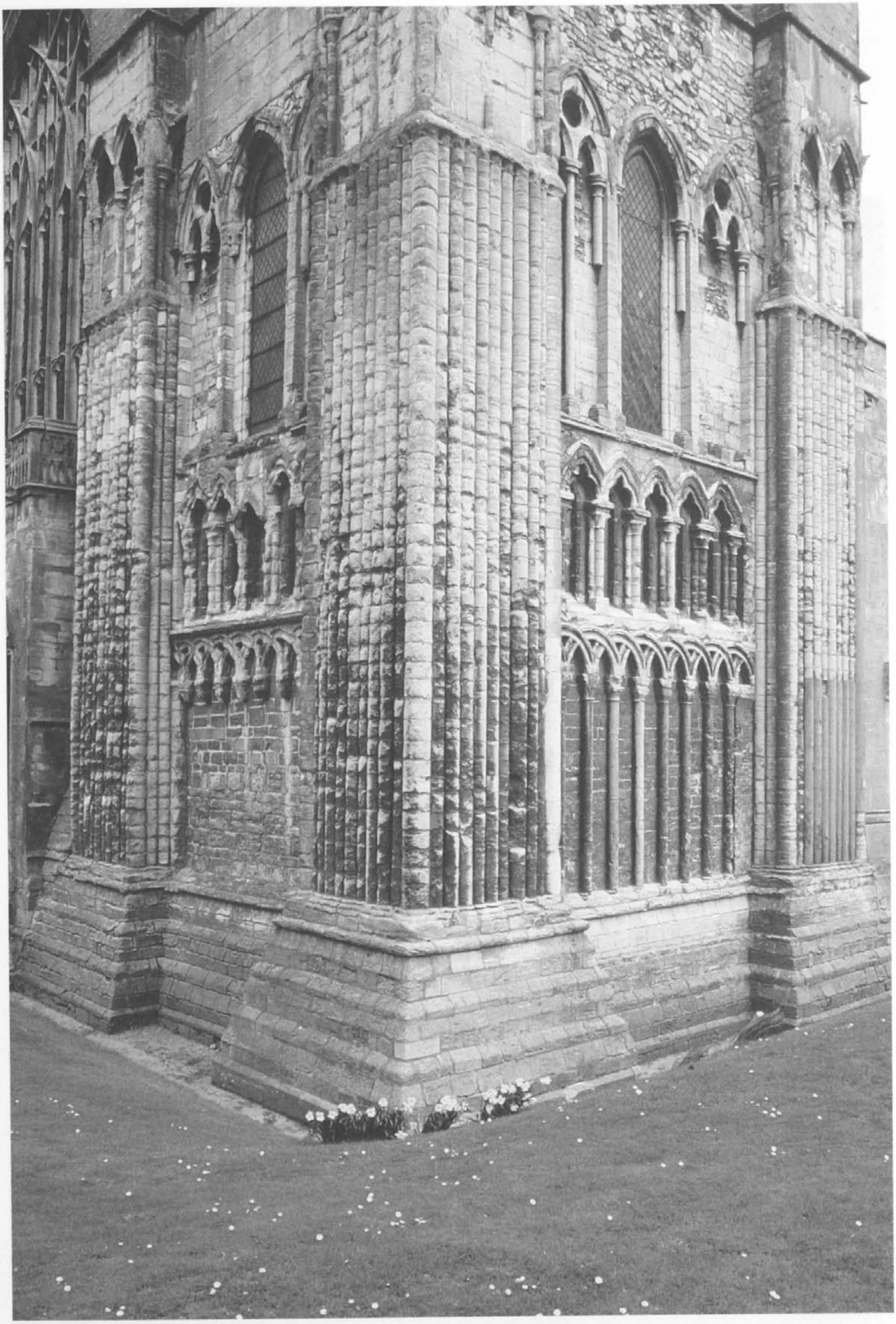


Fig. 55. King's Lynn (Norfolk), St Margaret, south-west tower exterior, photo M. Thurlby.

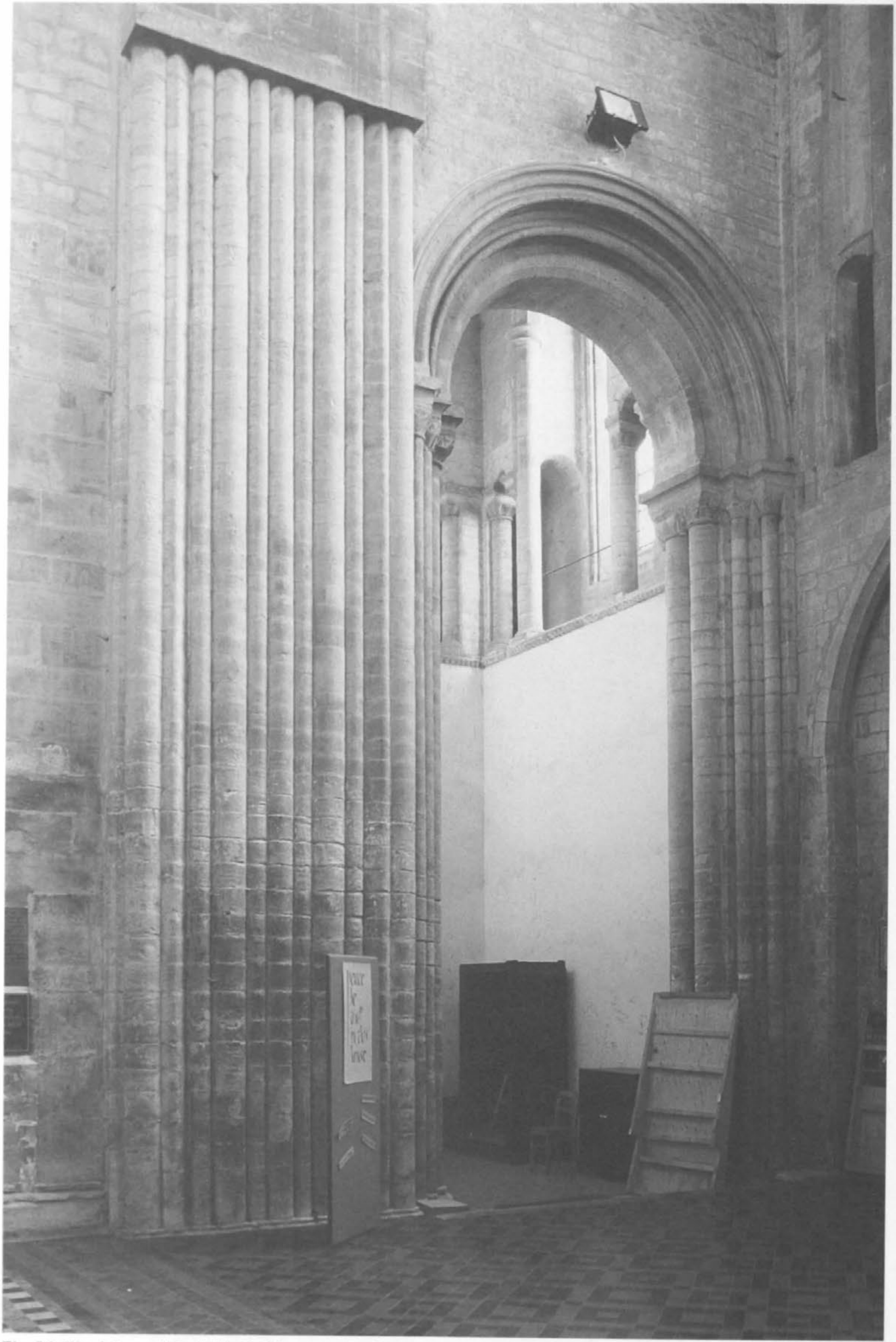


Fig. 56. King's Lynn (Norfolk), St Margaret, south-west tower pier; photo M. Thurlby.

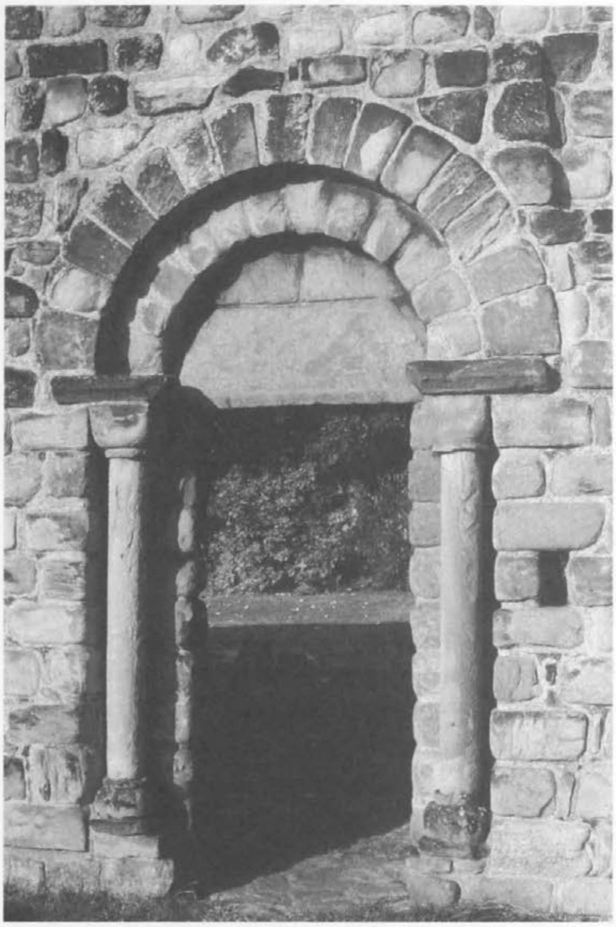


Fig. 57 Jarrow, St Paul (Co. Durham), west range, north doorway; photo M. Thurlby.

Conquest in several major buildings and numerous minor churches.[51] Examples are at Exeter Castle gatehouse, the east range of Durham Cathedral, the south doorway of the west range at St Paul's, Jarrow (Co. Durham), the exterior of the nave galleries at Dunfermline Abbey, the north doorway at Warkworth (Northumberland), in the blind arcade on former west front at Milborne Port, the north transept of Norwich Cathedral, and the belfry of the west tower at Haddiscoe (Norfolk).[52]

Two motifs that appear before the Conquest at Deerhurst enjoy currency well into the twelfth century. The projecting animal heads (*prokrossoi*) on the west front of Deerhurst are reflected after the Conquest on the west front at Kilpeck, and variants of the motif appear at Norwich Cathedral, Haddiscoe, Thorpe-next-Haddiscoe (Norfolk).[53] The label with stops in the form of animal heads on the chancel arch and on the east face of the east arch of the west tower at Deerhurst reappears in the nave arcades at Malmesbury Abbey.[54]

The appearance of the cushion capital in the gatehouse at Exeter Castle, as early as 1068, raises the question of whether this type of capital was used before the Conquest. Richard Gem has argued forcefully that the cushion capital was introduced into England with Archbishop Lanfranc's rebuilding of Canterbury Cathedral.[55] In this he has been followed by most commentators, although Eric Cambridge has questioned Gem's thesis in relation to the north doorway of the west range at Jarrow datable to the 1070s (fig. 57).[56] Cambridge indicates that influence could have spread to Jarrow from Canterbury but that it is surely significant that the Jarrow capitals are unmitred cushions as opposed to the mitred type at Canterbury. The unmitred type that appears in the crypt of Notre-Dame at Huy is so close in appearance to Jarrow that it would be remarkable if Jarrow was influenced by Canterbury and yet produced a capital so similar to Huy.[57] The inclusion of the cushion capital and the triangular-headed opening in the west range at Jarrow and, at the other end of the country so soon after the Conquest, in the Exeter castle gatehouse, surely suggests that the motifs were inherited from Anglo-Saxon practice. This is supported with reference to part of a pre-Conquest cross shaft with a cushion capital atop a baluster shaft from St Augustine's, Canterbury.[58] Similar forms are used in crosses in Cumbria, at Clulow (Cheshire) and Stapleford (Notts.).[59] In this context it is worth mentioning that at Canterbury, one Blithere was described in 1091 as 'the very distinguished master of the craftsmen and director of the beautiful church' of St Augustine's, Canterbury.[60] Blithere also held Seasalter (Kent) from the monks of Canterbury Cathedral which suggests that, in addition to his appointment at St Augustine's, he was involved with the building of Lanfranc's cathedral and may even have been master mason there.[61] Blithere is an English name, and Jean Bony has associated this with Anglo-Saxon taste for the carved shafts in the dark entry at Canterbury Cathedral.[62] While not mentioning Blithere, Fernie has suggested that the stepping back of the storeys of the former north-west tower of Canterbury Cathedral is paralleled at Earls Barton, and may reflect the Anglo-Saxon cathedral at Canterbury.[63] Is it possible that the use of cushion capitals in the cathedral, as opposed to the volute capital so popular in Normandy, also reflects Blithere's

Anglo-Saxon sensibilities? Perhaps we should revert to Zarnecki's view of 1951:

> Cushion capitals had already been used in Anglo-Saxon buildings and were derived, no doubt, from Germany, where they were quite common from the beginning of the eleventh century. The sudden popularity of cushion capitals in England after the Conquest indicates that the Normans were not totally unfriendly to local achievements, and that once they adopted a feature from Anglo-Saxon buildings they used it widely.[64]

Unpopular as this idea may be in the current academic climate, it is worth recording that Philip Barker has long believed that many of the shafts, capitals, and *abaci* in the crypt of Worcester Cathedral (1084–89) were reused from an earlier structure.[65] The excavation of a large circular structure with the same centre as the present chapter house may be the Anglo-Saxon cathedral.[66] Possibly this was the source for the crypt shafts, capitals, and *abaci*. In the slype of Worcester Barker also suggests that the bases, shafts, and capitals of the wall arcades are reused Anglo-Saxon.[67] Thus it is interesting that the bulbous bases are the closest I know for this feature at Jarrow. Similar forms also appear in the crossing at Milborne Port where they are accompanied by cushion bases.[68]

The case for the Anglo-Saxon cushion capital should be accompanied by one for use of the scalloped capital before the Conquest, an idea likely to be even more abhorrent to detractors of the Anglo-Saxon cushion. The case rests on the report of a number of fragments from Southwell Minster described and illustrated by James Dimock (fig. 58). Here it is important to quote Dimock at length. Referring to the possibility of mid-eleventh-century work at Southwell, Dimock states: 'And to this date, perhaps, belong a number of fragments of capitals, mouldings etc., which have been found, during recent repairs, *some in the foundation of the south wall of the nave, others worked up in the piers of the central tower* [emphasis mine]. They tell of a church, rudely indeed, but fully as much ornamented in its way, as the subsequent Norman structure in which they were entombed.' He continues,

> Independently of their historical value, they are interesting in an architectural point of view, as comprising forms which are generally considered to be characteristic of even the later Norman. Supposing that the present nave and transepts were erected in the first half of the twelfth century, these fragments must have belonged to a building erected at the latest before the end of the eleventh century. But several of them have every appearance of having been subjected to the action of atmosphere, for ages before the church of which they were a part was destroyed, and themselves were made use of in later building. I cannot help fancying it possible, that some of these fragments may have belonged to a church, not only of the middle of the eleventh century, but of even a far earlier date. I may add, that there can be *no doubt of their being earlier than the Norman work in which they were imbedded: they are not, as has been suggested, mere wasters from the stones preparing for this later work: the capitals have very evident remains of colouring, and however close an identity there may be in some instances in character, the execution of these mouldings is much rougher, and the section perfectly distinct from that of similar mouldings in the present Norman portions of the church.* (emphasis mine)[69]

The scalloped capitals illustrated by Dimock show considerable variety in detail: double and triple scallop, and most particularly one scallop with a swollen angle. Multi-scalloped capitals are used at York Minster (after 1080), and two examples survive from St Mary's Abbey, York (after 1088).[70] Many variants on the scalloped theme, including the swollen angle, appear in the dado arcades of the choir aisles at Durham Cathedral (1093–1104), and the crossing capitals at North Newbald (Yorks.) display similarly diverse scalloped forms.[71] Domesday Book records North and South Newbald held by the Archbishop of York and with a church and priest.[72] Scalloped capitals are also found on the south doorway at Kilham (Yorks.). At the time of Domesday Kilham was owned by the king and between 1100 and 1107 Henry I gave it to York Minster.[73] Moreover, scalloped capitals occur in two other churches that belonged to the Archbishop of York, on the south doorway at Fridaythorpe (Yorks.) and on the chancel arch at Laneham (Notts.).[74] Southwell also belonged to the Archbishop of York which leads one to ponder the possibility that the scalloped capitals and other carved stones found at Southwell by Dimock may reflect the pre-Conquest York Minster.

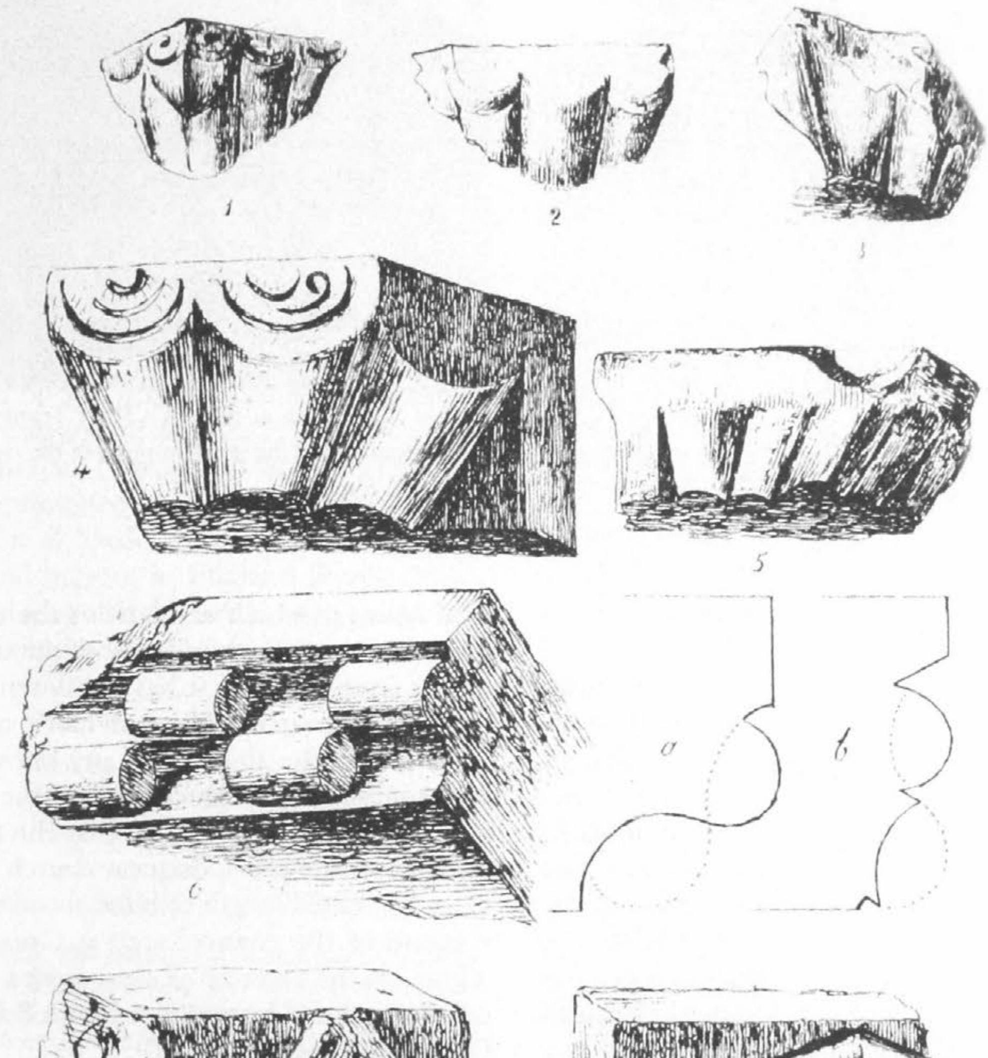


Fig. 58 Southwell Minster, capitals and carved stones from foundations and core of Norman fabric, P. Coffman after Dimock

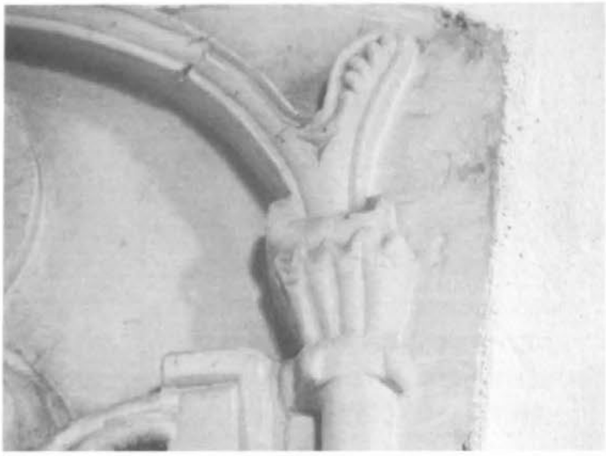


Fig. 59. Sompting (Sussex), St Mary the Virgin, panel reset in east wall of south transept, detail of right capital; photo M. Thurlby.

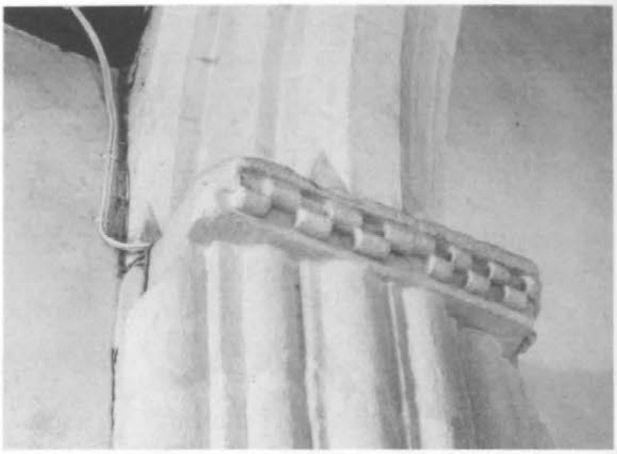


Fig. 60. Great Paxton (Hunts.), Holy Trinity, detail of billet ornament on the north respond of the chancel arch; photo M. Thurlby.

A figural panel set in the east wall of the south transept at Sompting (Sussex) has long been regarded as pre-Conquest, and, most recently, Dominic Tweddle has cited various Anglo-Saxon parallels for the work and given a date of eleventh century.[75] The right capital has a convex form to the uprights which appears remarkably close to a scalloped capital (fig. 59). The spur of foliage that grows from the top of the capital to the side of the arch is paralleled in numerous pre-Conquest manuscripts, as observed by Tweddle. He notes that the sculpture is carved on Caen stone. Does this mean a post-Conquest date? Gem suggests a date bracket of the 1050s to the 1090s, the latter for the completion of the church.[76] It makes good sense to date the sculpture along with the church.

The introduction of chevron ornament in the nave of Durham Cathedral may represent Norman influence from Cerisy-la-Foret where it appears above the east crossing arch.[77] It is also possible that at least iconographically it is a reference back to the time of St Cuthbert as represented in the Franks Casket and on cross fragments at Jarrow, Northallerton, and Ripon.[78] There is chevron from Southwell Minster which came from the core of a crossing pier or the foundation of the south wall of the nave (fig. 58).[79] Chevron also appears on a shaft in the dark entry between the dormitory and chapter house of Lanfranc's Canterbury Cathedral (1070–89).[80]

Billet is one of the most popular ornaments in Norman England but it may have been used in England before the Conquest. The evidence is twofold. First, there is a fragment at Southwell Minster which came from the core of a crossing pier or the foundation of the south wall of the nave (fig. 58). It has a different section from the billet in the Norman fabric of Southwell and, in the absence of any known Norman building at Southwell before the minster, it is reasonable to conclude that the fragment came from the pre-Conquest church. Second, there is a reused length of billet above the north respond of the chancel arch at Great Paxton which, in the absence of clear evidence to the contrary, should be associated with Edward the Confessor's church (fig. 60).

Conclusion

In the two decades preceding the Conquest much significant church building was undertaken. Edward the Confessor's Westminster Abbey imported Norman forms, but his churches at Great Paxton and Wimborne Minster reflect the indigenous tradition. Wulfric's rotunda at St Augustine's, Canterbury, Sherborne abbey, and the cruciform minster church at Stow (Lincs.) bear witness to the monumentality of architecture earlier in the millennium. Moreover, Bishop Herman of Ramsbury visited Pope Leo IX in 1050 and told him about 'England being filled everywhere with churches, which daily were being added anew in new places; about the distribution of innumerable ornaments and bells in oratories; about the most ample liberality of kings and rich men for the inheritance of Christ'.[81]

While the wholesale import of a new style of building after the Conquest drastically changed the appearance of the great church, the majority of smaller churches continue pre-Conquest building techniques and motifs as late as the 1120s. Even at Durham Cathedral, while conforming to the prescription for a Norman great church, several technical traits suggest that the master mason learned his craft in England. In addition to this, we may also think in terms of a revival of Anglo-Saxon forms in the churches of the second generation. At Durham Cathedral this may have been considered iconographically appropriate for the new setting of the shrine of St Cuthbert. But more generally, with the creation of a more richly articulated architecture in Normandy in the 1080s, so vividly represented by the apse of St Nicholas at Caen, it is hardly surprising that eclectic patrons and masons in England should incorporate and adapt Anglo-Saxon motifs into their lavish building aesthetic.

With minor cruciform churches it is possible that there is still much to be learned about the planning of Anglo-Saxon churches from later fabrics. Furthermore, recent research on parish churches in Northamptonshire suggests that a careful reading of forms and proportions in later fabrics can reveal much information on buildings from earlier in the millennium.[82] What this present investigation has tried to provide is further evidence of not only the survival of pre-Conquest work from earlier in the millennium, but also a continuing Saxon tradition surviving the Conquest and well beyond. It has also raised, or revived, the possibility of some details, which continue to be regarded as Norman, being instead assignable as Saxon. Finally, it is to be hoped that this evidence will help in adding to our definition of the Saxo-Norman overlap.

NOTES

1. Helen Gittos, Chapter 5.

2. Eric Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 19–33; Eric Fernie, 'The Effect of the Norman Conquest on Norman Architectural Patronage', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 9 (1986), 107–17; Eric Fernie, 'Architecture and the Effects of the Norman Conquest', in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. by D. Bates and I. Curry (London, 1993), pp. 146–56.

3. Kevin Blockley, Margaret Sparks, and Tim Tatton-Brown, eds, *Canterbury Cathedral Nave: Archaeology, History and Architecture* (Canterbury, 1997), pp. 12–22, 95–123; Richard Gem, 'The Significance of the Eleventh-Century Rebuilding of Christchurch and St Augustine's, Canterbury', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Canterbury before 1220: The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions*, vol. V, ed. by N. Coldstream and P. Draper (Leeds, 1982), pp. 1–19; Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, pp. 104–06.

4. Richard Gem, 'The Romanesque Cathedral of Winchester: Patron and Design in the Eleventh Century', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Winchester Cathedral: The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions*, vol. VI, ed. by T. A. Heslop and V. Sekules (Leeds, 1983), pp. 1–12; Eric Fernie, *An Architectural History of Norwich Cathedral* (Oxford, 1993).

5. Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, pp. 104–06.

6. Gem, 'Winchester'; Richard Plant, 'English Romanesque Architecture and the Holy Roman Empire' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1998). On the west front of Lincoln Cathedral, see F. Saxl, 'Lincoln Cathedral: The Eleventh-Century Design for the West Front', *Archaeological Journal*, 103 (1946), 105–18; Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, pp. 110–11.

7. '[...] it is tempting to declare that upon English historians in the twentieth century the influence of the Anglo Saxons has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished': R. Allan Brown, *The Normans and the Norman Conquest*, 2nd edn (Woodbridge, 1985), p. 5.

8. On the importance of differentiating between style and technology, see Richard Gem, 'The English Parish Church in the 11th and Early 12th Centuries: A Great Rebuilding?', in *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition 950–1150*, ed. by John Blair (Oxford, 1988), pp. 21–30. On Anglo-Saxon churches and the overlap, see Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, pp. 208–19; Gem, 'Great Rebuilding?', pp. 21–30; Eric Fernie, *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons* (London, 1983), pp. 162–73; H. M. Taylor and Joan Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1965); J. Bony, review of Taylor and Taylor, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 26 (1967), 74–77; H. M. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, vol. III (Cambridge, 1978); G. Baldwin Brown, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (London, 1903). No attempt is made here to discuss the continuity of Anglo-Saxon liturgy after the Conquest. On that, see A. Klukas, 'The Continuity of Anglo-Saxon Liturgical Tradition in Post-Conquest England as evident in the Architecture of Winchester, Ely and Canterbury Cathedrals', in *Les mutations socio-culturelles au tournant des XI^{e}–XII^{e} siècles, Etudes Anselmiennes* (Paris, 1984), pp. 111–23.

9. John Blair, 'Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book', in *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. by Peter Sawyer (London, 1985), pp. 104–42; John Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters: A Topographical Review', in *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, ed. by Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester, 1992), pp. 226–66.

10. Fernie, *Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 129–30; Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, pp. 112, 160.

11. Blair, 'Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book'; Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters'; Malcolm Thurlby, 'Minor Cruciform Churches in Norman England', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 24 (2002), 239–77.

12. Taylor is sceptical about the quoins being pre-Conquest but I see no reason for this.

13. Malcolm Thurlby, 'Aspects of Romanesque Architecture in Dorset: Wimborne Minster, Sherborne Abbey, Forde Abbey chapter house, and St Mary's, Maiden Newton', *Proceedings of the Dorset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 122 (2000), 1–19.

14. For Bere Regis, see *Royal Commission of Historical Monuments: Dorset, II, South-East*, part 1 (London, 1970), pp. 11–16, plan on 14; C. A. Ralegh Radford, 'Pre-Conquest Minster Churches', *Archaeological Journal*, 130 (1973), 120–40 (p. 137); on Nether Wallop, see Richard Gem and Pamela Tudor-Craig, 'A "Winchester School" Wall-painting at Nether Wallop, Hampshire', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 9 (1981), 115–36.

15. J. H. P. Gibb, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral at Sherborne', *Archaeological Journal*, 132 (1975), 71–110; Thurlby, 'Aspects of Romanesque Architecture in Dorset'.

16. J. H. Parker, ed., *The History of Dorchester, Oxfordshire: British Earthworks — Roman Camp- Bishopric, and the Architectural History of the Church, compiled from the best authorities, with a general introduction by John Henry Parker* (London, 1882). H. M. Colvin, *Victoria History of the Counties of England* [hereafter *VCH*]: *Oxfordshire*, VII (London, 1962), p. 58. Colvin considers that the earliest parts of the present building are late twelfth century. He thinks that the north and south crossing arches are of uncertain date: 'As they cut through the string course which marks the C12 work internally they cannot be earlier than the surviving W arch, and in their present form may even be of post-Reformation date. On the other hand their western responds rest on chamfered bases continuous with those of the western arch, thus demonstrating their C12 origin.' N. Pevsner, *Buildings of England, Oxfordshire* (Harmondsworth, 1974), 577, thinks that they may have been rebuilt in the alterations of 1633.

17. I owe the observation on the non-radial voussoirs to Eric Fernie.

18. Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, p. 16.

19. *Domesday Book, Wiltshire*, ed. by Caroline Thorn and Frank Thorn (Chichester, 1979), 1.16; Blair, 'Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book', p. 106.

20. Thurlby, 'Aspects of Romanesque Architecture in Dorset'.

21. Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, pp. 211–13.

22. Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, p. 213.

23. *VCH Gloucestershire*, II (London, 1907), 103.

24. Eric Cambridge, 'Early Romanesque Architecture in North-East England: A Style and Its Patrons', in *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093–1193*, ed. by David Rollason, Margaret Harvey, and Michael Prestwich (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 141–60 (p. 157).

25. Cambridge, 'Early Romanesque', p. 157.

26. Cambridge, 'Early Romanesque', pp. 147–48.

27. I am grateful to Jenny Alexander for bringing Harmston to my attention.

28. Dorothy Owen, 'Documentary Evidence: Sources for the Building History of Churches in the Middle Ages', in *The Archaeological Study of Churches*, ed. by P. Addyman and R. Morris, CBA Research Report, 13 (London, 1976), pp. 21–27; John Bilson, 'Wharram-le-Street Church, Yorkshire, and St Rule's Church, St Andrews', *Archaeologia*, 73 (1923), 55–72; Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, p. 216.

29. *Domesday Book, Wiltshire*, 1.18. See also John Blair, 'Local Chuches in Domesday Book and Before', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. by J. C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 265–78 (pp. 273–74); Taylor and Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, pp. 456–59.

30. Blair, 'Local Churches in Domesday', p. 273.

31. Taylor and Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, figs 164, 219, and 512.

32. E. Temple, *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, vol. II, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* (London, 1976), illus. 151.

33. John Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire* (Stroud, 1994), pp. 178, 180.

34. Janet Backhouse, D. H. Turner, and Leslie Webster, eds, *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art 966–1066* (London, 1984), cat. no. 136.

35. Fernie, *Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 129–34.

36. Taylor and Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, fig. 201.

37. Taylor and Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, fig. 553 (Reed, N doorway); fig. 621 (Winstone, N. doorway).

38. E. Gethyn-Jones, *The Dymock School of Sculpture* (Chichester, 1979); Taylor and Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, fig. 85.

39. Malcolm Thurlby, *The Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture* (Woonton, Herefs., 1999; reprinted with additions, 2000).

40. For the Exeter Castle gatehouse, see Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, pl. 21.

41. Malcolm Thurlby, 'The Roles of the Patron and the Master Mason in the First Design of Durham Cathedral', in *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093–1193*, ed. by Rollason, Harvey, and Prestwich, pp. 161–84.

42. Thurlby, 'The Roles of the Patron', p. 177, pls 27 and 28.

43. Jean Bony, 'Durham et la tradition saxonne', in *Etudes d'art medievale offertes a Louis Grodecki*, ed. by Sumner McK. Crosby and others (Paris, 1981), pp. 80–92.

44. Thurlby, 'The Roles of the Patron', pp. 174–75.

45. Stuart Harrison and Malcolm Thurlby, 'Observations on the Transepts, Crossing and Nave Aisles of Selby Abbey', in *Yorkshire Monasticism: Archaeology, Art and Architecture*, ed. by Lawence R. Hoey, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 16 (Leeds, 1995), pp. 50–61.

46. Fernie, 'Effect of the Conquest', p. 73.

47. Peter Kidson and Peter Murray, *A History of English Architecture* (London, 1962), p. 44.

48. Lawrence Hoey, 'Pier Form and Vertical Wall Articulation in English Romanesque Architecture', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 48 (1989), 258–83 (pp. 264, 279–80). Orford presbytery is illustrated in Nikolaus

Pevsner, *Buildings of England, Suffolk*, rev. edn (Harmondsworth, 1974), pl. 15b.

49. John Bilson, 'The Architecture of Kirkstall Abbey Church', *Publications of the Thoresby Society*, 16 (1907), 73–140, fig. 75; Malcolm Thurlby, 'Some Design Aspects of Kirkstall Abbey', in *Yorkshire Monasticism*, ed. by Hoey, pp. 62–72; Eric Fernie, 'The Romanesque Church of Waltham Abbey', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 138 (1985), 48–78.

50. Bilson, 'Kirkstall', figs 79–81 and 85; J. T. Irvine, 'Notes on Specimens of Interlacing Ornament at Kirkstall Abbey', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 48 (1892), 26–30.

51. On the triangular-headed opening in eleventh-century France, see Fernie, *Norwich Cathedral*, pp. 144–45.

52. For Milborne Port and Haddiscoe, see Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, figs 161 and 163.

53. For Kilpeck, see Thurlby, *Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture*, fig. 7.

54. George Zarnecki, *Later English Romanesque Sculpture* (London, 1953), illus 8 and 48.

55. Richard Gem, 'Canterbury and the Cushion Capital, a Commentary on Passages from Goscelin's *De Miraculis Sancti Augustini*', in *Romanesque and Gothic: Essays for George Zarnecki*, ed. by N. Stratford (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 83–105.

56. Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, pp. 120, 211, 278–79; Cambridge, 'Early Romanesque', pp. 151–52.

57. For Notre-Dame at Huy, see Xavier Barral i Altet, *Belgique romane* (La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1989), pls 80–82.

58. Dominic Tweddle, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, vol. IV, *South-East England* (Oxford, 1995), p. 127, part of a cross shaft TR 155578, illus 20–23, C10–C11.

59. For Beckermet St Bridget and Gosforth, see Richard Bailey and Rosemary Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, vol. II, *Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North-of-the-Sands* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 54–56, 100–104, illus 41–46, illus 288–308. See also T. D. Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (London, 1949), pls XLIV and XLVII, and pl. XLVI for Clulow (Cheshire) and Stapleford (Notts.).

60. John Harvey, *English Medieval Architects: A Biographical Dictionary down to 1550*, rev. edn (Gloucester, 1984), 27.

61. *Domesday Book, Kent*, ed. by Philip Morgan (Chichester, 1983), 3.10.

62. Bony, 'Durham et la tradition saxonne', p. 83.

63. Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, p. 106.

64. George Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Sculpture 1066–1140* (London, 1951), p. 14.

65. Philip Barker, *A Short Architectural History of Worcester Cathedral* (Worcester, 1994), p. 32.

66. S. Crawford and C. Guy, report on excavations at Worcester, *British Archaeology*, 29 (Nov. 1997), 7; Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, p. 203. See also Gittos, Chapter 5 above.

67. Barker, *Worcester Cathedral*, pp. 40–41.

68. Taylor and Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, fig. 201.

69. James F. Dimock, 'Architectural History of the Church of the Blessed Virgin, of Southwell', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 8 (1853), 265–303 (pp. 269–70, pl. 32). I am most grateful to Peter Coffman for this reference and for many stimulating discussions on its implications. See now, Peter Coffman, 'Eadburg of Repton and Southwell Minster: Norman Shrine-Church for a Saxon Saint?', in *Proceedings of the St. Michael's College Symposium, Saints and the Sacred (25–26 February 2000)*, ed. by Joseph Goering, Francesco Guardiani, and Giulio Silano (Ottawa, 2001), pp. 105–22.

70. D. Phillips, *The Cathedral of Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux: Excavations at York Minster*, vol. II (London, 1985), pl. 126.

71. John Bilson, 'Newbald Church', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 21 (1911), 1–42.

72. *Domesday Book, Yorkshire*, vol. I, ed. by Margaret L. Faull and Marie Stinton (Chichester, 1986), 2B6.

73. *Domesday Book, Yorkshire*, 1Y8; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, vol. I, ed. by H. W. C. Davis (Oxford, 1913), #837 [1100–1107].

74. *Domesday Book, Yorkshire*, 2B11; *Domesday Book, Nottinghamshire*, ed. by John Morris (Chichester, 1977), 5.4.

75. Tweddle, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, pp. 80–81, 178–79.

76. Richard Gem, 'The Early Romanesque Tower of Sompting Church, Sussex', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 5 (1982), 121–28.

77. Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, pp. 276–77.

78. For the Franks Casket, see D. M. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Art* (Woodstock, NY, 1984), pl. 34; for the Jarrow cross fragments, Rosemary Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, vol. I, *County Durham and Northumberland* (Oxford, 1984), illus 497 and 500.

79. Dimock, 'Southwell', pp. 269–70, pl. 32.

80. Deborah Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral and Its Romanesque Sculpture* (London, 1991), illus. 23.

81. *Historia Translationis Sancti Augustini*, *Patrologia cursus completus, series latina*, ed. by J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1844–65), 155:32, quoted in Gem, 'Great Rebuilding?', p. 21.

82. M. J. Franklin, 'The Identification of Minsters in the Midlands', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 7 (1984), 69–88; Hugh Richmond, 'Outlines of Church Development in Northamptonshire', in *The Anglo-Saxon Church: Papers on History, Architecture, and Archaeology in Honour of Dr H. M. Taylor*, ed. by L. A. S. Butler and R. K. Morris (London, 1986), pp. 176–87; Paul Barnwell and Hugh Richmond, *Medieval Churches of Northamptonshire*, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England, typescript (1999).

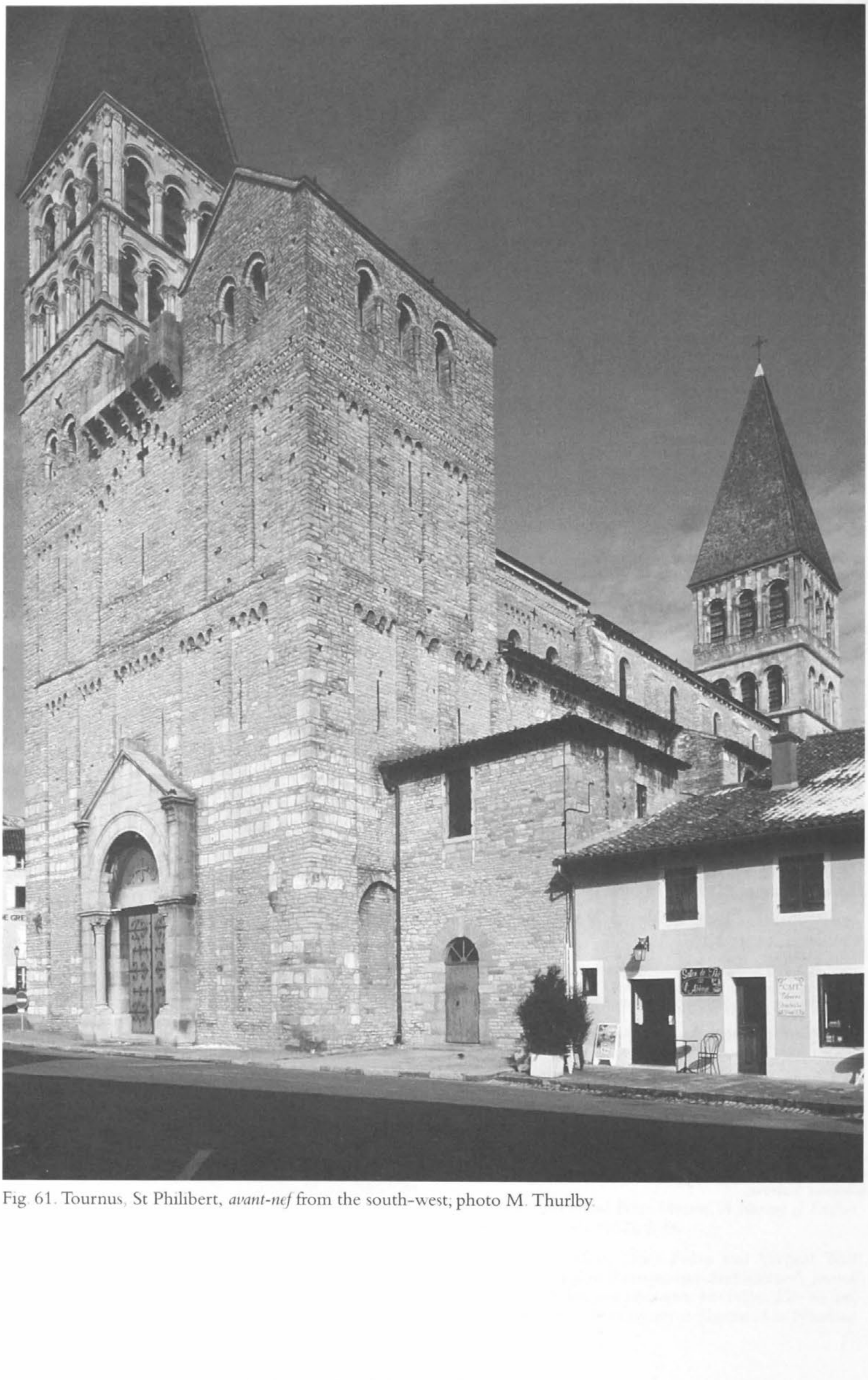


Fig. 61. Tournus, St Philibert, *avant-nef* from the south-west; photo M. Thurlby.

8. Architecture and Liturgical Practice: The Cluniac *galilaea*

KRISTINA KRÜGER

The churches of St Philibert at Tournus, Paray-le-Monial, Notre Dame at Dijon, and Vézelay, and the remains of the former abbey church of Cluny are among the most important and best-known monuments of medieval architecture in Burgundy (figs 61–64). Although they differ in style and date, they share a significant architectural feature: the west end of the nave is preceded by a structure of several bays which is distinct from the main body of the church. This structure is internally divided into two storeys, and its exterior is surmounted by front towers. The external appearance and the number of bays vary. The ground floor may form an open porch or may have continuous walls, in which case I shall call it an *avant-nef* using the French term since there is no English equivalent; I shall use the term 'narthex' to designate the general category that includes both of these two-storeyed west ends. The upper level of a narthex may consist of a spacious, three-aisled chapel or a small oratory above the nave portal; it may also open into the ground floor by forming a tribune on three sides of an *avant-nef*, as at Vézelay (fig. 64). When it does not form a tribune, this upper level, due to later modifications, is often difficult to perceive from the ground floor or the interior of the church, and its original destination as a chapel is far from obvious. Hence, there is no reason to be surprised when visitors, contemplating the tympanum of the main portal at Vézelay or admiring the elegant architectural forms of the porch of Notre Dame at Dijon, neither wonder about the space hidden behind the high, slender blind arcades of the Dijonese facade nor consider the use of the tribune chapel above the Vézelay tympanum.

More surprising, however, most art historical research has equally disregarded these narthexes. In addition to the size of the narthex, the upper storey is their outstanding characteristic and most interesting typological feature given that church porches usually have only one level and twin tower facades with a western tribune normally have but one bay. Nevertheless, until recently, there has been no study of the Burgundian narthex.[1]

State of Research

In this respect, however, the Burgundian narthex is no exception. Generally, investigation of the function and the specific features of the internal structure of the west end is sparse, although surveys of architecture or monographic studies have described it in relation to different geographical regions, different periods, and diverse architectural types. The only exception from this rule is the west end of Carolingian churches known as the 'westwork'. Since German art historians introduced this term at the end of the nineteenth century and defined the *Westwerk* as a specific architectural form,[2] it was a subject of steady scholarly interest until the end of the 1960s.[3] Although theories explaining its function have been and still are divergent, due to the fact that their central conclusions are not confirmed by contemporary documentation, this has by no means led to a revision of the idea of the 'westwork' as such, but the term itself as well as certain

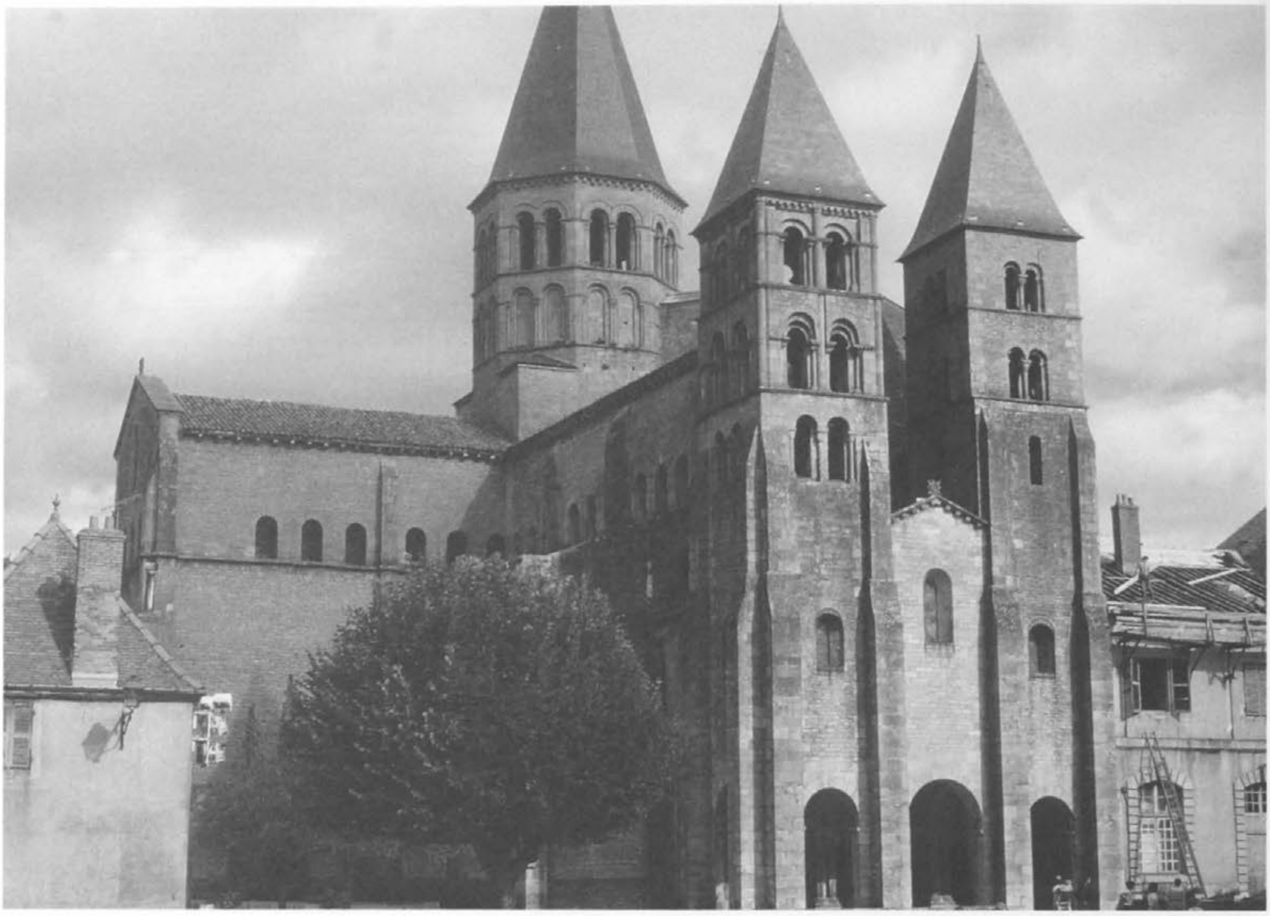


Fig. 62. Paray-le-Monial Priory, view from the west; photo N. Hiscock.

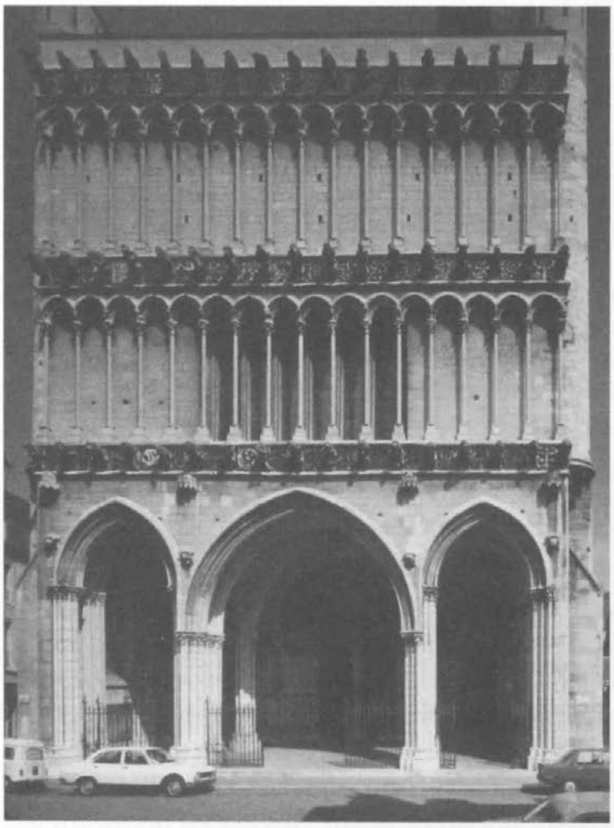


Fig. 63. Dijon, Notre Dame, west facade; after D. Kimpel and R. Suckale.

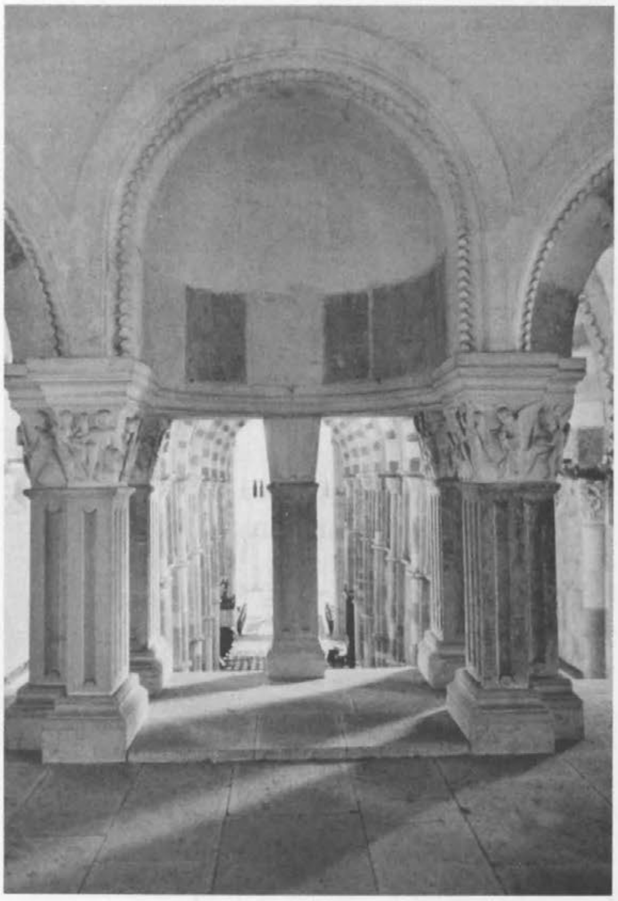


Fig. 64. Vézelay, La Madeleine, *avant-nef*, eastern tribune chapel; photo K. Krüger.

assumptions about the function of a westwork have been widely accepted. Thus, the westwork is commonly considered to be related to the presence of, or the cult of, the emperor, which is allegedly expressed in its dedication to the Saviour.[4] Another aspect of interpretation sees the function of the westwork primarily in the supposed cult of the Saviour and explains its 'centralizing' form as deriving from the *Anastasis* rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre Church at Jerusalem, the place of Christ's resurrection; hence, the westwork becomes the privileged place of Easter celebration and of the Easter play.[5] None of these assumptions about the purpose that the westwork served, despite their widespread acceptance, has ever been demonstrated on the basis of textual sources or architectural and archaeological interpretation. On the contrary, recently a critical review of research on the subject has seriously questioned the existence of the westwork as a typological form of its own.[6]

As a consequence of this preoccupation with the westwork, there has been a tendency to consider any construction at the west end of a medieval church that is surmounted by one or several towers as being related to the Carolingian westwork. Instead of questioning the function of these structures, a simple reference to what seems to be well-established knowledge about the westwork is usually presented.[7] However, this way of proceeding does not take into account the individual monument and its proper architectural features.

When the function of the west end of churches from the High Middle Ages is dealt with, a surprisingly wide range of interpretations is given, and they are often based either on Early Christian or later medieval practice, while contemporary sources are rarely cited.[8] This reveals the principal difficulty of any investigation into the function of the narthex or of other western structures. In fact, the west ends of churches are only rarely mentioned in medieval sources, and these texts provide neither exhaustive nor even satisfactory information about the function of these constructions and the activities performed in them. Consequently, the paucity of research on the subject is at least in part due to the absence of contemporary documentation directly related to the question.

The Burgundian Narthex as a Monastic Phenomenon

The former abbey of St Philibert at Tournus provides an early and relatively well-preserved example of the double-storeyed Burgundian narthex (fig. 61). The church has a high and relatively long *avant-nef* with a west facade surmounted by twin towers, a nave divided into three aisles by tall round piers, and a choir surrounded by an ambulatory with radiating chapels of rectangular shape above a crypt of the same ground plan (fig. 65). Its main features—the double-tower front, the ambulatory, and the vaulting of the entire structure (with the exception of the transept)—make it an ambitious, extraordinary project during the first half of the eleventh century.[9] Construction began simultaneously with the choir in the east and the *avant-nef* in the west after a fire in 1006 or 1007. Recent architectural studies have shown that the *avant-nef* was already terminated between 1030 and 1040, a dating confirmed by dendrochronological examination of the wooden tie-beams of the upper storey; the nave was vaulted only after the middle of the century.[10]

Unfortunately, the eleventh-century structure of the *avant-nef* of Tournus has undergone some alterations. The stone stairs along the aisle walls of the nave leading to the upper storey were removed at an unknown date,[11] but their remains are still clearly visible on the west end of the aisles (fig. 66). Yet more important is the destruction of the apse of this upper storey, originally projecting through the west wall of the nave into the church interior (fig. 67). Its remains were discovered behind the organ during a restoration in 1987, together with a huge console in the shape of a reversed cone on which it rested.[12] Therefore, the original path to the upper level of the *avant-nef* was through the comparatively low, dark hall of the ground floor into the much higher nave illuminated by large windows (see fig. 65). Halfway down the nave one had to turn around in order to ascend the stairs in the north or south aisle. Upon arriving at the upper storey the visitor found himself in a high, basilican chapel, completely vaulted like the hall below, but in contrast to it generously lit by clerestory windows. Eastwards the chapel was closed to the nave of the church by the apse, which was framed with a rectangular projection of the wall and had a column

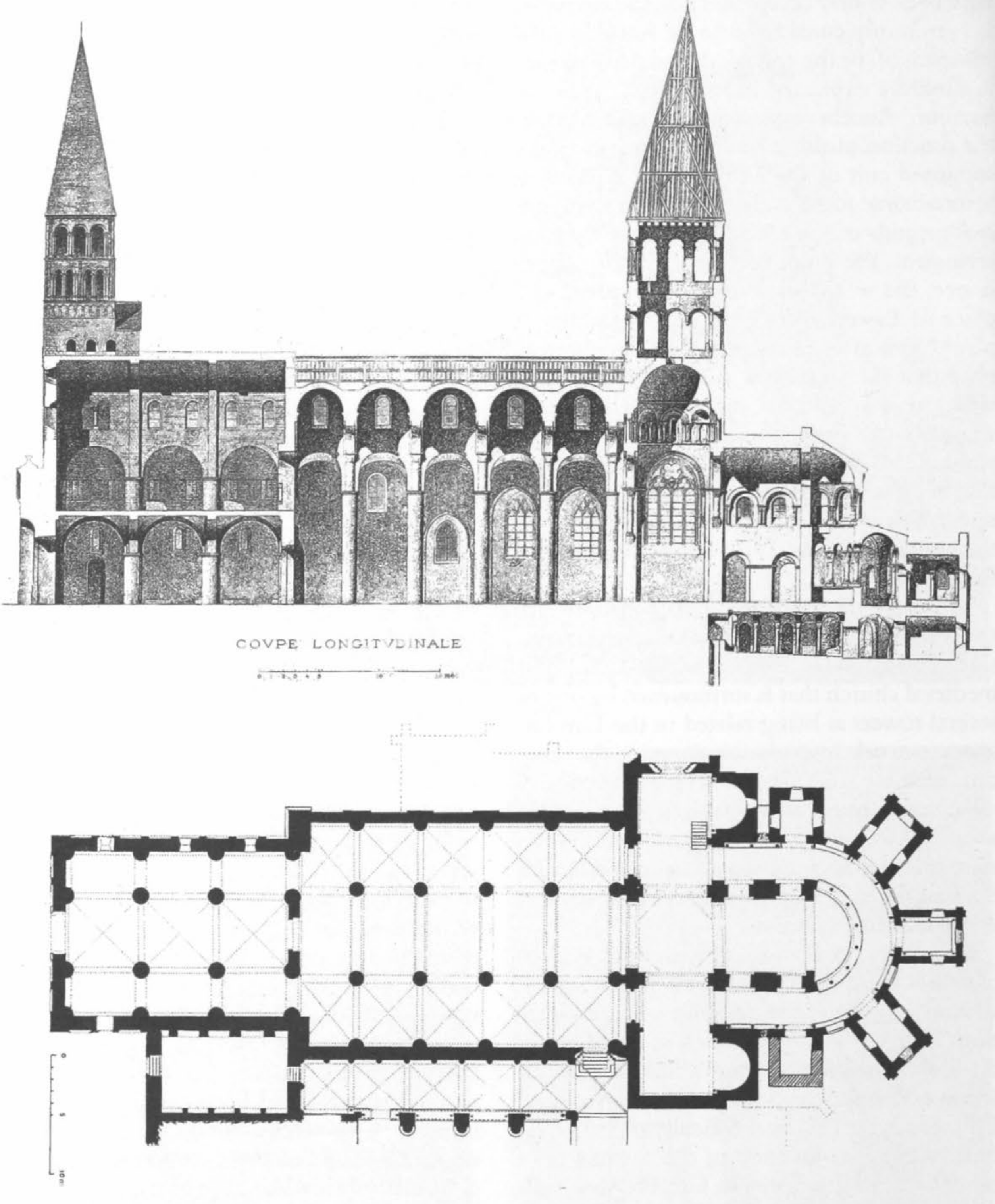


Fig. 65. Tournus, St Philibert, longitudinal section and ground plan, after J. Henriet

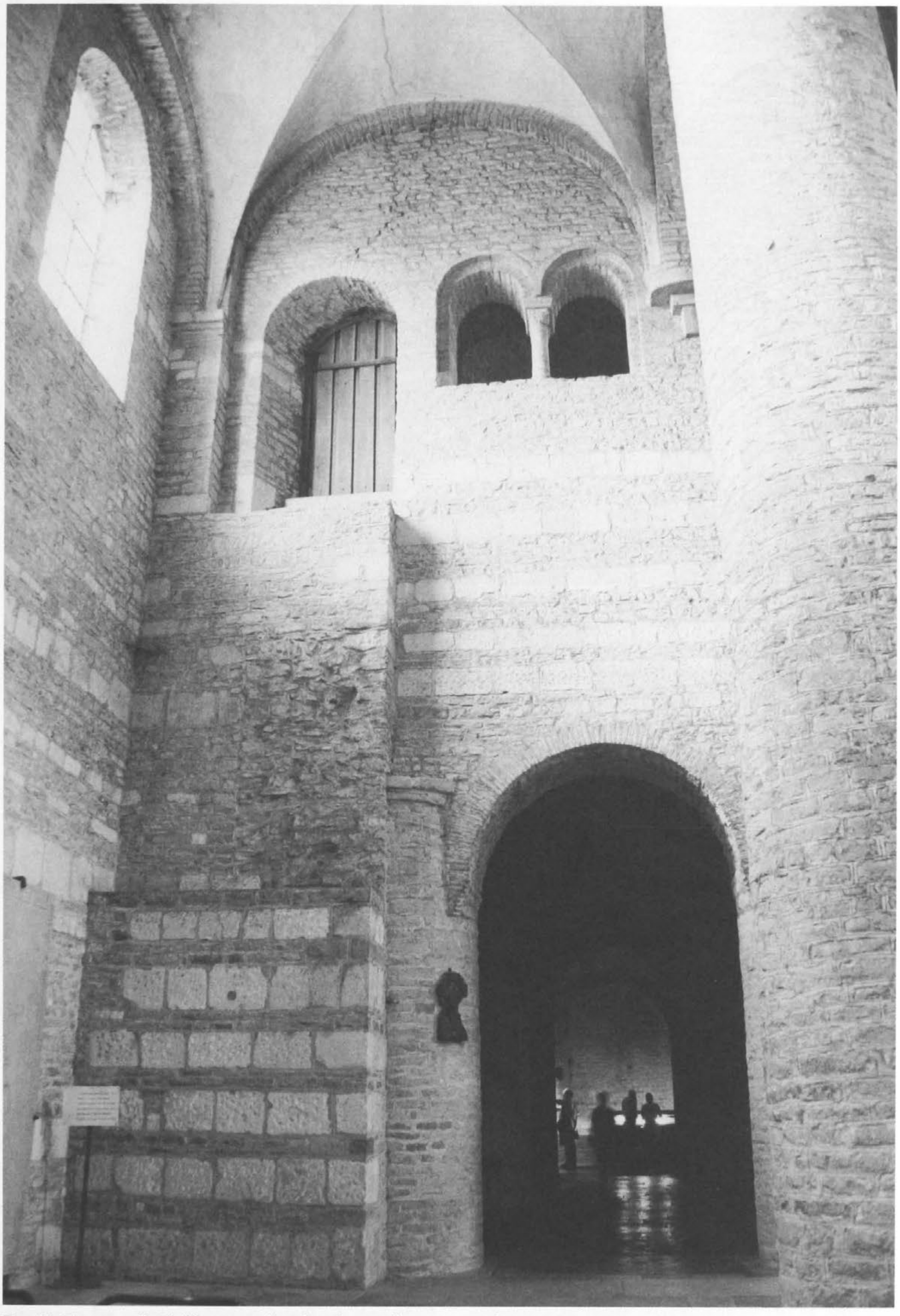


Fig. 66. Tournus, St Philibert, south aisle of nave, facing west; photo K. Krüger.

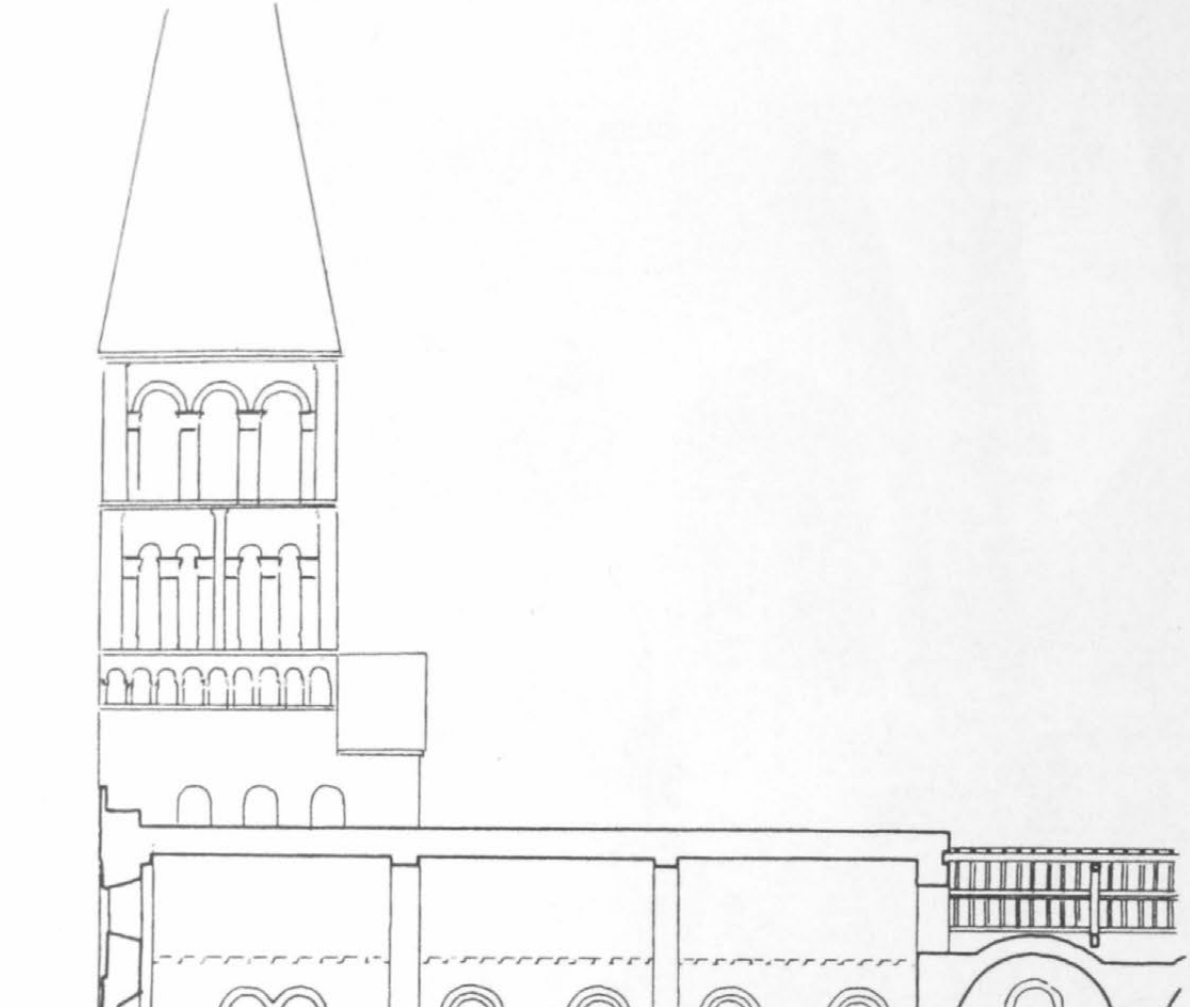


Fig. 67. Tournus, St Philibert, *avant-nef*, longitudinal section, with restitution of its apse; after C. Sapin.

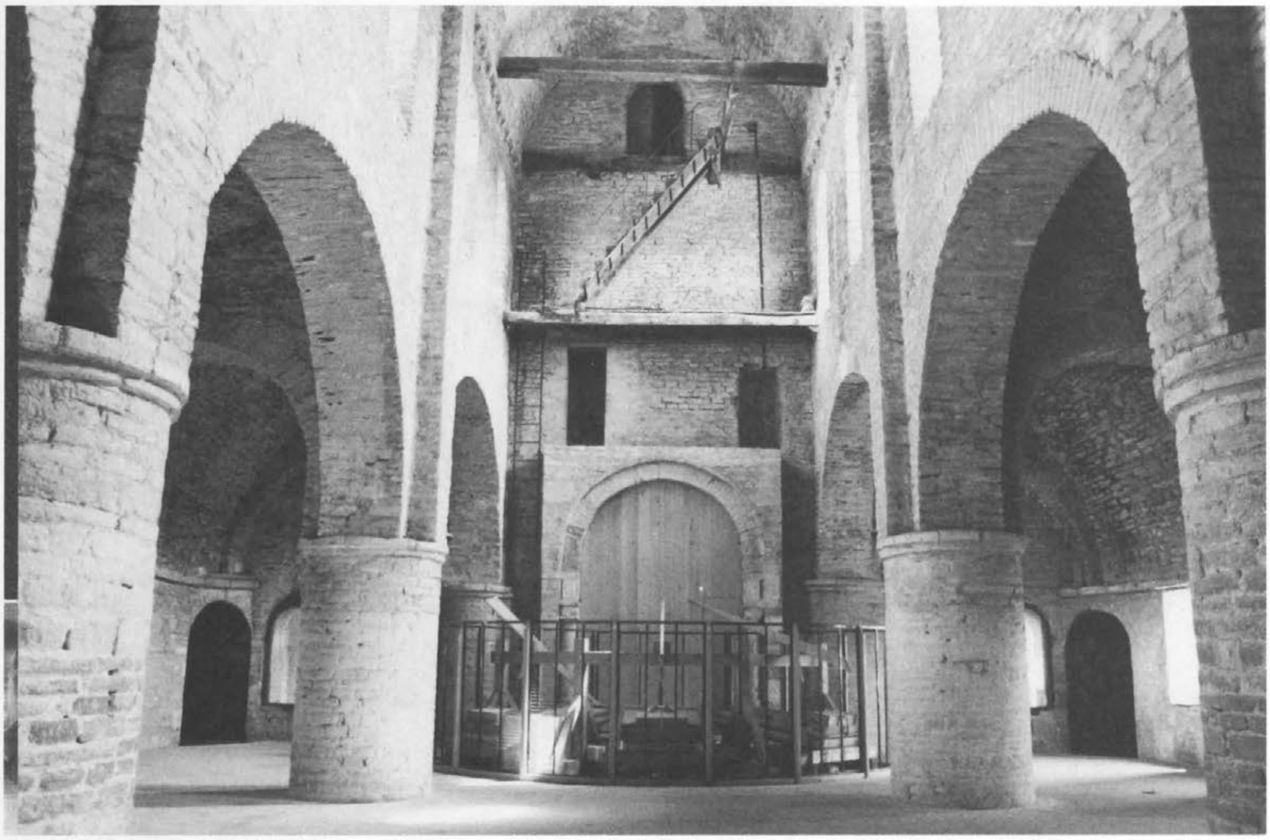


Fig. 68. Tournus, St Philibert, *avant-nef*, upper storey, facing east; photo K. Krüger.

on either side (fig. 68). What was the function of this spacious upper chapel, characterized by its separation from the nave, its basilican elevation, and its eastern apse? Which cult did its altar serve to merit the spectacular protrusion of its apse into the nave of the church?

In order to understand the function of such upper-storey chapels it is important to know who had access to it. For this reason, it is necessary to take a close look at the stairs leading to the upper storey and at the chapel's communication with the adjacent conventual buildings. A survey of two-storeyed narthexes from the eleventh and early twelfth centuries in Burgundy reveals that all, without any exception, belong to monastic churches.[13] The stairs giving access to the upper storey of these narthexes are usually situated within the interior of the church. This is especially true for those with porches in which the ground floor opens to the exterior through arcades. Only in *avant-nefs* with continuous exterior walls are the stairs located in the narthex itself, as in the case of Romainmôtier (fig. 69) or of Vézelay. Therefore, at first sight, the location for access to the upper storey seems to be a precautionary measure designed to bar the way to the upper storey for unauthorized persons. However, this cannot be the only reason for its disposition. Access to the upper storey is everywhere protected by doors which may be closed whenever necessary, as, for instance, when the church is open to visitors. Consequently, the actual reason for the location of the stairs within the closed perimeter of the church or *avant-nef* turns out to be quite different. The stairs are intended to be used by persons coming not from outside but from inside the monastery and need to be accessible without their having to leave the monastic enclosure at any time, including those hours of the day when the church is not open to visitors and the church portal is closed. It is worth noting in this context that there is often a door leading directly from the cloister or an adjoining room into the narthex. If, as at Romainmôtier, access to the upper storey is through the narthex, this door is placed nearby;[14] if, as at Payerne and Tournus, the stairs are located in the nave, there is another door to the cloister not far away.[15]

The conclusion that the upper storey of the narthex was primarily, if not exclusively, destined for use by the members of the monastic community itself stands out in sharp contrast to the often advanced hypothesis of the upper level of the west end serving as a lay patron's

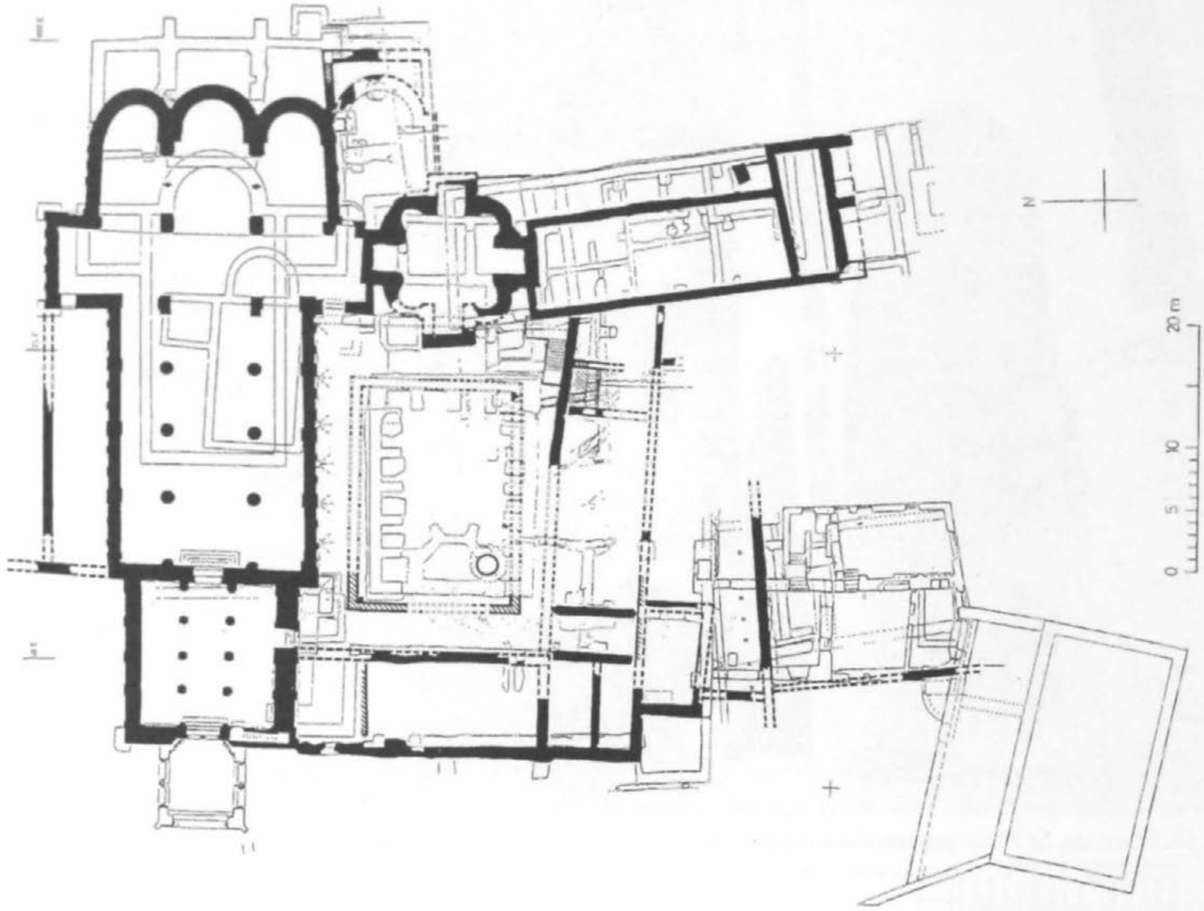


Fig. 69. Romainmôtier, plan of the monastery (eleventh and twelfth centuries); after P. Eggenberger, P. Jaton, and J. Sarott.

tribune.[16] In the case of the Burgundian narthex, this common hypothesis is rendered even more implausible by the existence of the apse which bars, instead of facilitating, the view into the church.[17]

The Narthex and Cluniac Customs

If this upper-storey chapel was for the monks' use, we should be able to learn something about its function by consulting the monastic customs observed in these monasteries. However, customaries originating from the monasteries where double-storeyed narthexes still exist are not preserved.[18] But a number of the monasteries we are dealing with were affiliated to the abbey of Cluny and followed the customs of their mother house from which three eleventh-century customaries have been transmitted to us.[19] Moreover, not only the great abbey church of Cluny III, begun at the end of the eleventh century, was preceded by a vast narthex, the remains of which are still to be seen today, but also its predecessor Cluny II had had an *avant-nef* documented by texts and excavations (figs. 6, 70).[20]

The Cluniac customs depict the narthex as a part of the architectural fabric of the monastery without a word about its function. It is mentioned especially on occasions when processions leave the abbey church in order to visit other places or welcome dignitaries, such as abbots, bishops, kings, or the pope.[21] On high feast days, a solemn *statio* is held in front of the church portal.[22] While all this is taking place on the ground floor, the upper-storey chapel or its altar is not mentioned in either the liturgical prescriptions or the practical regulations of the three customaries. Since customaries primarily give a description of the liturgical activities concerning the convent as a whole, one might conclude that the upper storey of the narthex was reserved for a specific group of monks. However, the customaries do not allude to its access either by single members of the community or by special groups. On the contrary, the Cluniac customs make clear that those groups of

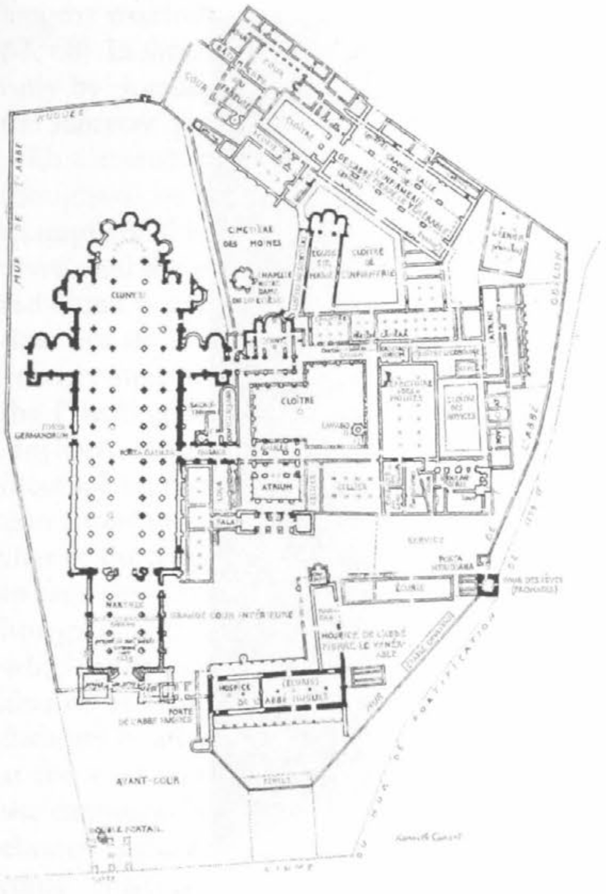


Fig. 70. Cluny, plan of the monastery, c. 1157 (existing or excavated parts are marked in black); after K. Conant (1968).

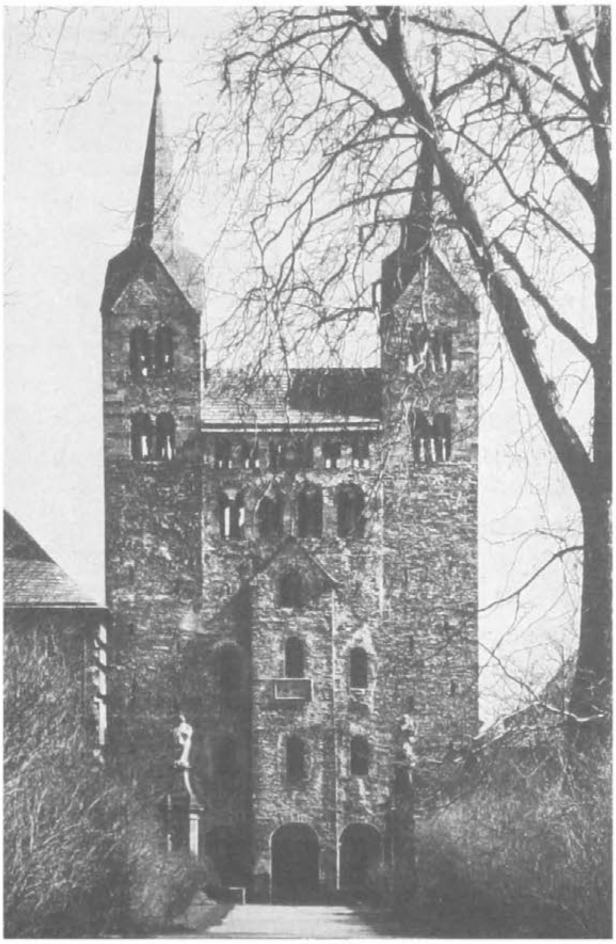


Fig. 71. Corvey Abbey, view from the west, photo K. Kruger.

monks who had a particular role within the community, such as converts and children, have their place together with the rest of the convent in the monks' choir.[23]

The Burgundian Narthex and the 'Westwork'

At this point, it seems useful to summarize some of the major differences between the double-storeyed Burgundian narthex and the Carolingian 'westwork'. Comparison of what we know about these two types of western structures on the basis of textual as well as architectural analysis will clarify frequent misunderstandings and will distinguish precisely between the different forms of their west ends. While double-storeyed Burgundian narthexes exist only in monastic churches, the westworks belong to churches of diverse ecclesiastical status, among which cathedrals and collegiate and monastic churches are to be found.[24] Like the Burgundian narthex, the interior of the westwork was subdivided into two or more storeys and had an altar on the first-floor level. But unlike our Burgundian examples, the dedication of this altar is known to us in a number of cases,[25] and in the case of the famous abbey of Centula or St Riquier we even have a monastic customary.

The only Carolingian westwork that has largely preserved its original disposition is that of the former abbey church of Corvey (fig. 71).[26] If we compare the first storey of the west end of Corvey to the upper level of an *avant-nef* like that of Tournus, a decisive difference between the two becomes immediately evident. At Corvey we find a sanctuary elevated above ground level which on three sides is surrounded by tribunes while the fourth, eastern side opens to the nave of the church, only slightly screened off by two superposed rows of wide arcades (fig. 72).[27] Its altar, which was located immediately behind the arcades, was visible from the nave. At Tournus, on the contrary, we are confronted with a chapel that ostentatiously turns the back of its apse to the nave and so stresses its character as a space independent from the church itself; its separate character is further underlined by its basilican elevation and its

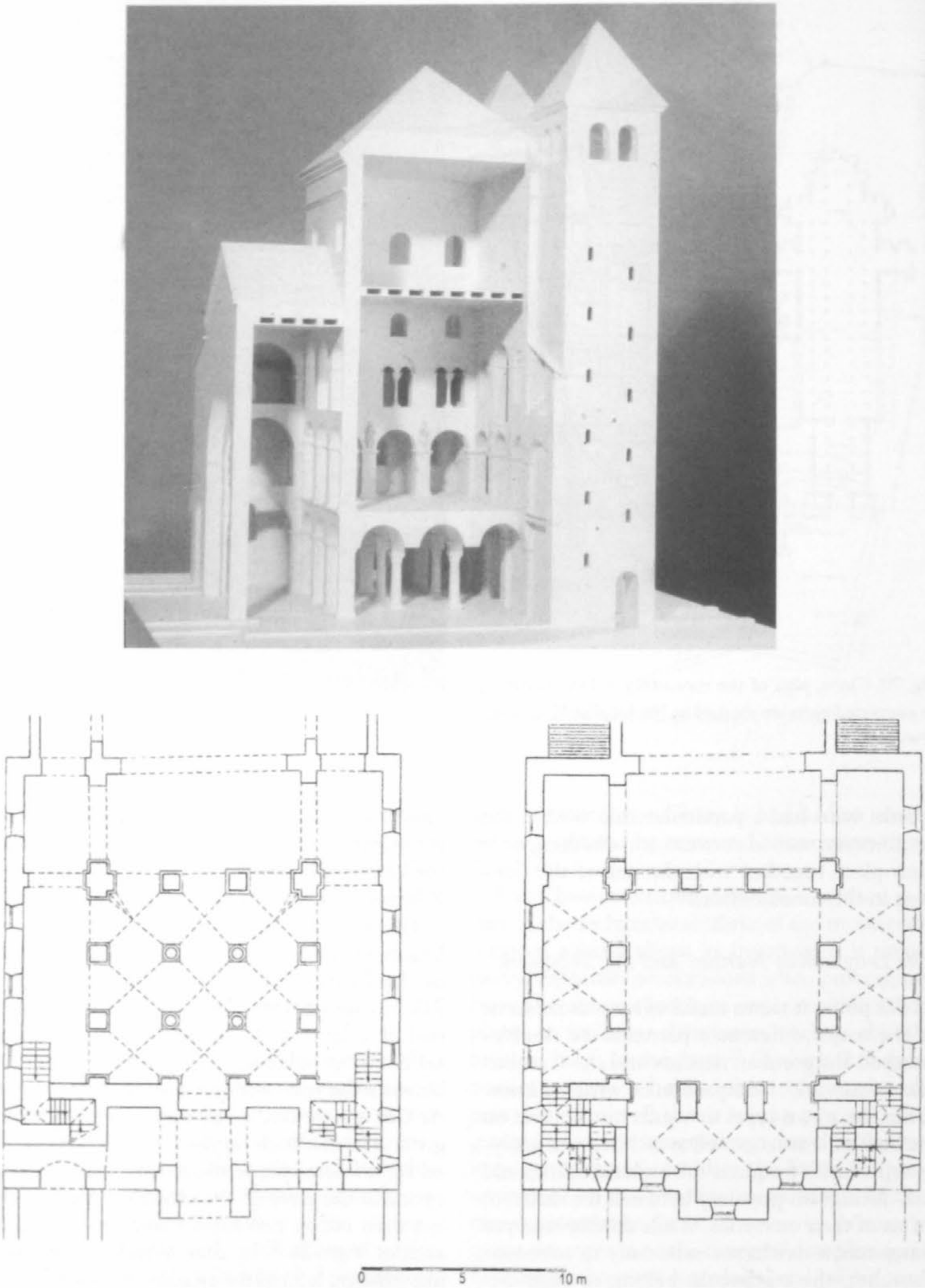


Fig. 72. Corvey Abbey, westwork, ground-floor and second-storey plans; restitution of the interior, from the north-east; Paderborn, *Kunst und Kultur* Exhibition Catalogue 1999.

lengthy extension over three bays (see figs 65, 67, 68). In fact, it communicates with the nave only by openings onto the nave aisles next to the stairway doors.

Unfortunately, the westwork of St Riquier, thought to be the oldest and most prestigious example of this type of building, has not survived, and the paucity of archaeological material found in excavations during the last decades does not allow a reconstruction of the eighth-century structure.[28] However, the customs of the Carolingian abbey, the so-called *Institutio Angilberti* dating from around 800, although incomplete, provide some interesting information about the west end of the church and the altar of the Saviour situated on the first floor.[29] In fact, this altar constitutes a second centre of liturgical activities within the abbey church, which is of equal importance with the main altar of St Riquier at the east end. Due to its dedication, all feasts of the Lord are celebrated at the west end, whereas other festivities and the canonical hours on common days are celebrated at the east end. The author of the customs differentiates these two liturgical centres—he speaks of the *ecclesia sancti Ricarii* and the *ecclesia sancti Salvatoris*—and, hence, underlines the bipolar character of the abbey church; this reveals that the altar of the Saviour on the first floor of the westwork was the second main altar of the church. Consequently, the liturgical function of the westwork of St Riquier, whatsoever its architectural form may have been, was clearly that of a western choir in a double-choir church.

Similar observations can also be made about other westworks, especially those of Minden, Werden, and Halberstadt.[30] In Corvey, the altar of the upper storey of the west end was dedicated to St John the Baptist, and, as at Centula, it seems to have had the function of a western choir, since several sources dating from early modern times call it *chorus* or *Sankt Johannis Chor*.[31]

Accordingly, the architectural comparison of the Burgundian *avant-nefs* with the Carolingian west ends is corroborated by the liturgical texts relating to each of the two types of west ends. While the westwork with its altar consecrated to the second patron of the church turns out to be the western choir of a double-choir church with two liturgical centres, one in the east and the other in the west,[32] the altar in the apse of the *avant-nef* plays no role in the liturgical prescriptions for the monastic community. Instead of representing a second main altar or the altar of a particularly venerated local saint, for example,[33] the task that it is serving is not explicitly mentioned.

Therefore, contrary to widespread scholarly opinion, the evidence indicates that the Burgundian double-storeyed narthex does not derive from the Carolingian westwork. The architectural differences as well as those concerning the liturgical function of each of these two types of western structures seem too diverse to allow for a development from one type to the other. Moreover, even if the exterior aspect of the westwork of Corvey is quite close to the double-towered facades of Tournus or Paray-le-Monial, it should not be forgotten that their resemblance is due to a twelfth-century rebuilding of the upper parts of the west end at Corvey, which makes the reconstruction of its original design impossible, thus leaving us without a witness of the appearance of a Carolingian westwork.[34]

The Name galilaea *— A Cluniac Particularity*

Due to the silence of the sources about the function of eleventh- and twelfth-century narthexes, I will pursue my search for an answer to this problem in a domain that has been unexplored until now: the study of the origin and meaning of the name of *galilaea* that was given to these narthexes by contemporary documents.

Instead of using the architectural terms *porticus* or *vestibulum*, medieval sources in Burgundy and elsewhere when speaking of an *avant-nef* sometimes call it a *galilaea*. This name of *galilaea* for a structure at the western end of a church occurs for the first time in the description of Cluny II given by the *Liber tramitis*, Cluniac customs from the time of abbot Odilo (994–1048) which were written down between 1027 and 1048.[35] Thus the term appears in the same years as do the oldest extant double-storeyed narthexes, those of Tournus and Romainmôtier.[36] We do not know whether the galilee of Cluny II itself belonged to this same type of construction because of restricted archaeological information. While Conant proposed a hypothetical basilican reconstruction, Sapin recently argued in favour of a two-storeyed *avant-nef* by analogy with Tournus (fig. 67) and Romainmôtier (fig. 73).[37] In any case, these two extant *avant-nefs* share certain characteristics with a

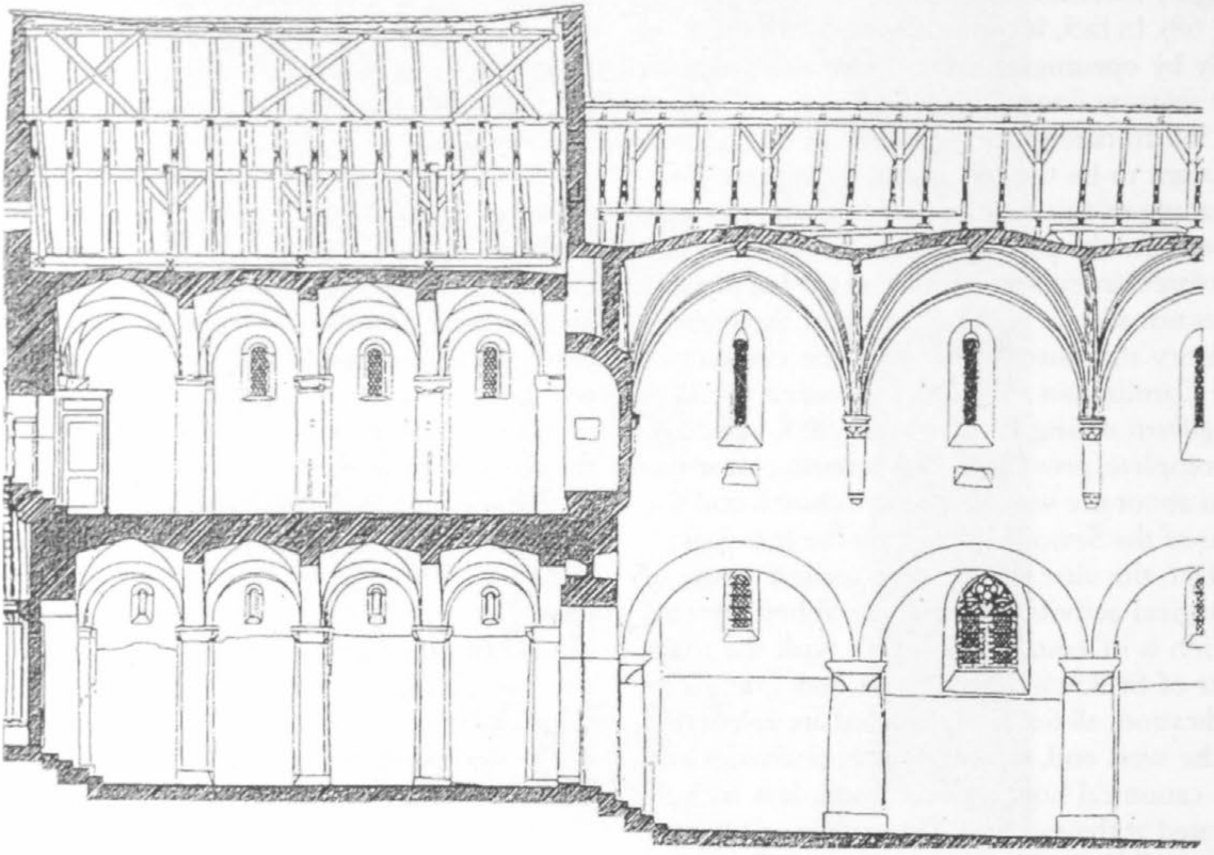


Fig. 73. Romainmôtier, *avant-nef* and nave, longitudinal section; reproduction Archéotech S. A.

number of other Burgundian narthexes from the same period which have been excavated at St Germain in Auxerre, Payerne, and Charlieu.[38] Significantly, all of these narthexes belong to monasteries either depending on Cluny, such as Romainmôtier, Payerne, and Charlieu, or reformed by Cluny shortly before, such as St Germain at Auxerre, or administered by a Cluniac abbot at the time of construction, such as Tournus.[39] Outside the restricted geographical and temporal scope of Burgundy during the first half of the eleventh century, almost all narthexes for which the name of *galilaea* is recorded belong either to Cluniac monasteries, to monasteries reformed by Cluny, to those that adopted Cluniac customs, or to monasteries governed either by a Cluniac abbot or by an abbot closely associated with Cluny.[40] Therefore, it can be concluded that the origin of the term *galilaea* as a designation for a narthex has to be looked for at Cluny.

Nonetheless, the term *galilaea* does not apply only to a part of the church building. First of all, it is the name of a geographical region cited in the Bible that had been discussed in exegetical writings since late antiquity.

Interest in the meaning of the biblical land called Galilee was aroused by contradictory accounts given in the gospels about the apparitions of Christ after his resurrection. In this context, a meeting of the Resurrected with his disciples in Galilee was of special importance. This meeting in the end was reported only by Matthew (28. 16–17), although it had been announced in a prophetic manner by Jesus himself before his death (Mark 14. 28 and Matt. 26. 32) and called back to mind by the angel at the tomb (Mark 16. 7 and Matt. 28. 6–7). Discussion about the hidden meaning of this episode drew attention to Jerome's translations of the Hebrew names into Latin and served as the basis of a complex interpretation of the term *galilaea* as worked out by Augustine, which was to become a key reference for all later interpreters. Throughout late antiquity and the early and High Middle Ages, theologians, from Gregory the Great, Bede, and the Carolingian authors to Rupert of Deutz in the twelfth century, took up this interpretation, continuously developing it.[41]

A short survey of the meanings assigned to the term by different authors will help to clarify its relevance to my study. First of all, *galilaea* was rendered by Jerome with the Latin *transmigratio peracta*,[42] which might be translated into English as 'accomplished transmigration'. In the context of the history of salvation this signified, according to Augustine[43] and Rupert,[44] the transition of the grace of God from the Jews to the Christians. In a further sense, *galilaea* means the transition from death to eternal life, or, according to Gregory's moral interpretation, here on earth, the conversion of a person from vice to virtue and the adoption of a pious way of life entirely devoted to God.[45] Finally, and above all, *galilaea*, literally meaning the place where Jesus had predicted seeing his disciples after his crucifixion and resurrection, is understood by most authors in an eschatological sense as signifying the meeting with the Saviour at the end of time, that is, as the moment following resurrection when the blessed shall see the Lord as the disciples saw the Resurrected in Galilee and enter into eternal life.[46]

Since the late eighth century, the custom of a Sunday procession commemorating the Resurrection of Christ is attested in monastic churches.[47] After a tour around the conventual buildings, the monks held a solemn station in front of the church portal before they returned to the choir. At the beginning of the twelfth century, Rupert of Deutz gives an interpretation of this procession that differs from the traditional explanation of the rite and is clearly influenced by the exegesis of the term *galilaea*. He states that the station in front of the church portal is held in order to commemorate the meeting of the disciples with the Resurrected as it is reported by Matthew. Therefore, Rupert clarifies that it is important for the priest, who is representing Christ, to precede the rest of the convent, who follow him in the role of the disciples, and to arrive at the portal before the other monks.[48] At the end, Rupert underlines that the place where the station is held 'is called by us the galilee'.[49] When Rupert wrote his *Liber officialis* around the year 1111, he lived in the monastery of St Laurent at Liège where Cluniac customs had been adopted some time before 1107.[50] Therefore, it may be reasonably concluded that the designation of a well-defined place in the monastic topography with the meaningful name of biblical Galilee—which certainly occurred sometime between the eighth and the twelfth century—coincided with the construction of the first building called a *galilaea*, that is the galilee of Cluny II erected under abbot Odilo at the beginning of the eleventh century.

As a matter of fact, Odilo of Cluny—who, in these same years, was busy with a new definition of Cluniac identity as well as a Cluniac conception of the world—was strongly influenced by Heiric of Auxerre, a theologian of the ninth century and master of the Carolingian school of St Germain at Auxerre.[51] During the Cluniac reform of St Germain at the end of the tenth century, the writings of Heiric had been copied for the monastic library at Cluny[52] where they can be traced in the catalogue set up under Odilo's successor, Abbot Hugh of Semur.[53] From Heiric's writings Odilo became familiar with the figurative sense of *galilaea*. In fact, the Easter homily by Heiric of Auxerre represents the culmination of the eschatological interpretation of the biblical name where *galilaea* means the moment of entry into paradise, the instant of beholding the Almighty face to face:

> 'Therefore, if we are longing to share in the highest glory [...] and in the celebrations of joy, we have to pass salutarily from sin to justice, from worldliness to God, from vice to virtue, from lowness to heaven in our spirits, so that we may merit to behold our Creator freely from face to face in *galilaea*, that is in the revelation of our celestial home, as he himself wanted to demonstrate who lives and reigns in eternity.'[54]

The formulations employed by Odilo himself in his proper 'Sermon of the Resurrection' reveal his knowledge of Heiric's Easter homily.[55]

The Function of the Galilee

At this point it becomes possible to understand the use made of Heiric's teachings at Cluny. The well-known extension of the liturgical services for the dead under Odilo was not confined to the introduction of the commemoration of all the dead—All Souls' Day—on 2 November, but primarily consisted in a multiplication of the individual Masses held for every deceased.[56] For every monk who died at Cluny or in any other Cluniac monastery, thirty Masses were said during the thirty days following his burial. Every year, on the day of his death an anniversary Mass was to be held and one of the

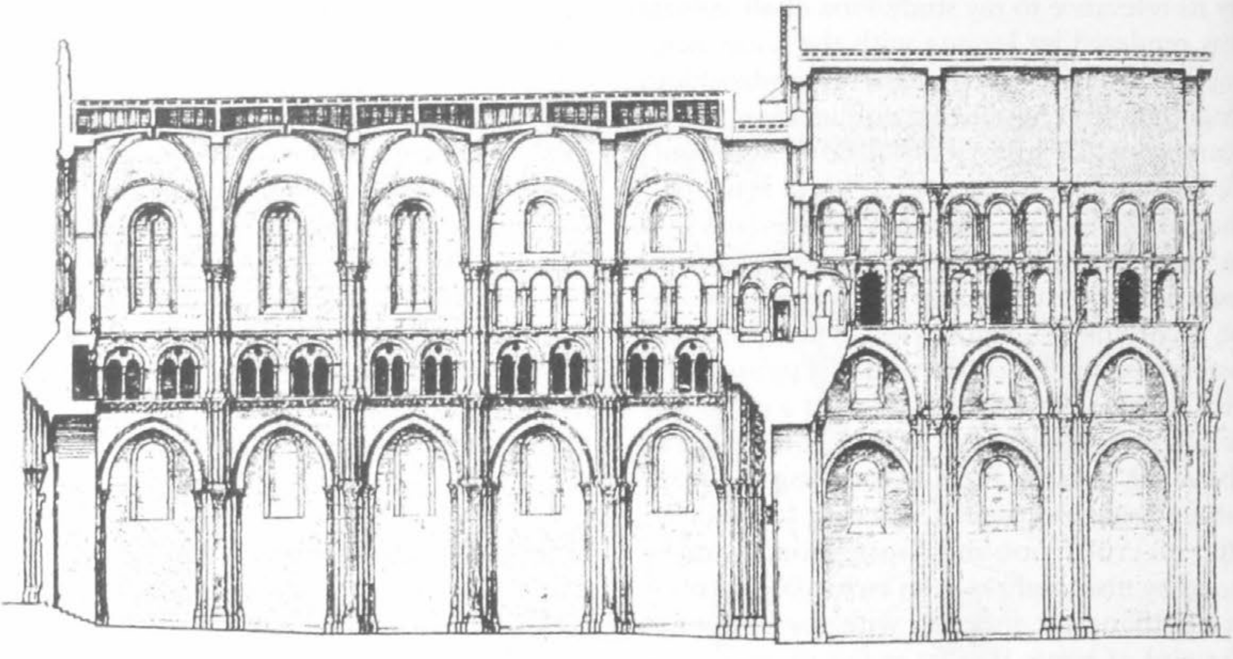


Fig. 74. Cluny III, *avant-nef* and nave, longitudinal section, after K. Conant (1968).

poor was to be fed on his behalf.[57] In order not to disturb the monks' liturgical hours and the course of everyday monastic life with all these tricenary and anniversary Masses, an altar was required that was remote from the narrow choir of Cluny II, where monks and visitors of the abbey were crowded around the too few altars available for private prayer; this altar, at the same time, needed to be available whenever required. In this situation, we may assume, the abbot of Cluny decided to enlarge the church to the west with a two-storey construction allocated exclusively to the memory of the dead. While the ground floor was left unconsecrated, serving as a passage to the church and possibly being used for privileged burial,[58] the individual Masses for the dead were celebrated at the altar of the apse in the upper storey.

Actually, the description of the tricenary commemoration in the Cluniac customs contains a detail worth noticing in this context. For the celebration of the thirty Masses six priests are designated, and each has to say five Masses. The customs particularly insist that each priest has to announce the fulfilment of his duty in chapter, in order to signal his successor to take over his task.[59] This prescription might be imputed to irregularities due to interruptions of the thirty-day commemoration that did occur regularly because of the prohibition to say Masses for the dead on Sundays and high feasts.[60] However, such interruptions could have been compensated for if two monks held one Mass each on the next day. Significantly, it is precisely this simultaneous service that is made impossible by the prescription. Only one possibility explains this prescription in a reasonable way: all thirty Masses were to be said at the same altar. Due to the irregularities, it was necessary to declare when the altar was free for the succeeding priest.

Given Abbot Odilo's strong belief that the hosts sacrificed at the altar of the apse of the *avant-nef* would purify the deceased Cluniac monks—considered as models of virtue and continence—from their few sins and procure for them eternal life,[61] the new construction was called a *galilaea*. And in order to draw everyone's attention to the place where the Masses for the salvation of the dead were celebrated at Cluny 'without any interruption' as Rodulf Glaber tells us,[62] the rounded back of the apse was not hidden within the thickness of the wall, but pierced the west wall of the church and projected prominently into the nave.

In the course of the eleventh century, in order to visualize the meaning of the name *galilaea* for monks and visitors alike, wall paintings or sculptured tympana depicting the appearance of the Lord in the form of a 'Maiestas Domini' were placed above the portal leading into the church,[63] at the same place where the monastic community assembled every Sunday in order to celebrate the meeting with the Resurrected.

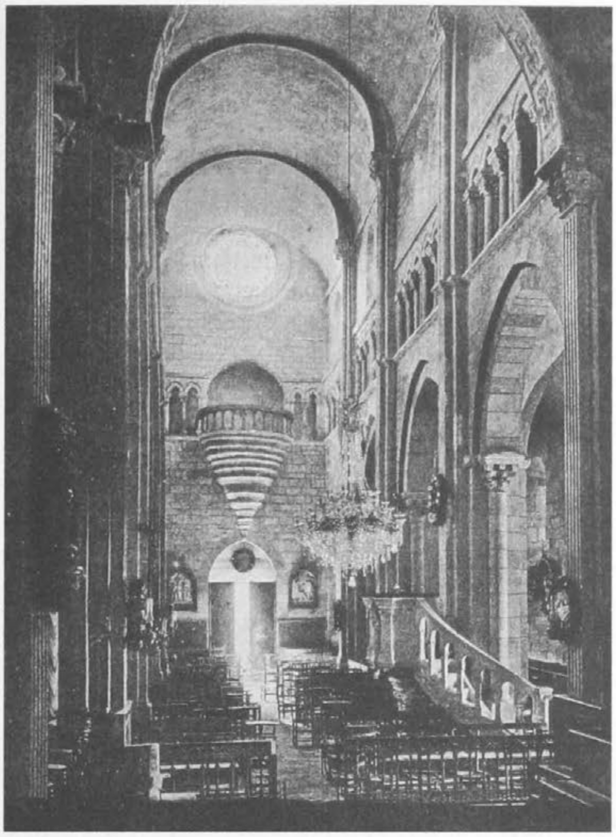


Fig. 75 Semur-en-Brionnais, nave, looking west; after K. Conant (1928).

Later History

For about one century, the Cluniac system for commemoration of the dead procured the abbey itself and Cluniac houses throughout Europe extraordinary spiritual prestige, rich donations, and a great number of conversions to monastic life. In the first half of the twelfth century, however, some important changes took place. With the construction of Cluny III the architectural conception of the upper storey of the narthex changed. From now on, it was reduced to a relatively small chapel situated within the extension of the facade wall above the main portal, while preserving its most prominent feature, the rounded back of its apse protruding into the church interior (fig. 74).[64] During the second quarter or the middle of the twelfth century, the appearance of such chapels above the portal—but without a narthex preceding the church front—in two non-monastic churches, St Andoche at Saulieu and St Hilaire at Semur-en-Brionnais (fig. 75), seems to mark for the first time a certain vulgarization, and at the same time a simplification, of the Cluniac concept of the galilee. As both churches belong to the architectural descendants of Cluny III and liturgical documentation for them does not exist, it is impossible to say if these chapels responded to a liturgical practice inspired by the Cluniac model or were conceived as part of the intended citation of Cluny III. Significantly, the patrons of both constructions were linked to Cluny.[65]

At the same time, financial difficulties caused by the enormous costs for the innumerable anniversaries forced the abbot of Cluny, Peter the Venerable, to revise somewhat the Cluniac services for the dead, and notably to restrict the number of poor to be fed at Cluny on a single day to fifty persons, no matter how many dead were to be commemorated.[66]

The Cistercians, who attentively observed the Cluniac difficulties, chose a quite different solution to this problem. They strictly reduced the number of entries to their necrologies by limiting them to abbots alone and replaced the thirty individual Masses to which each deceased Cluniac was entitled by a general duty for all priests to say a certain number of Masses for the dead every year.[67] These took place at the altar, which was assigned to each Cistercian priest monk at the east end of the church.[68] The architectural consequences of this prescription are manifest. Towards the end of the twelfth century, the name galilee began spreading outside Cluniac circles, being used more and more indistinctly for any kind of narthex or porch,[69] but there is not a single Cistercian monastery with a double-storeyed *avant-nef* of the Cluniac type, and the porches in front of the west facades of Cistercian churches do not have an upper level or a chapel above the portal.

In Burgundy, however, the architectural tradition of the double-storeyed western porch was maintained until the mid-thirteenth century. Detached from their origin in Cluniac monasticism, such porches were planned and sometimes realized in a number of collegiate or parish churches, as for example in Notre Dame at St Père-sous-Vézelay, where the upper storey was left unfinished,[70] and Notre Dame at Cluny, where the porch was destroyed during the French Revolution,[71] but there is no testimony about the function of the upper storey. The only surviving two-storeyed porch is that of Notre Dame at Dijon, built *c.* 1230/40.[72] Its external appearance recalls the features of the older Cluniac narthex since the ground floor opens only on the west side in three arcades and the upper storey, richly decorated by slender

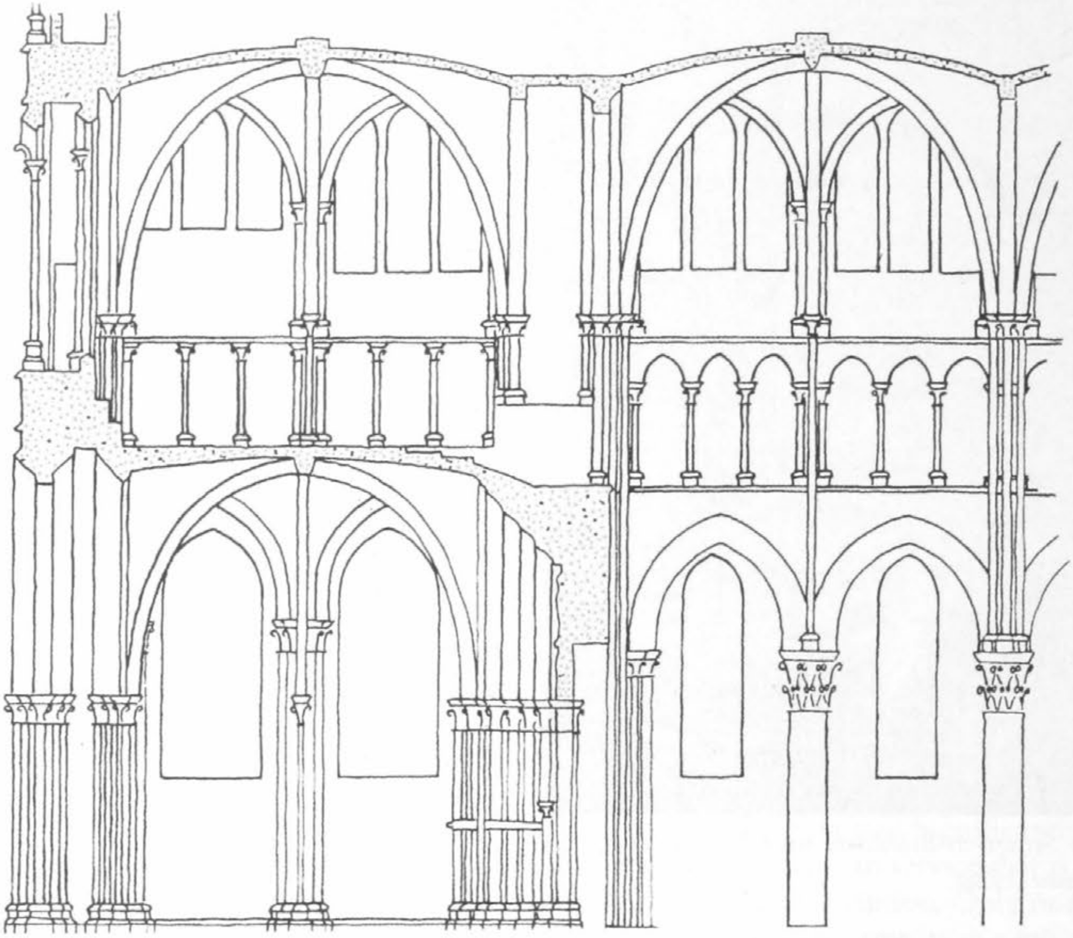


Fig. 76. Dijon, Notre Dame, porch and nave, longitudinal section, after Branner.

blind arcades, is almost entirely closed to the exterior (see fig. 63). But in the interior, the upper storey is part of the volume of the nave, forming a deep western tribune completely open to the church and united with it under a common vault. Moreover, a longitudinal section of the porch reveals that the floor of this tribune is not disposed horizontally but descends in several steps towards the tribune's eastern end (fig. 76). If this disposition is original and not a later alteration,[73] it could never have housed an altar since any altar requires an elevation above floor level of at least one step; hence, the Dijon tribune cannot have served as a chapel with an altar at its eastern end as did the Cluniac galilee chapels, but seems to be a project given up in the course of construction. Instead of being a genuine double-storeyed narthex with a chapel on its upper level, the porch of Notre Dame at Dijon seems to reflect the loss of the original liturgical function that the double-storeyed narthex and porch underwent by the middle of the thirteenth century.

NOTES

I am very much indebted to Carolyn Malone who kindly undertook the linguistic correction of this article.

1. See Kristina Krüger, 'Doppelgeschossige Westbauten des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts in Burgund. Untersuchungen zur Funktion einer Bauform' (doctoral thesis, Freie Universität Berlin, 1998), which will be published as *Die romanischen Westbauten in Burgund und Cluny* (Berlin, forthcoming); for a summary of the results see Kristina Krüger, 'Die *galilaea* genannten Westbauten und Cluny. Zur Funktion der doppelgeschossigen Vorkirchen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts', *Revue Mabillon*, n.s., 11 (2000), 280–84; see also Krüger, 'Tournus et la fonction des galilées en Bourgogne', in *Avant-nefs et espaces d'accueil dans l'église entre le IV^{e} et le XII^{e} siècle*, ed. by Christian Sapin, Actes du colloque international at Auxerre, 1999 (Auxerre, 2002), pp. 400–409.

Typological aspects, in particular, have been dealt with by Christian Sapin, 'L'abbatiale de Cluny II sous saint Hugues', in *Le gouvernement d'Hugues de Semur à Cluny*, Actes du Colloque scientifique international, Cluny, September 1988 (Cluny, 1990), pp. 435–60, and by Jacques Henriet, 'Saint-Philibert de Tournus (II). L'oeuvre du second Maître: la galilée et la nef', *Bulletin monumental*, 150 (1992), 101–64. One of the most complete accounts of the question so far has been given by Viollet-le-Duc in his article 'porche' in idem, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI^{e} au XVI^{e} siècle*, vol. VII (Paris, 1869), pp. 261–68.

2. Josef Bernhard Nordhoff created the expression *Westwerk*, derived from the terminology of military architecture, in order to characterize the appearance of the west end of Minden cathedral (see Nordhoff, *Der Holz- und Steinbau Westfalens in seiner culturgeschichtlichen und systematischen Entwicklung* (Münster, 1873), p. 372). Wilhelm Effmann introduced Nordhoff's expression as an architectural term in his study *Die karolingisch-ottonischen Bauten zu Werden* (Strasbourg, 1899). On the history of this term see Dagmar von Schönfeld de Reyes, *Westwerkprobleme. Zur Bedeutung der Westwerke in der kunsthistorischen Forschung* (Weimar, 1999), pp. 10–23.

3. See von Schönfeld de Reyes, *Westwerkprobleme*, esp. pp. 9 and 51–73.

4. The complex 'theory' of the 'westwork' which is at the basis of this idea was developed by Alois Fuchs who continued the work of Effmann (*Die karolingischen Westwerke und andere Fragen der karolingischen Baukunst* (Paderborn, 1929), and idem, 'Entstehung und Zweckbestimmung der Westwerke', *Westfälische Zeitschrift*, 100 (1950), 227–78). For a discussion of this idea and its late-Wilhelminian background see von Schönfeld de Reyes, *Westwerkprobleme*, pp. 10–22 and 55–60.

5. See Carol Heitz, *Recherches sur les rapports entre architecture et liturgie à l'époque carolingienne* (Paris, 1963). His conclusions have been generally accepted in French literature.

6. von Schönfeld de Reyes, *Westwerkprobleme*, pp. 110–13.

7. See the examples cited by von Schönfeld de Reyes, *Westwerkprobleme*, pp. 74–75.

8. The west end is alternatively regarded as a place for penitents, pilgrims, or processions. More specifically, the ground floor or porch is given to jurisdictional or communal meetings, while the upper storey or tribune is disputed between the cult of Saint Michael, singers, and noble lay patrons. For a discussion of these hypotheses see Krüger, *Die romanischen Westbauten*, pp. 206–16, and Peter Cornelius Claussen, *Chartres-Studien. Zu Vorgeschichte, Funktion und Skulptur der Vorhallen* (Wiesbaden, 1975), pp. 6–17.

9. See Eliane Vergnolle, *L'art roman en France. Architecture – sculpture – peinture* (Paris, 1994), pp. 56–60.

10. See Jacques Henriet, 'Saint-Philibert de Tournus, I: Histoire. Critique d'authenticité. Étude archéologique du chevet (1009–1019)', *Bulletin monumental*, 148 (1990), 229–316, and idem, 'Saint-Philibert de Tournus (II)'; some conclusions slightly modified in idem, 'Saint-Philibert de Tournus. Les campagnes de construction du XI^{e} siècle', in *Saint-Philibert de Tournus. Histoire. Archéologie. Art*, Actes du colloque du Centre International d'Etudes Romanes, Tournus 1994 (Tournus, 1995), pp. 177–203. Benjamin Saint-Jean-Vitus, 'Les bâtiments claustraux de Saint-Philibert au moyen âge', in *Saint-Philibert de Tournus*, pp. 231–48. See also Christian Sapin, 'Saint-Philibert et les débuts de l'architecture romane en Bourgogne', in *Saint-Philibert de Tournus*, pp. 215–30.

11. On this point see Henriet, 'Saint-Philibert de Tournus (II)', pp. 118–19.

12. See Christian Sapin, 'Tournus, chapelle Saint-Michel', *Bulletin monumental*, 146 (1988), 235–37, and idem, 'L'ouverture est de la chapelle Saint-Michel de Tournus', *Bulletin de la Société des Amis des Arts et des Sciences de Tournus*, 86 (1987), 149–52. The console rising to a height of 1.50 m and comprising a diameter of more than one metre has preserved its original coloured plaster; see Marie-Gabrielle Caffin, 'Images et polychromie médiévales à Saint-Philibert de Tournus', in *Saint-Philibert de Tournus*, pp. 645–64 (p. 647).

13. Two-storeyed narthexes of this period are preserved or have been excavated at St Germain at Auxerre, Paray-le-Monial, Charlieu, Perrecy-les-Forges, and Vézelay, as well as at Châtelmontagne in Forez and Romainmôtier and Payerne in western Switzerland. The reconstruction of the narthex of Cluny II constitutes an unsolved problem. On the narthex of Cluny III see below.

14. This is also the case at Charlieu, where, exceptionally, the staircase is located in the porch.

15. At Paray-le-Monial, the twelfth-century rebuilding of the church changed the original disposition. In St Germain at Auxerre, the location of the stairs is not known to us. At Châtelmontagne we do not know the cloister's location; at Vézelay its exact extension is unknown. Cluny III is a case apart; its dimensions and the location of this new church north of the older Cluny II established a considerable distance between the cloister and the west end of the church (see fig. 70).

16. See esp. Geza Entz, 'Westemporen in der ungarischen Romanik', *Acta Historiae Artium*, 6 (1959), 1–19, and Jean Hubert, 'Les galilées des églises monastiques de Déols et de Vouillon', in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, ed. by P. Gallais and Y. J. Riou (Poitiers, 1966), II, 843–49. Their hypothesis of a lay patron's tribune, however, is not backed by the results of research on Romanesque churches in Central Europe. See Andrzej Tomaszewski, *Romanskie koscioly z emporami zachodnimi na obszarze Polski, Czech i Wegier* (Wroclaw, 1974); this article led Entz to a revision of his former position (Geza Entz, 'Zur Frage der Westemporen in der mittelalterlichen Kirchenarchitektur Ungarns', in *Architektur*

des Mittelalters, ed. by F. Möbius and E. Schubert (Weimar, 1984), pp. 240–45).

17. At Romainmôtier, the apse was restored without any opening to the church in the early twentieth century. The recent restoration has shown that this form corresponds to the original state. Indeed, a blocked window of the church facade against which the narthex has been built was found to have been re-opened in order to provide for acoustic communication with the church interior (the window is situated above the apse). This would not have made sense if there were already another opening in the back of the apse.

At Tournus, the apse itself is not preserved, but the analogy with Romainmôtier pleads for a reconstruction without an opening, all the more since the lateral openings of the upper storey to the nave aisles do not permit a view of the choir or the eastern bays of the central nave.

At Paray-le-Monial, the central opening of the narthex to the church does not represent the original disposition, but was established only after the twelfth-century reconstruction of the church. However, this opening was placed so high above the floor of the chapel that it does not allow a view of the church interior.

A change was brought about by the example of Cluny III in the first half of the twelfth century, however, where openings in the apse are documented (see below and note 64). Towards the middle of the century, the apse of Vézelay was pierced by large openings and, at Charlieu, the apse seems to have been suppressed altogether and replaced by a large central opening. As the Charlieu narthex was heavily restored in the nineteenth century, doubts about the original solution persist.

18. Only in the case of Tournus some passages from a sixteenth-century processional and a *Livre des Usages* of unknown date have been transmitted to us by the seventeenth-century historian Pierre-François Chifflet; see Eric Palazzo, 'La liturgie autour de Tournus au Moyen Age', in *Saint-Philibert de Tournus*, pp. 87–104.

19. The *Liber tramitis aeui Odilonis abbatis*, ed. by Peter Dinter, Corpus consuetudinorum monasticarum, 10 (Siegburg, 1980), dates from the first half of the eleventh century. The 'Antiquiores consuetudines Cluniacensis monasterii collectore S. Udalrico monacho benedictino', in *Spicilegium sive Collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis delituerant*, ed. by Luc d'Achery, vol. IV (Paris, 1661) (here cited after the reimpression in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina* [hereafter PL], ed. by J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1844–65), vol. 149), and the 'Ordo Cluniacensis per Bernardum saeculi XI. scriptorem', in *Vetus disciplina monastica, seu collectio auctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti maximam partem ineditorum*, ed. by Marquard Herrgott (Paris, 1726), date from the years 1078–85; see Joachim Wollasch, 'Zur Verschriftlichung der klösterlichen Lebensgewohnheiten unter Abt Hugo von Cluny', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 27 (1993), 317–49, and Burkhardt Tutsch, *Studien zur Rezeptionsgeschichte der Consuetudines Ulrichs von Cluny*, Vita Regularis, 6 (Münster, 1998), pp. 4–5.

20. The narthex of Cluny III was built in several phases during the twelfth century and terminated only in 1220/28; see Kenneth John Conant, *Cluny. Les églises et la maison du chef d'ordre* (Mâcon, 1968), pp. 112–15, and Gilles Rollier, 'Les fouilles archéologiques de l'avant-nef', *Cahiers du Musée d'art et d'archéologie de Cluny*, 1 (1996), 16–20. On the *avant-nef* of Cluny II, destroyed in the seventeenth century, see below.

21. See *Liber tramitis*, p. 69 (Palm Sunday) and pp. 104–05 (Rogation days); 'Antiquiores consuetudines', PL, 149:698 (Palm Sunday) and 670 (Rogation days); 'Ordo Cluniacensis', pp. 216–17 (*De processionibus pro tribulatione*) and p. 218 (*De processionibus ad recipiendas personas*).

22. This was the case on Christmas, Easter Sunday, Pentecost, St Peter and St Paul, and the feasts of the Assumption of the Lord and the Virgin, as well as on Sundays in general; see *Liber tramitis*, pp. 23, 90, 102, 108–09, 115–16, 120; 'Antiquiores consuetudines', PL, 149:653–54 and 656; 'Ordo Cluniacensis', pp. 235, 307, 319, 330, 332, and 346.

23. On the converts (*conversi*) see *Liber tramitis*, pp. 41, 68, 89–90, 150–51; 'Antiquiores consuetudines', PL, 149:720; 'Ordo Cluniacensis', p. 273. On the children (*pueri*) see *Liber tramitis*, p. 227 and passim; 'Antiquiores consuetudines', PL, 149:741–47; 'Ordo Cluniacensis', pp. 200–210. On children in Cluny see also the Ph.D. thesis of Isabelle Cochelin, 'Enfants, jeunes et vieux au monastère. La perception du cycle de vie dans les sources clunisiennes (906–1156)' (Université de Montréal, 1996) (reviewed in *Memini. Travaux et et documents* (Société des Etudes médiévales du Québec), 1 (1997), 202–05).

24. For a catalogue of the monuments with indication of their ecclesiastical status see von Schönfeld de Reyes, *Westwerkprobleme*, pp. 145–213.

25. See below, note 30.

26. For a detailed discussion of the state of preservation and the reconstruction of each monument see von Schönfeld de Reyes, *Westwerkprobleme*, pp. 145–213. On Corvey see, in the most recent instance, Uwe Lobbedey, 'Corvey, ehemalige Klosterkirche, Westwerk', in *799 Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Große und Papst Leo III in Paderborn*, ed. by Christoph Stiegemann and Matthias Wemhoff, catalogue of the exhibition at Paderborn, 1999 (Mainz, 1999), II, 567–70.

27. These arcades, destroyed after the Carolingian nave and east end had been replaced by the existing Baroque church in 1667, are a modern reconstruction dating from the 1960s, but the original imposts have been preserved in the lateral wall piers; see Felix Kreusch, *Beobachtungen an der Westanlage der Klosterkirche zu Corvey*, Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher, 9 (Köln, 1963), p. 12, and von Schönfeld de Reyes, *Westwerkprobleme*, p. 153.

28. See Honoré Bernard, 'Saint-Riquier: une restitution nouvelle de la basilique d'Angilbert', *Revue du Nord*, 71 (1989), 307–61, as well as von Schönfeld de Reyes, *Westwerkprobleme*, pp. 81 and 205.

29. See *Institutio sancti Angilberti abbatis de diversitate officiorum*, ed. by K. Hallinger, Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum, 1 (Siegburg, 1963), pp. 283–303.

30. The westwork of Minden cathedral was dedicated in 952 to St Gorgonius, St Laurence, and St Alexander. To this day, the cathedral has preserved not only a part of this structure, incorporated into its mid-twelfth-century west end, but also its double dedication to St Peter and St Gorgonius, see Gabriele Isenberg, 'Bemerkungen zur Baugeschichte des Mindener Doms', *Westfalen*, 70 (1992), 92–11, and von Schönfeld de Reyes, *Westwerkprobleme*, pp. 90 and 185–87.

From tenth-century sources the westwork of St Ludger at Werden is known as *turris sanctae Mariae*, while, in the fourteenth century, only an altar of St Peter is documented. Since Hugo Borger (see 'Zur Baugeschichte des Werdener Westwerks', in *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Rheinlandes. Die Kirchen zu Essen-Werden*, ed. by Walther Zimmermann, Beiheft, 7 (Essen, 1959), pp. 71–159) demonstrated that the west end originally was divided into two or more levels by wooden floors, it has become possible to locate the altar of

St Mary—the westwork's main altar—on the upper level, which disappeared in the thirteenth-century reconstruction of the nave, while that of St Peter continued to exist on the ground floor.

The ninth-century cathedral of Halberstadt is a case apart. Its liturgical centre at the west end of the church was located above a tomb over and around which a huge podium was erected in order to provide for elevation above ground level; see Gerhard Leopold and Ernst Schubert, *Der Dom zu Halberstadt bis zum gotischen Neubau* (Berlin, 1984), pp. 40–46 and plan of phase Ic. By barring axial access to the cathedral from the west, the podium accentuates the bipolarity of the church. The altar on the podium was dedicated to St Sixtus at least since 992, but probably from the beginning in 859.

31. The altar of St John the Baptist is cited for the first time in 1481. In 1608, the re-consecration of the westwork after restoration is described as follows: '[...] chorus s(ancti) Joannis [...] fuit restauratus et dilatatus tribus altaribus erectis, consecratis et, uti sequitur, dedicatis. Medium altare et summum ibidem s(ancti)s Johanni Baptistae et Evangelistae dedicatum [...]' ('[...] the choir of St John [...] was restored and enlarged by three altars that were erected, consecrated and dedicated as follows. The altar in the middle, which is the high altar there, was dedicated to St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist [...]'); cf. Karl Heinrich Krüger, 'Die Corveyer Patrone und ihre Altäre nach den Schriftzeugnissen', *Westfalen*, 55 (1977), 309–45 (p. 335); the secondary altars were dedicated to St Peter and St Paul on the north side, and to St Thomas on the south side. See also the inventory of 1641 (Krüger, 'Die Corveyer Patrone', p. 342): 'Auff S[an]ct[i] Joannis chor in summo altari [...] In parietibus chori imagines cruxifixi et Mariae dolorosae [...] In medio chori ein messingslampe [...]' ('In the choir of St John, on the high altar, [...] On the choir walls are images of the Cross and the *mater dolorosa* [...] In the middle of the choir there is a brass lamp [...]').

32. The same interpretation had been defended in the early twentieth century by Georg Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, vol. I (Berlin/Leipzig, 1919), p. 72, who opposed Effmann's definition of the westwork. In 1933, Hans Reinhard and Etienne Fels ('Etude sur les églises-porches carolingiennes et leur survivance dans l'art roman', *Bulletin monumental*, 92 (1933), 331–65) and, in 1954, Ernst Gall ('Zur Frage der "Westwerke" ', *Jahrbuch des Romisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz*, 1 (1954), 245–52) came to the same conclusion, but their position always remained marginal for scholars concerned with the westwork.

33. The altars and chapels used for daily liturgy or visited on special occasions are regularly cited in the customs as, for example, the altar of the holy cross or the infirmary chapel (for examples see the Corpus consuetudinorum monasticarum series, ed. by K. Hallinger and others, 14 vols (Siegburg, 1960–99)).

34. Kreusch, *Beobachtungen an der Westanlage der Klosterkirche zu Corvey*, p. 4; von Schonfeld de Reyes, *Westwerkprobleme*, pp. 81 and 154–55.

35. See note 19 above; on the date of the *Liber tramitis* see Joachim Wollasch, 'Zur Datierung des "Liber tramitis" aus Farfa anhand von Personen und Personengruppen', in *Person und Gemeinschaft im Mittelalter. Karl Schmid zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by G. Althoff, D. Geuenich, O. G. Oexle, and J. Wollasch (Sigmaringen, 1988), pp. 237–55.

36. On the date of Tournus see above. Since the study of Hans Rudolf Sennhauser, *Romainmôtier und Payerne. Studien zur Cluniazenserarchitektur des 11. Jahrhunderts in der Westschweiz* (Basel, 1970), the *avant-nef* of Romainmôtier has been dated c. 1100. It was added to the church only after the church's completion, but it must already have been planned when the cloister was under construction. In fact, the north range of the cloister continues to the west beyond the facade of the church in order to establish direct access to the *avant-nef* (fig. 69). Since the cloister was already mentioned in the preface of the *Vita beati Maioli* written by Abbot Odilo of Cluny in c. 1033 (PL, 142:943), the construction of the *avant-nef* probably dates to the second quarter or middle of the eleventh century. On the recent excavations at Romainmôtier, the chronology of construction, and the location of the Romanesque cloister see Peter Eggenberger, Philippe Jaton, and Jachen Sarott, 'Romainmôtier. Les fouilles archéologiques dans le cloître en 1988. – Synthèse des résultats de fouilles dans les anciens monastères, de 1971 à 1988', *Revue historique vaudoise*, 97 (1989), 158–63, and idem, 'Romainmôtier. Couvent clunisien – fouilles dans l'angle sud-est du cloître', *Revue historique vaudoise*, 106 (1998), 102–12.

37. See Conant, *Cluny*, pl. XXVII (idem, 'Mediaeval Academy Excavations at Cluny VIII', *Speculum*, 29 (1954), 1–43, pls 6–7), and Sapin, 'L'abbatiale de Cluny II', p. 443.

38. On Auxerre see Christian Sapin, 'L'abbatiale: l'avant-nef', in *Archéologie et architecture d'un site monastique: 10 ans de recherche à l'abbaye Saint-Germain d'Auxerre*, ed. by Sapin (Auxerre, 2000), pp. 71–126.

At Charlieu and Payerne, excavations have shown that narthexes also existed at the west end of the churches previous to the Romanesque structures. The narthex of Payerne, added in a second phase to the tenth-century church, is reconstructed as a two-storey construction because of the thickness of its walls; see Hans Rudolf Sennhauser, *Die Abteikirche von Payerne*, Schweizerische Kunstführer (Bern, 1991), and idem, 'Quelques remarques concernant les premières églises de Romainmôtier et de Payerne', in *Saint-Philibert de Tournus*, pp. 285–96.

At Charlieu, archaeological remains of the first narthex, which was situated at the same place as the twelfth-century porch, are reduced to a wall or foundation running from east to west. However, its existence can be concluded from the fact that the facade of the older church lies to the east of the west range of the cloister, thus delimiting a rectangular space in the angle between them which must have been occupied by a building; see Elisabeth Read Sunderland, *Charlieu à l'époque médiévale* (Lyon, 1971), p. 33, and Krüger, *Die romanischen Westbauten*, p. 132.

39. On the reform of Auxerre see 'Gesta abbatum Autissiodorensium', *Nova Bibliotheca manuscriptorum librorum*, ed. by Labbe, vol. I (Paris, 1657), p. 571.

The names of the two abbots of Tournus who administered the abbey during the construction of the new church, Bernier (1007/8–28) and Ardain (1028–56), are found in all Cluniac necrologies, with the exception of the one from Moissac (Bernier is also missing in the one from Montierneuf). Their entries are among the earliest ones that were recorded in the rubric of the *monachi Cluniacenses* (see *Synopse der cluniazensischen Nekrologien*, ed. by Joachim Wollasch, Franz Neiske, and others, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, 39 (Munich, 1982), vol. II: 6 March: *Bernerius abbas*; 11 February: *Ardagnus abbas*). They do not appear isolated but belong each to a group of names always recorded together, which proves that they figured among the *monachi* from the beginning and were not transferred to this rubric by a later copyist as were other entries concerning bishops or abbots. Therefore, Bernier and Ardain were either Cluniac monks or abbots so closely linked to Cluny during their lifetime that they were commemorated after their death as if they had been Cluniacs.

40. Galilees are documented for the Cluniac priories of Souvigny (see Éliane Vergnolle, 'L'église de Souvigny', in *Congrès archéologique de France: Bourbonnais* (Paris, 1988), pp. 399–431) and Carrión de los Condes (Spain), and for the abbeys of Marmoutier (reformed by Abbot Mayeul of Cluny in 982, Marmoutier's relations with the abbots of Cluny were very close until the second half of the twelfth century; see Edmond Martène, 'Histoire de l'abbaye de Marmoutier', part 1, ed. by C. Chevalier, *Mémoires de la Société archéologique de Touraine*, 24 (1874), and Armin Kohnle, *Abt Hugo von Cluny (1049–1109)*, Beihefte der Francia, 32 (Sigmaringen, 1993), pp. 89 and 299), of Vendôme (founded with monks from Marmoutier; see Penelope D. Johnson, *Prayer, Patronage, and Power: The Abbey of la Trinité, Vendôme, 1032–1187* (New York, 1981), pp. 37–38), of Sahagún (Spain; reformed *c.* 1080), and of Afflighem (Belgium; on the introduction of the Cluniac customs see *Consuetudines Affligenienses (saeculi XIII)*, ed. by Robert J. Sullivan, in *Consuetudines Benedictinae variae (saec. XI–saec. XIV)*, Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum, 6 (Siegburg, 1975), pp. 109–11). On the Spanish galilees see José Luis Senra, 'Aproximación a los espacios liturgico-funerarios en Castilla y León: porticos y galileas', *Gesta*, 36 (1997), 122–44. An exception to this rule is made by two Catalan collegiate churches, St Peter at Ager and St Vincent at Cardona, which are not known to have had close relations with Cluny. Their eleventh-century porches are called *galilaea* in documents dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth century only, so that we cannot be sure whether they were always named galilees. As a matter of fact, from the middle of the twelfth century onwards the term *galilaea* begins to be used in a larger sense, including one-storey constructions, in circles having no direct relations with Cluny (see below).

41. See Krüger, *Die romanischen Westbauten*, pp. 320–37.

42. Jerome, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*, ed. by P. de Lagarde, Corpus Christianorum, series latina, 72 (Turnhout, 1959), pp. 57–161 (pp. 140, 150, and 154).

43. Augustine, *De consensu Evangelistarum libri quattuor*, lib. III, cap. XXV (PL, 34:1211–16).

44. Rupert of Deutz, *Liber de divinis officiis*, ed. by Hrabanus Haacke, Corpus Christianorum, continuatio medievalis, 7 (Turnhout, 1967), pp. 250–51.

45. Gregory the Great, *XL homiliarum in Evangelia: Homilia XXI* (PL, 76:1169–73).

46. See Augustine, *De consensu Evangelistarum* (PL, 34:1216); Gregory the Great, *XL homiliarum in Evangelia* (PL, 76:1173); *Bedae Venerabilis Homeliarum Evangelii libri II*, ed. by D. Hurst, Corpus Christianorum, series latina, 122 (Turnhout, 1995), p. 234; Raban Maur, *De universo libri XXII, lib. XII* (PL, 111:341).

47. See Edmond Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, vol. IV (Anvers, 1738), cols 131–40, and J.-C. Didier, 'Recherches sur l'histoire d'un rite', *Mélanges de science religieuse*, 8 (1951), 57–64.

48. Rupert of Deutz, *Liber de divinis officiis*, pp. 250–55.

49. Rupert of Deutz, *Liber de divinis officiis*, p. 158.

50. See John van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley, 1983), pp. 59–60. In 1107, two monks of the monasteries of St Jacques and St Laurent at Liège had been sent to St Trond in order to help with the introduction of the Cluniac customs there; cf. *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium*, ed. by G. H. Pertz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, 10 (Hannover, 1852), p. 278.

51. On Heiric of Auxerre (841–*c.* 876) see *Intellectuels et artistes dans l'Europe carolingienne aux IX^{e}–XI^{e} siècles*, exhibition catalogue (Auxerre, 1990), pp. 27–32 (Colette Jeudy) and pp. 38–40 (Ricardo Quadri). On the masters of the Carolingian school of Auxerre and their influence on Abbot Odilo of Cluny see Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Agni immaculati: Recherches sur les sources hagiographiques relatives à saint Maieul de Cluny (954–994)* (Paris, 1988).

52. On the refom of St Germain at Auxerre, see *Intellectuels et artistes,* pp. 277–78 (Dominique Iogna-Prat).

53. The homiliary of Heiric is cited in this catalogue as *volumen in quo continetur Erricus in evangelia totius anni*; see Léopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, vol. II (Paris, 1874), p. 475, and Ricardo Quadri, 'Introduzione', in *Heirici Autissiodorensis Homiliae per circulum anni*, ed. by Ricardo Quadri, Corpus Christianorum, continuatio medievalis, 116 (Turnhout, 1994), p. xl. On the date of the catalogue see Veronika von Büren, 'Le grand catalogue de la bibliothèque de Cluny', in *Le gouvernement*, pp. 245–63.

54. 'Si ergo supernae claritati [...] et gaudii celebritatibus admisceri cupimus, necesse est ut de peccato ad iustitiam, de saeculo ad Deum, de vitiis ad virtutes, de infimis ad caelestia mente salubriter transeamus, quatinus conditorem nostrum in *galilaea*, hoc est in revelatione caelestis patriae, facie ad faciem libero contuitu videre mereamur, quod ipse praestare dignetur qui vivit et regnat in saecula saeculorum': *Heirici Autissiodorensis Homiliae*, p. 15.

55. While not using the term *galilaea* itself, Odilo twice employs the expression *videre facie ad faciem* (I Cor. 13. 12) which Heiric had been the first to cite in order to illustrate the meaning of *galilaea*; see Odilo, *Sermo VII de resurrectione Domini* (PL, 142:1011).

56. On this subject see first of all the different studies of Joachim Wollasch (esp. 'Les moines et la mémoire des morts', in *Religion et culture autour de l'an Mil*, ed. by D. Iogna-Prat and J.-Ch. Picard, Actes du colloque Hugues Capet 987–1987: La France de l'an Mil, Auxerre-Metz, 1987 (Paris, 1990), pp. 47–54, and 'Hugues Ier abbé de Cluny et la mémoire des morts', in *Le gouvernement*, pp. 75–92; a summary of his research is *Cluny – Licht der Welt* (Zürich, 1996)). See also Dietrich Poeck, 'Laienbegräbnisse in Cluny', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 15 (1981), 68–179, and Dominique Iogna-Prat, 'Les morts dans la comptabilité céleste des clunisiens de l'an Mil', in *Religion et culture*, ed. by Iogna-Prat and Picard, pp. 55–69.

57. See *Liber tramitis*, pp. 276–77 and 282–83; 'Antiquiores consuetudines', PL, 149:775; 'Ordo Cluniacensis', pp. 198–99.

58. In this context, I can only allude to the complex question of medieval burial in churches. The interdiction of burial in the church by early and high medieval canon law may have been observed more strictly than generally supposed between the late eighth century and the end of the twelfth century. Archaeological investigation of church interiors in France during the last decades seems to confirm this (excavations at St Denis, Landevennec, Ganagobie, Val-des-Nymphes, and other places since the 1980s; see the respective articles published in *Archéologie médiévale*), but the problem still needs further assessment. In Spain, memory of the interdiction of burial within the church during the earlier Middle Ages was still vivid in the sixteenth century; from there, we also have explicit testimony of privileged burial in Cluniac galilees (Ambrosio de Morales, *Crónica general de España* (Madrid, 1791); see also Senra, 'Aproximación'). Privileged burial is also attested for the galilees of

Marmoutier (1100) and Tournus (1224), but there is neither documentation nor archaeological evidence for Cluny II. In the excavation of the narthex of Cluny III a number of tombs were found in front of the south portal to the church. What role the question of burial may eventually have played in the conception of the Cluniac galilee, especially for its double-storeyed disposition, is difficult to evaluate as long as archaeological data are widely missing; it remains a subject of further research.

59. See note 57 above.

60. *Liber tramitis*, p. 283.

61. See Iogna-Prat, *Agni immaculate*, pp. 331–32.

62. Rodulfus Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories*, ed. and trans. by John France (Oxford, 1989), p. 236.

63. At Tournus, remains of wall paintings above the arcade opening from the *avant-nef* to the nave and on the adjacent vault show the fragment of a Christ in Majesty (*c.* 1120, see Caffin, 'Images et polychromie', pp. 647–48). Tympanum reliefs representing Christ in Majesty are to be found at Charlieu and Perrecy-les-Forges, as was also the case at Cluny III, where the destroyed tympanum is documented by eighteenth-century drawings (see Vergnolle, *L'art roman en France*, pp. 237–40). On the great tympanum of the nave portal of Vézelay the representation of Pentecost is associated with a big central figure of Christ. This is a specifically Cluniac iconography (see Peter Diemer, 'Das Pfingstportal von Vézelay – Wege, Umwege und Abwege einer Diskussion', *Jahrbuch des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte*, 1 (1985), 77–114), particularly appropriate at this place. On the function of the Vezelay tribune chapel and the iconography of its capitals illustrating different aspects of spiritual assistance to the dying or dead, see Kristin Sazama, 'Le rôle de la tribune de Vezelay à travers son iconographie', in *Avant-nefs et espaces d'accueil*, ed. by Sapin, pp 440-49.

64. For the narthex itself that no longer was a two-storey construction and for the appearance of the apse on the reverse of the facade above the nave portal see the detailed description of the abbey church before its destruction given by Benoît Dumolin (1713–98), 'Description historique et topographique de la ville, abbaye et banlieue de Cluny' (MS, Musée d'art et d'archéologie de Cluny), partly edited by Conant, *Cluny*, pp. 28–29.

65. St Andoche at Saulieu was a collegiate church built by Etienne de Bâgé, bishop of Autun 1112–39, who retired to Cluny at the end of his life; see Giles Constable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable* (Cambridge, MA, 1967), I, 352–53. St Hilaire at Semur-en-Brionnais, the construction of which was begun around mid-century, was the parish church next to the castle of the family of Hugh of Semur, abbot of Cluny at the time of the building of Cluny III; see R. Oursel and A.-M. Oursel, *Les églises romanes de l'Autunois et du Brionnais* (Mâcon, 1956), pp. 288–98, and *Le cartulaire de Marcigny-sur-Loire (1045–1144). Essai de reconstitution d'un manuscrit disparu*, ed. by Jean Richard (Dijon, 1957), charters 269, 270, and 275.

66. *Statuta Petri Venerabilis abbatis Cluniacensis IX (1146/47)*, ed. by Giles Constable, in *Consuetudines Benedictinae variae*, pp. 19–106 (pp. 66–67).

67. See 'Consuetudines Cistercienses', in *Les monuments primitifs de la règle cistercienne*, ed. by Philippe Guignard, Analecta Divionensia (Dijon, 1878), pp. 211–17; *Les 'Ecclesiastica officia' cisterciens du XII^{e} siècle. Texte latin selon les manuscrits édités de Trente 1711, Ljubljana 31 et Dijon 114*, ed. by D. Choisselet and P. Vernet, La documentation cistercienne, 22 (Reiningue, 1989), chs 97–98; Franz Neiske, 'Zisterziensische Generalkapitel und individuelle Memoria', in *De ordine vitae. Zu Normvorstellungen, Organisationsformen und Schriftgebrauch im mittelalterlichen Ordenswesen*, ed. by Gert Melville (Münster/Hamburg, 1996), pp. 266–73.

68. See Neiske, 'Zisterziensische Generalkapitel'.

69. Such galilees are frequently mentioned in documents from the Loire valley (e.g. St Hilaire at Saint-Florent de Saumur), from England (e.g. the cathedral porches of Durham, Lincoln, and Ely) and from Catalonia (e.g. the west end of the cathedral of Barcelona).

70. See Walter Appel, *Notre Dame in Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay und die gotische Baukunst in der Diözese Auxerre* (Köln, 1993).

71. See Nadine Roiné and Anne de Thoiy, 'Découverte de fragments provenant du grand portail de Notre-Dame de Cluny', *Cahiers du Musée d'art et d'archéologie de Cluny*, 1 (1996), 42–46.

72. See Robert Branner, *Burgundian Gothic Architecture* (London, 1960), pp. 54–62 and 132–33, and, recently, Denise Borlée, 'Eglise paroissiale Notre-Dame', in *Sculpture médiévale en Bourgogne. Collection lapidaire du Musée archéologique de Dijon*, ed. by Monique Jannet-Vallat and Fabienne Joubert (Dijon, 2000), pp. 211–24, as well as Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, 'Notre-Dame de Dijon. La paroissiale du XIII^{e} siècle', in *Congrès archéologique de France. Côte-d'Or. Dijon, la Côte et le Val de Saône* (Paris, 1997), pp. 269–75 (p. 270). Unfortunately, the assumptions of this last author about the function of the porch tribune as a meeting place of the city council are pure speculation and are not backed by medieval documentation.

73. These steps are represented in a transverse section of the nave executed by the architect Le Jolivet in 1761, see Erlande-Brandenburg, 'Notre-Dame de Dijon', fig. 3. They therefore cannot be due to the heavy restoration that the porch underwent in the nineteenth century.

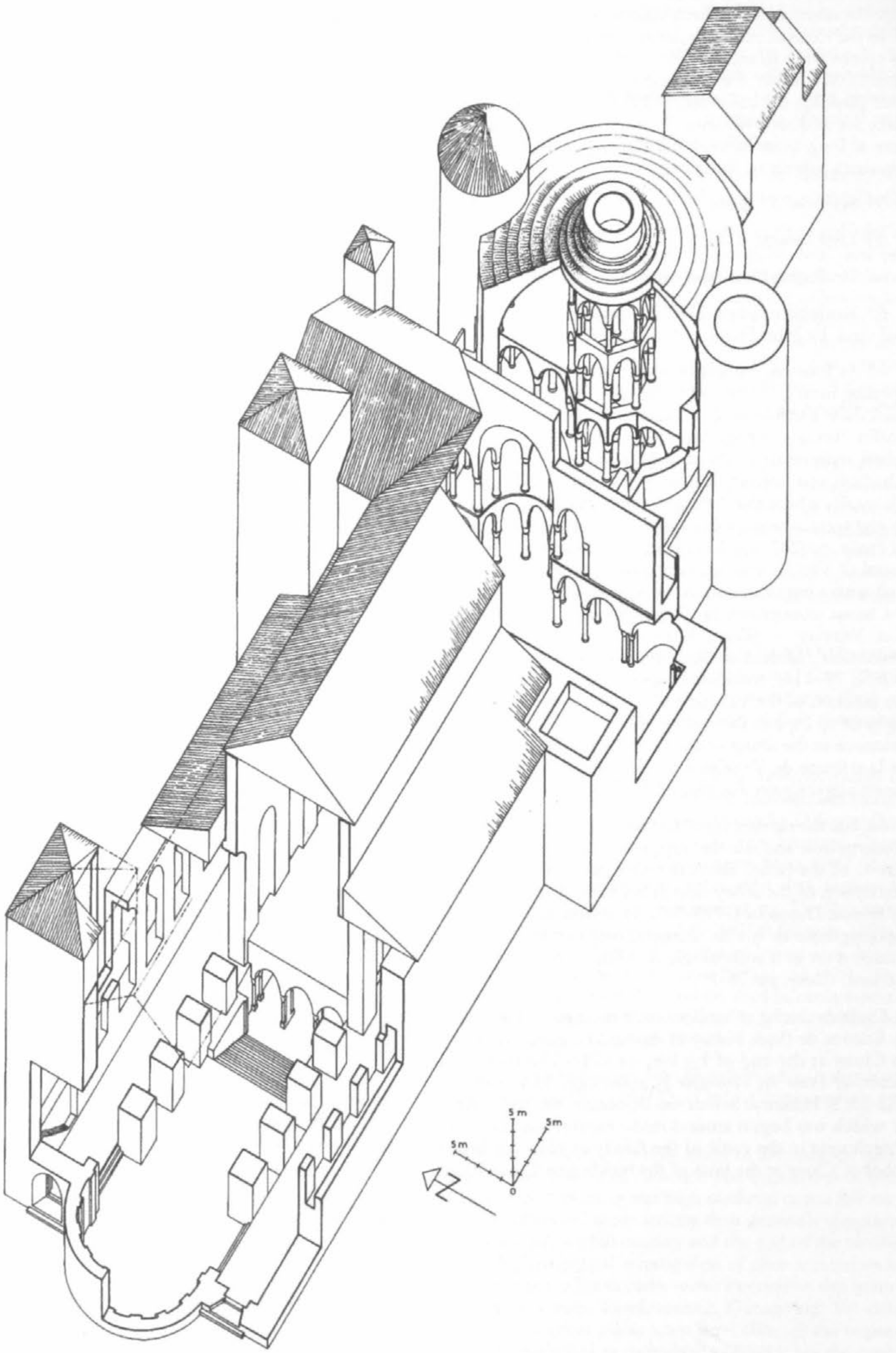


Fig. 77. Reconstruction of the eleventh-century church of St Bénigne, C. Malone, based on excavations, Dijon.

9. St Bénigne in Dijon as *Exemplum* of Rodulf Glaber's Metaphoric 'White Mantle'

CAROLYN MALONE

St Bénigne in Dijon was one of the churches referred to in Rodulf Glaber's metaphor: 'It was as if the whole world were shaking itself free, shrugging off the burden of the past, and cladding itself everywhere in a white mantle of churches.'[1] Indeed, John France has suggested that the church of St Bénigne itself may have inspired this comment on the rebuilding of churches in Italy and Gaul after the passing of the first millennium.[2] In Rodulf's *Historiarum* the metaphor introduces book 3, chapter 4, 'Reconstruction of churches throughout the whole world', a chapter usually considered to have been written after 1036.[3] According to Stephen Nichols, Rodulf's metaphor of the 'white mantle' not only refers to world renewal through ecclesiastical renovation but also suggests, by playing on Christ's biblical Transfiguration, the way in which Christ manifests himself and clothes the world at the millennium of his Incarnation.[4] Building on Nichols's exegesis, I interpret the church of St Bénigne and, particularly, its rotunda as *exemplum* of this metaphor and as a site for *theosis*.

Reconstruction and Reform

After concluding chapter 4 with a description of the reconstruction of the church of St Martin at Tours, Rodulf focuses specifically on the rebuilding of the church of St Bénigne and on its Italian abbot, William of Volpiano, in order to introduce his extended theme of reform in chapter 5, 'Monasteries splendidly rebuilt or founded by Abbot William':[5]

> Amongst those who at that time distinguished themselves in the refurbishing of the churches of God was the venerable abbot William. [...] He rebuilt this church [St Bénigne] to such a wonderful plan that it would be difficult to find another as beautiful. Nor was he any the less famous for the rigour of his rule, and in his time was an incomparable propagator of the regular order. [...] Whenever a monastery was deprived of its pastor, he was compelled by its owner, whether king, count, or bishop, to take charge of it and reform its life, for all saw that monasteries under his authority flourished above all others in wealth and sanctity. He himself firmly promised that the monks of any house should want for nothing if they observed the Rule. This was manifestly obvious in the houses put into his care.[6]

Rodulf thus defines William of Volpiano (b. 962, d. 1031) as a distinguished reformer and St Bénigne as an exceptionally beautiful church. Why did Rodulf consider this abbey to be so exceptional? What might its design have signified to him as one of the brightest manifestations of Christ in the white cloak of churches cladding the world at this millennial moment? Before beginning my interpretation of the church's relation to reform and of the rotunda's spiritual meaning, however, it will be useful to review the evidence for their construction and design.

Rodulf was familiar with this Burgundian abbey church, which William designed around 1000 and began building in 1001 or 1002, since,

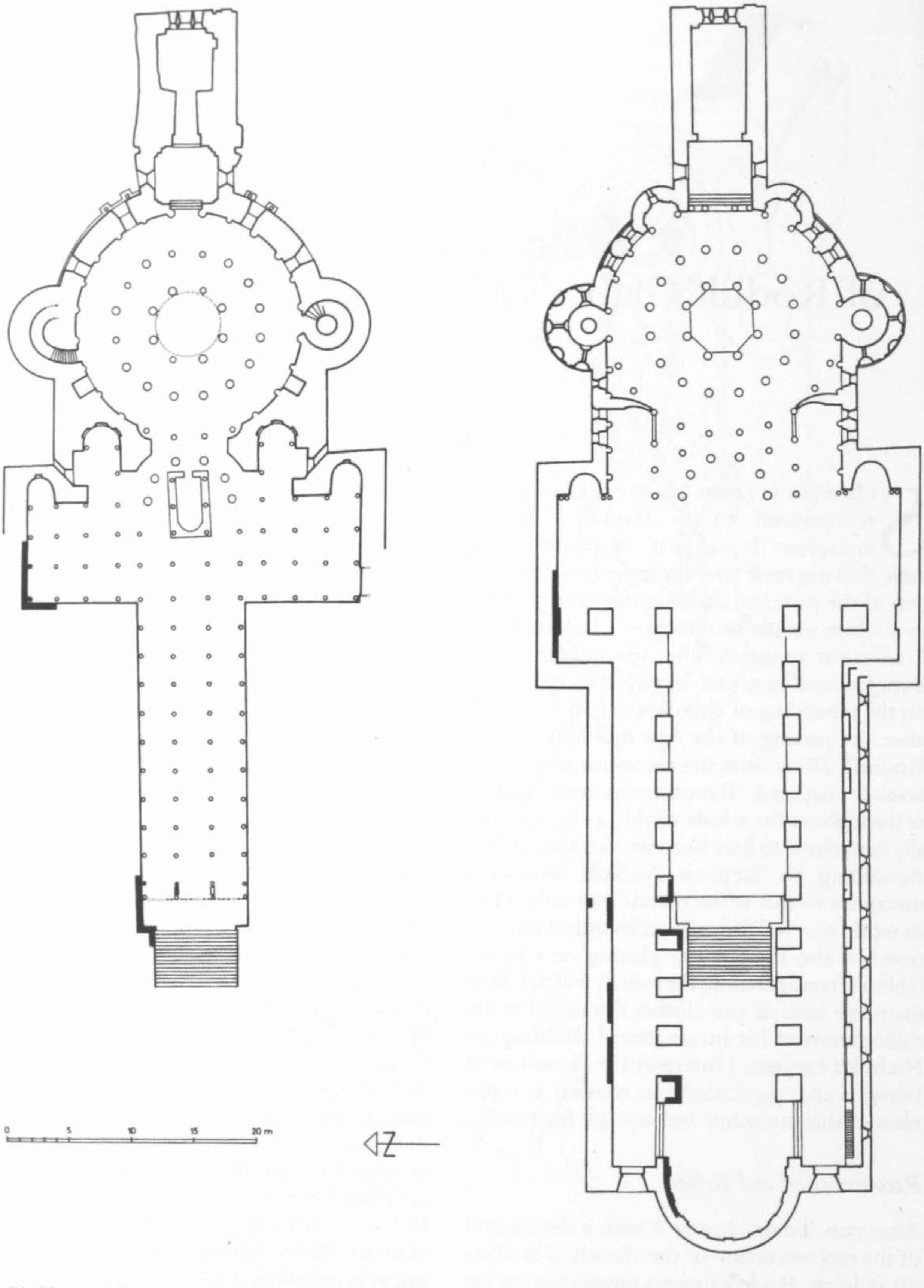


Fig. 78. Plans of the eleventh-century church of St Bénigne, a. crypt level and b. choir level, C. Malone, based on excavations, Dijon.

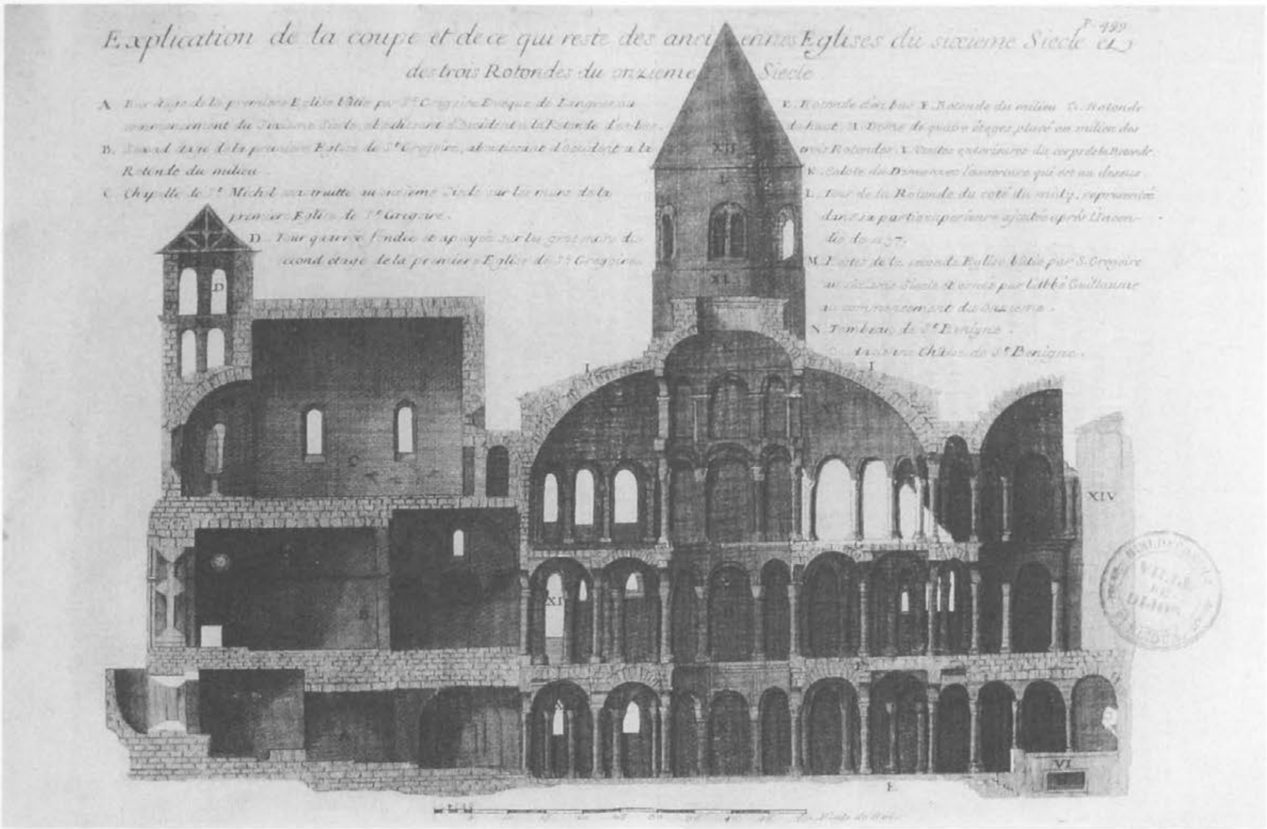

Explication de la coupe et de ce qui reste des anciennes Eglises du sixieme Siecle et des trois Rotondes du onzieme Siecle
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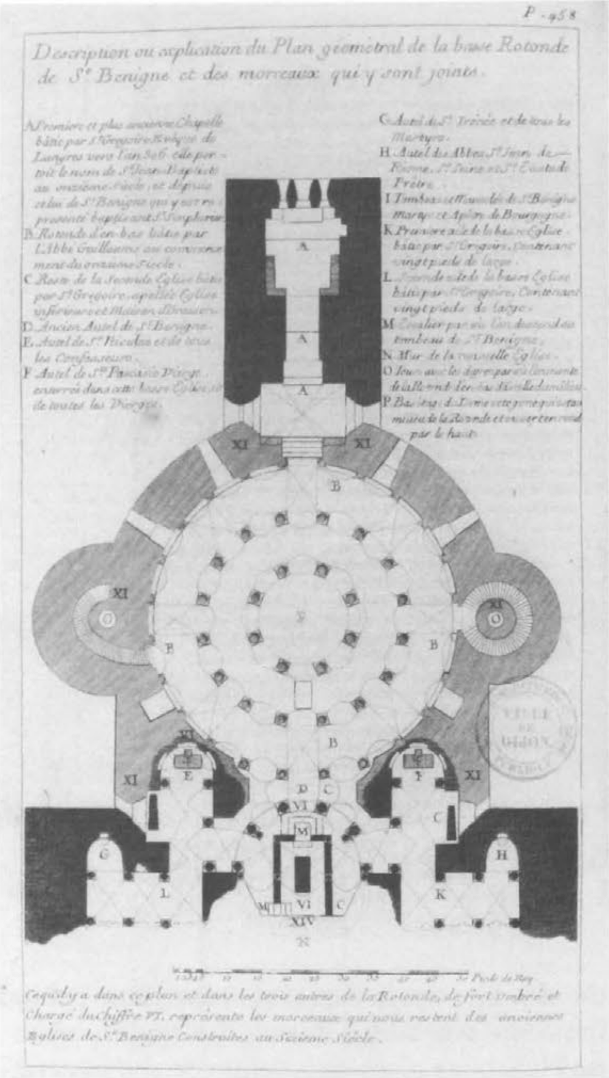
Fig 79 Longitudinal section of the rotunda of St Mary, after Dom Plancher, photo F Perrodin

as a Benedictine monk, Rodulf lived there between 1016 and 1030.[7] In fact, he began his *Historiarum* at Abbot William's request to write a history of events occurring around the millennium, writing the first two books and first two chapters of book 3 at St Bénigne before 1030.[8] Consequently, Rodulf's *Historiarum* along with his *Vita sancti Guillelmi*, written at Cluny around 1031–36 while still working on the *Historiarum*, are important sources for the circumstances of St Bénigne's construction.[9]

Unfortunately, little remains of the church, dedicated to Saint Bénigne in 1016, or of the rotunda that was joined to its chevet and dedicated to Saint Mary two years later in 1018.[10] The church collapsed in 1271 and was replaced by the present Gothic structure.[11] The rotunda, however, was preserved to the east of the Gothic church until it was destroyed in 1792.[12] The lowest of its three storeys was in turn excavated and restored in 1858.[13] All three storeys of the rotunda are known from drawings and plans made in 1739 for Dom Urbain Plancher (figs 79–82).[14] Plancher's longitudinal section shows how the levels of the rotunda were interconnected not only by stairs but also by a light well beneath a central *oculus* which was open to the sky. The tower depicted in the plane behind the *oculus* was added during the twelfth century. Plancher's plans also delineate the penetration of the rotunda into the staggered-chapel plan of the chevet. These plans correspond to a description of the rotunda in the *Chronicon S. Benigni Divionensis*, written between 1055 and 1075.[15] This chronicle, which describes the church as well as the rotunda, guided my excavations and reconstruction of the church published in 1980 (figs 77, 78).[16]

Previous to the excavations St Bénigne had been understood as a fully developed pilgrimage church seventy years ahead of its time because Kenneth Conant reconstructed it as having double side aisles, compound piers with a tribune elevation, and a barrel vault with a clerestory. He also included an extended choir that separated the hemicycle from the transept and a crossing tower.[17] Excavation, however, revealed single aisles, simple rectangular piers, and an extended crypt with a triple entrance (figs 77, 78). The monk's choir was raised above the crypt and corresponded to the middle level of the rotunda. For this split-level church I reconstruct a two-storey elevation with a timber roof, typical of large basilicas around the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Description ou explication du Plan géometral de la basse Rotonde de S.t Benigne et des morceaux qui y sont joints.

Fig. 80. Plan of the crypt level of the rotunda of St Mary, after Dom Plancher, photo F. Perrodin.

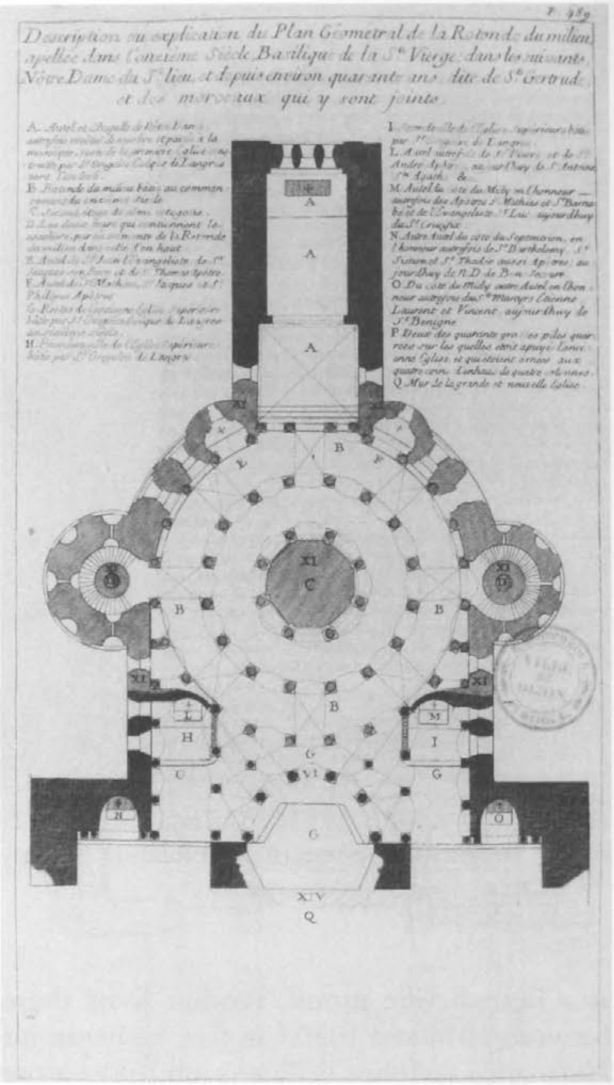
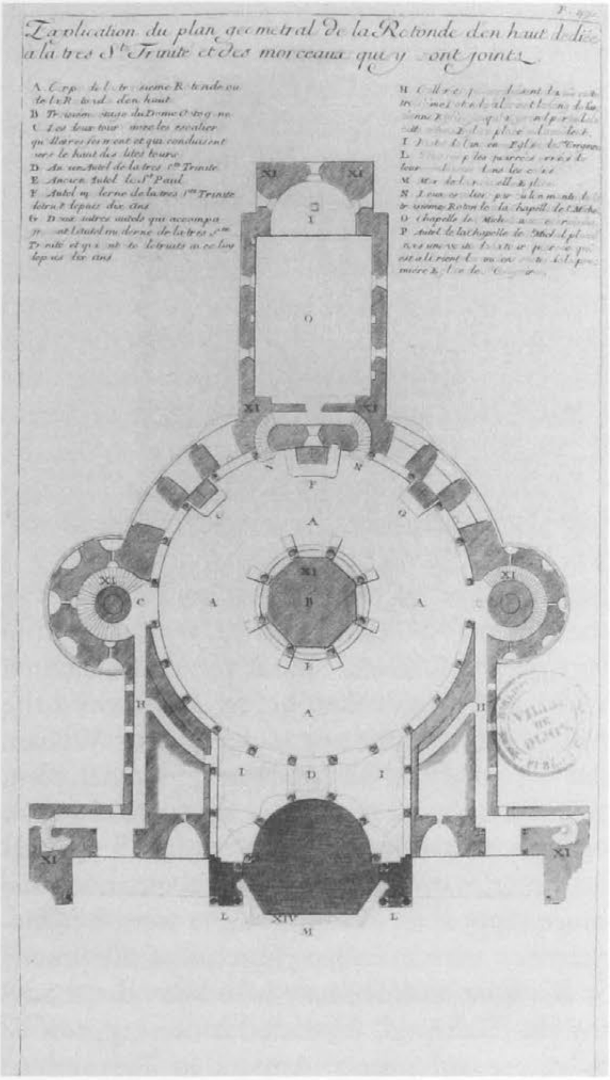

P. 489
Description ou explication du Plan Géometral de la Rotonde du milieu apellée dans l'onzième Siècle Basilique de la S.te Vierge, dans les suivants Nôtre Dame du S.t lieu, et depuis environ quarante ans dite de S.te Gertrude et des morceaux qui y sont jointe.

Fig. 81. Plan of the choir level of the rotunda of St Mary, after Dom Plancher, photo F. Perrodin.

year 1000. St Bénigne's western apse is based on the curvature of an excavated wall whose projection coincided with the 200 cubit measurement given in the *Chronicon S. Benigni Divionensis* for the church's length, the cubit being equivalent to 48.22 cm.[18] This apse terminated an area west of the crypt which was about the size of the *galilaea* at Cluny II, but at St Bénigne this area functioned not only as a vestibule, as at Cluny, but also as a nave for the laity and for monastic processions to the altar of the Holy Cross located in front of the crypt's entrance.[19]

My reconstruction of a continuous transept is based for the most part on analysis of Plancher's drawings.[20] All previous reconstructions included a crossing tower, primarily because of the presence of two massive piers to the west of the hemicycle in Plancher's plans (figs 79–82). The excavations, in conjunction with these plans and the *Chronicon*, indicated that the transept was located above the top bar of a T-shaped crypt directly adjacent to the hemicycle (fig. 78). A close look at Plancher's plans and section of the chevet suggests that the two piers are later additions. If they were part of the eleventh-century church, they would have blocked illogically the western openings of the passage around the hemicycle at choir level and also the corresponding openings above in the gallery. Their later addition is confirmed by the way in which the south pier interrupts the moulding at gallery level around the hemicycle shown in Plancher's section (fig. 79). Moreover, at crypt level the masonry of these piers is different from the eleventh-century masonry still extant in the north wall of the crypt that is adjacent to the dormitory. The piers were probably added to reinforce the rotunda when it was preserved to the east of the Gothic


Explication du plan geometral de la Rotonde d'en haut dediée a la tres St Trinite et des morceaux qui y sont joints
XI
A
B
C
D
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M
O
XIV

Fig 82 Plan of the upper level of the rotunda of St Mary, after Dom Plancher, photo F Perrodin

church. Plancher's plan of the third level designates the piers with the same hatching as the area within the hemicycle which was a void in the church dedicated in 1016; this area was perhaps later floored when the lower storeys of the rotunda were joined to the Gothic church (fig. 82). Without these piers, the hemicycle at St Bénigne is similar to that of S. Stefano at Verona where ambulatories, originally at choir and gallery level, opened directly into the transept.[21] Without these massive piers at St Bénigne, there would have been no support for north and south crossing arches and hence no support for a tower. In short, restitution of a continuous transept seems mandatory given Plancher's drawings since the columns of the upper storey of the hemicycle are shown with a diameter of only 35 cm and thus could have supported nothing more than the hemicycle vaults and the gallery. These columns could not have resisted the thrust exerted by north and south arches of a crossing and its tower. Reconstruction of a continuous transept permits an unobstructed passage around the hemicycle and an open gallery above, making the Trinity altar in the upper gallery of the rotunda visible from everywhere in the church, as recorded in the *Chronicon*.[22]

The presence of a continuous transept and a western apse in themselves would have made St Bénigne an exceptional building in Burgundy around the year 1000, and for us today they relate the church to earlier Carolingian and Ottonian buildings instead of pilgrimage churches of the 1080s. Nonetheless, the complex design of the rotunda may have been most wondrous to Rodulf since he especially praises the church's plan. For example, in his *Vita sancti Guillelmi* , he states that Abbot William

> understood that a heavenly sign had been given to him that it would be proper to rebuild the whole church from its foundations. Immediately, with great ingenuity of mind, he began to make marvellous preparations for the rebuilding of his church. When he had finally begun to reconstruct it to an admirable plan, much wider and longer than before, the coffin in which the bones of the precious martyr Benignus were kept was unknown to all [...] [but in] a sublime vision the very martyr of God revealed the honoured tomb to him [...] [and then William] moved it from that place a little to the east [...].[23]

Thus Rodulf attributes the building to William's ingenuity. The chronicler at St Bénigne knew Rodulf's account but also gives new information that confirms William's involvement, stating that learned masters of different arts followed William from Italy and that 'both by bringing together these teachers and by giving orders to the workers William constructed a temple worthy of the divine cult'.[24]

The chronicler also attests that Bishop Bruno of Langres, who enlisted William to reform the monastery of St Bénigne, contributed greatly to the building of its new church. His personal interest is indicated by gifts not only of money but also 'of columns of stone and marble that he ordered from many areas'.[25] The collaboration of these reformers produced a church more grandiose than the other abbey churches with which William is associated, such as Fruttuaria or Bernay. Nonetheless, without its rotunda, St Bénigne's chevet is similar to the Cluniac

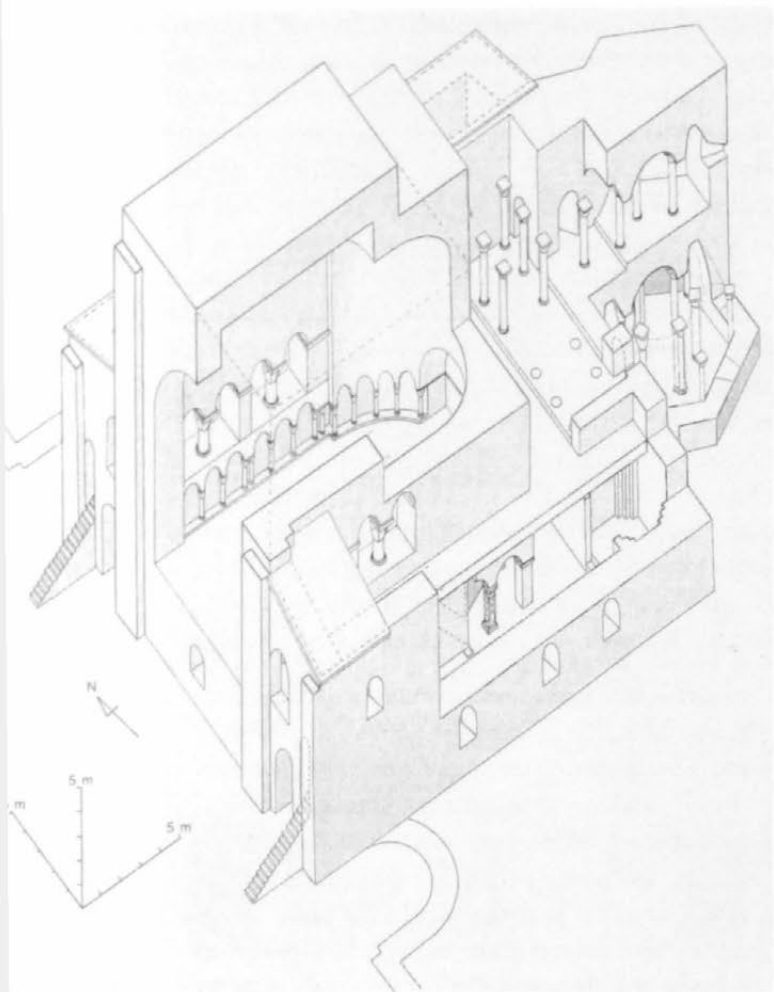


Fig. 83. Reconstruction of chevet and outer crypt, St Peter, Flavigny, France; after C. Sapin (CNRS/CEM, G. Fèvre-C. Sapin, 1999).

staggered chapel plan as are these churches; this is to be expected since William reformed them, as he did St Bénigne, according to Cluniac customs.

The rotunda in Dijon was a late and enlarged version of the traditional Carolingian outer crypt as, for instance, St Germain at Auxerre (841–59).[26] Such crypts were still being constructed in Burgundian monasteries around the year 1000. The Carolingian outer crypt of St Peter at Flavigny (860–80), for example, was rebuilt according to a new design between 990 and 1010 (fig. 83).[27] Like these Burgundian outer crypts, the rotunda of St Bénigne was joined to the east of a staggered-chapel plan around the saint's tomb which was located in the inner crypt, directly beneath the main altar in the choir. These outer crypts served as oratories dedicated to the Virgin. The crypt system in Dijon may have been based on its ninth-century predecessor since we know from the *Chronicon* that St Bénigne's Carolingian church was double-storeyed with an oratory dedicated to the Virgin.[28] Recall, however, that, according to Rodulf, William rebuilt the church much wider and longer than before and moved the martyr's body to the east. Consequently, William did not simply rebuild upon a Carolingian plan, as at Flavigny. Moreover, as was typical in the construction of Italian crypts, such as S. Quintino, Spigno, in the 990s, William extended the inner crypt at St Bénigne to the west, but further west than in Italian churches of the time.[29] St Bénigne, in turn, may have been the model for the T-shaped, extended inner crypt of S. Salvatore sul monte Amiata in Tuscany (*c.* 1036).[30] Therefore, St Bénigne can be understood as an integral part of the development of the inner crypt in the early eleventh century.

William also used Italian methods of construction, previously unknown in Burgundy, for his outer crypt in Dijon. At St Bénigne, as in the Italian crypt at S. Pietro, Agliate (*c.* 1000), the groin vaults in the lower storey of the rotun-

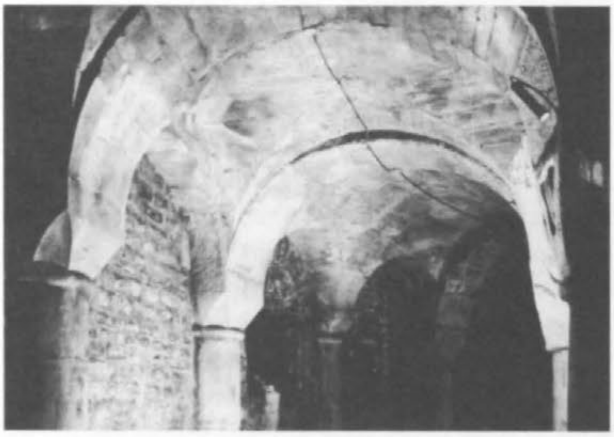


Fig. 84. Vaulting, crypt level of the rotunda of St Mary, Dijon; photo C. Malone.

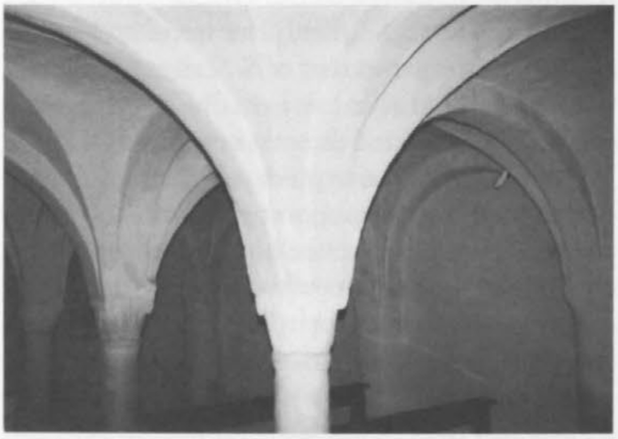


Fig. 85. Vaulting, crypt, S. Peter, Agliate, Italy; photo C. Malone.

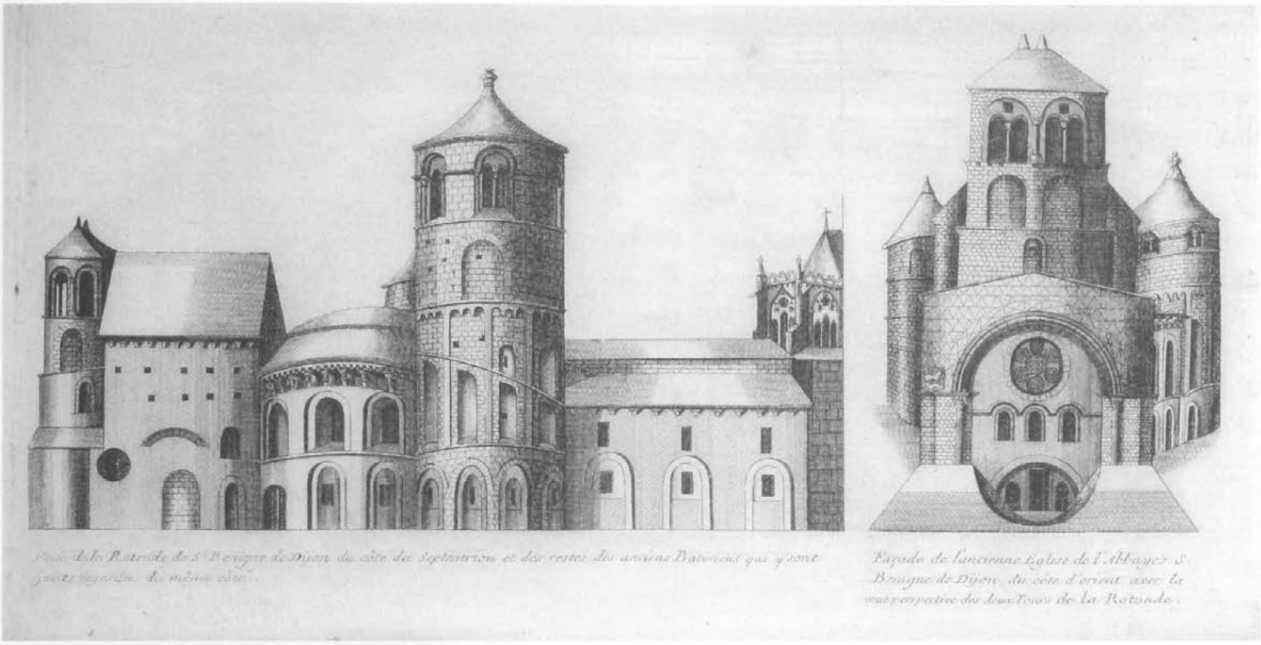

Vue de la Rotonde de S. Benigne de Dijon du côté du Septentrion et des restes des anciens Batimens qui y sont joints regardés du même côté.
Façade de l'ancienne Eglise de l'Abbaye de S. Benigne de Dijon, du côté d'orient avec la vue perspective des deux Tours de la Rotonde.

Fig. 86. Exterior of the rotunda of St Mary; after Dom Plancher; photo F. Perrodin.

da are framed by *doubleaux* and *formeret*, and the groins merge in the block above the capitals (figs 84, 85). The presence of workmen trained in Lombard methods is also indicated by other characteristics of the rotunda such as its capitals, rubble construction, windows with a double splay, Lombard bands, and blind arches as at S. Vincent, Galliano (*c.* 1000) (figs 86, 87). Since Rodulf had accompanied William to Italy between 1026 and 1028, he would have considered St Bénigne exceptional in Burgundy, in part, because of its Lombard features.[31]

In addition to these constructional differences from earlier Burgundian buildings, the rotunda's design was highly innovative. Not only was the inner crypt extended further to the west than before, but for the first time an outer crypt was given three instead of two levels and was made three times larger than other Burgundian outer crypts, such as the contemporaneous rebuilt outer crypt at St Peter at Flavigny (990–1010) (figs 83, 88, 89). Moreover, the outer-crypt rotunda in Dijon was now illuminated with an *oculus*. The enlargement of St Bénigne's outer-crypt rotunda, the addition of its flanking stair towers, and the elevation of the choir above the extended inner crypt facilitated the flow of pilgrims to the many relics in the chapels of the chevet and the rotunda without their disturbing monastic services.

Certainly, Rodulf would have appreciated this improved accommodation for pilgrims since he celebrates the discovery of relics as a sign of a

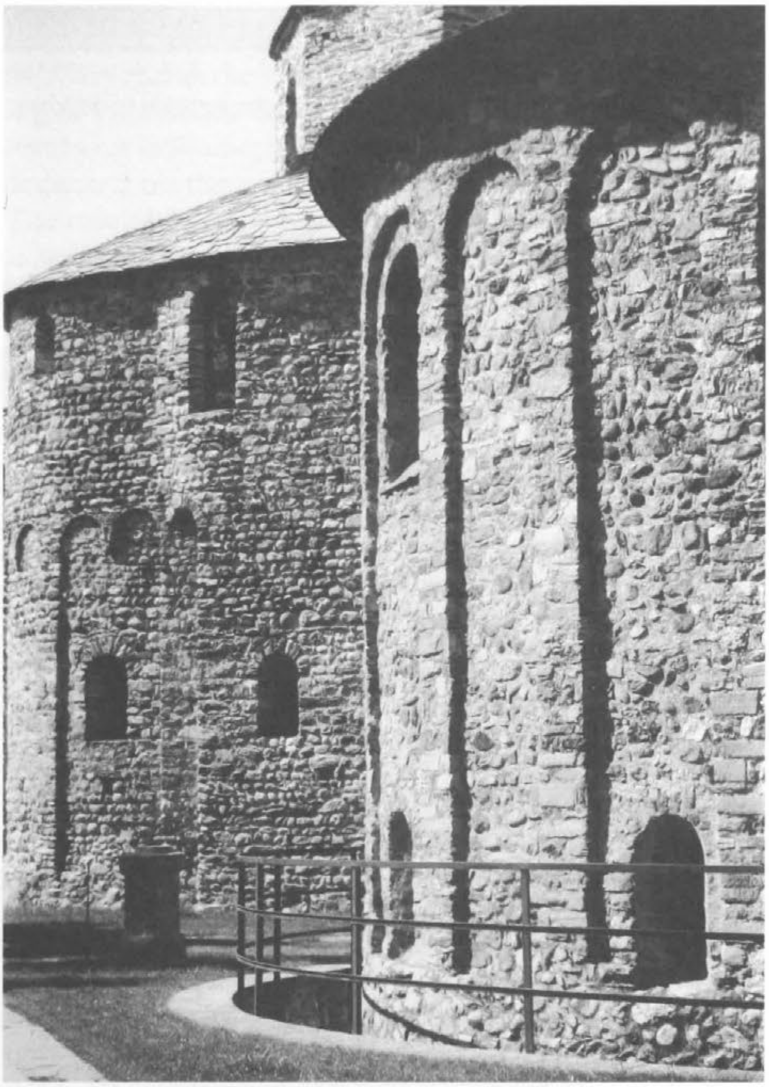


Fig. 87. Apse and Baptistery, S. Vincent, Galliano, Italy; photo C. Malone.

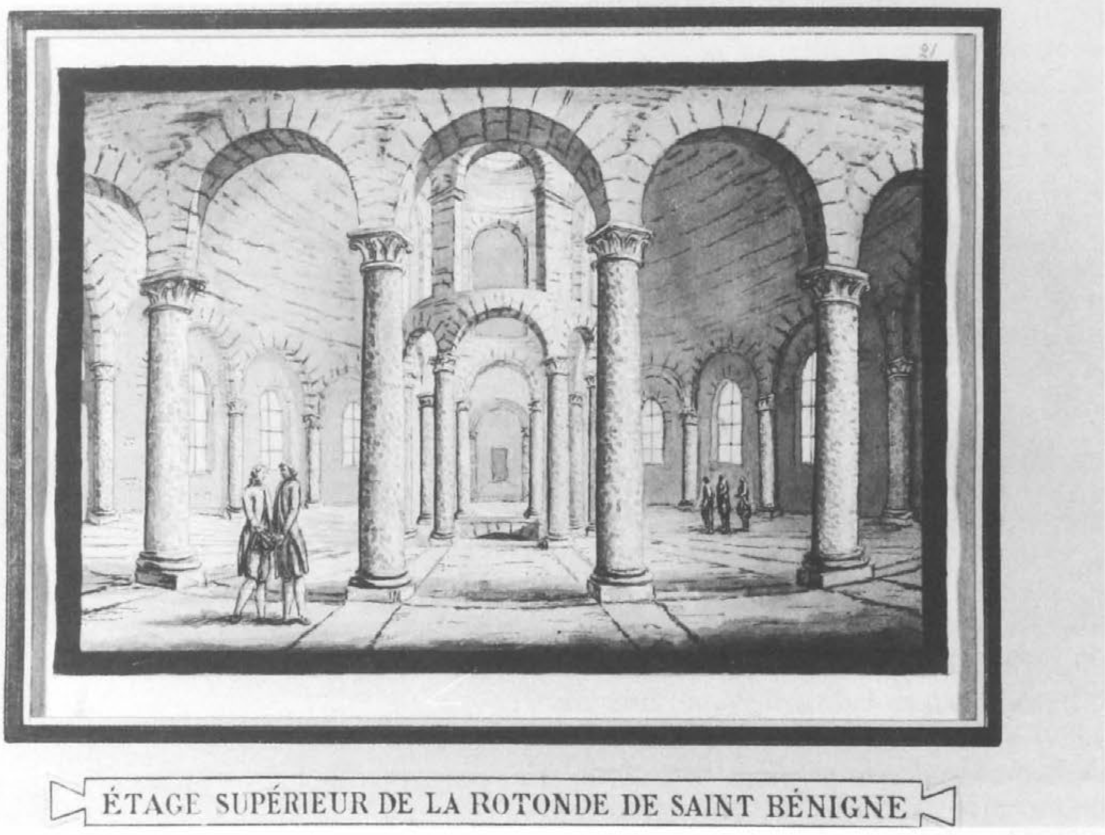

ÉTAGE SUPÉRIEUR DE LA ROTONDE DE SAINT BÉNIGNE

Fig. 88. Third level of the rotunda of St Mary, Dijon; drawing by P.-J. Antoine, photo F. Perrodin.

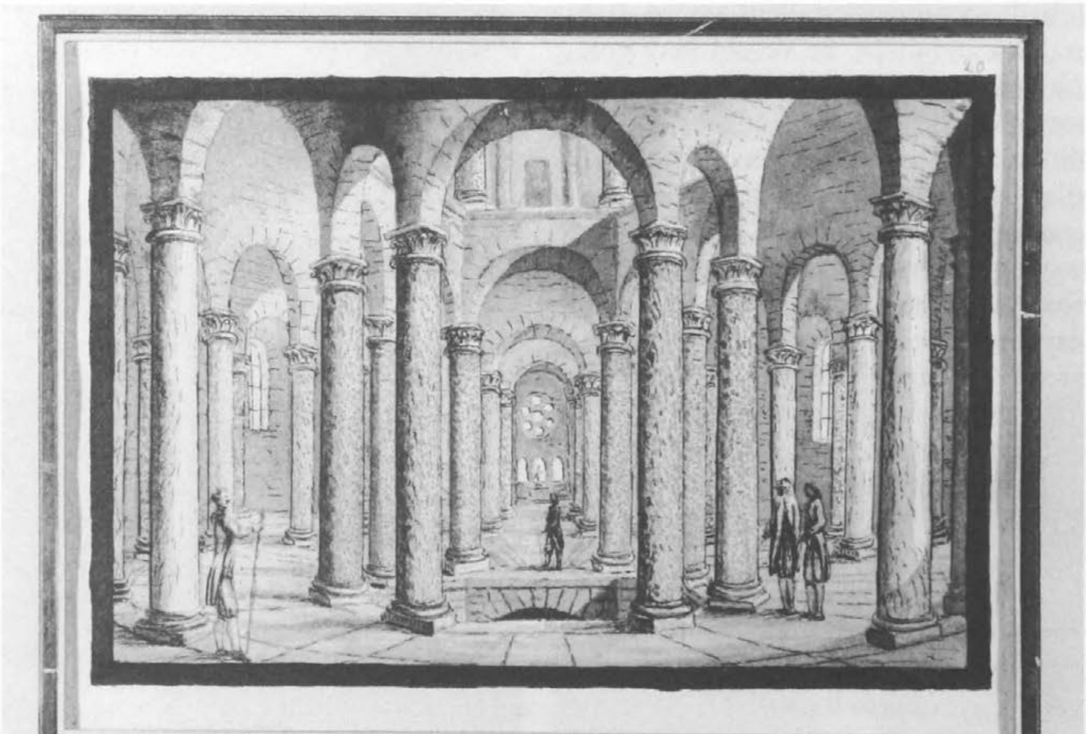

INTÉRIEUR DE LA ROTONDE DE SAINT BÉNIGNE

Fig. 89. Main level of the rotunda of St Mary, Dijon; drawing by P.-J. Antoine, photo F. Perrodin.

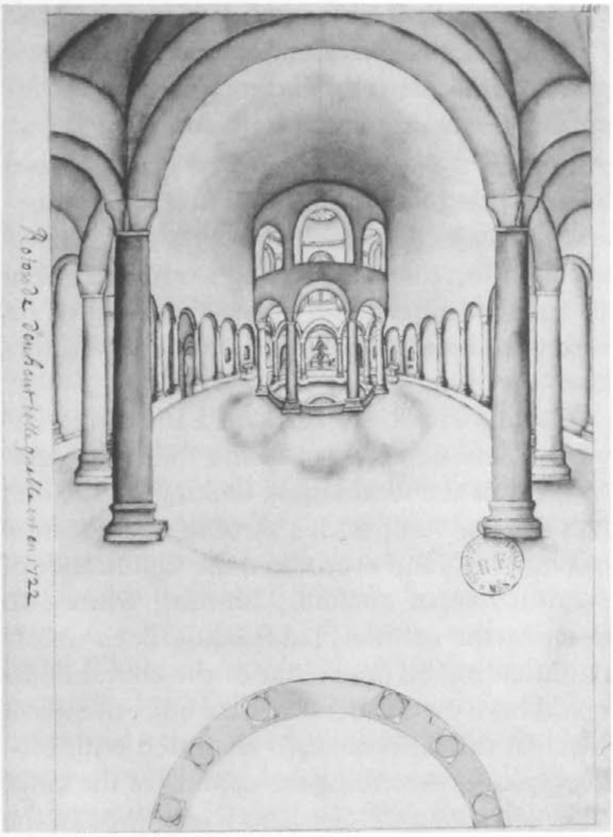


Fig. 90. Third level of the rotunda of St Mary, Dijon, drawing commissioned by Dom Plancher, photo Bibliothèque nationale de France.

new world order. Significantly, the account of Abbot William's reform in the *Historiarum* is followed by chapter 6, 'Holy relics found everywhere', which Rodulf opens by repeating his metaphor: 'When the whole world was, as we have said, clothed in a white mantle of new churches [...] the relics of many saints were revealed by various signs [...] as though they had been waiting for a brilliant resurrection [...].'[32] In his *Vita sancti Guillelmi* at a similar point in the narrative, following a description of William's monastic reform, Rodulf comments that after finding Saint Bénigne's body William

> was inflamed with a sharper passion, and he immediately hastened to complete the work of rebuilding the basilica in the way he had decided. For, as we have said, and as is plain to see, he planned to build a church more wondrous than those of all Gaul and incomparable in its situation.[33]

In this passage from the *Vita*, which was written at Cluny, Rodulf first mentioned the extraordinary aspect of St Bénigne's church, perhaps in comparison to Cluny's simple, unimposing chevet consecrated in 981 which was still adequate because Cluny was not an important pilgrimage site. Relics, like reform, had in part motivated St Bénigne's rebuilding at a grander scale. Accordingly, Rodulf associates a new ecclesiastical world order, reform, relics, and the wondrous church of St Bénigne with its unusual chevet and rotunda built to house its wealth of relics.[34]

An additional factor in the new design of St Bénigne's outer-crypt rotunda is suggested in the paragraph following the previous quotation: 'Then, in his devout mind, [William] decided that he should go and visit the domains of St Peter [...] he went to Rome for prayer [and] [...] visited the tombs and chapels of the saints.'[35] This journey probably took place between 1000 and 1001.[36] By increasing the traditional size of the outer-crypt rotunda in Dijon and by adding a third level vaulted with an annular barrel vault, William was able to simulate a dome with an *oculus*. His model is indicated by the dedication of the rotunda in Dijon to 'Mary and all the Martyrs' copying the wording of the seventh-century rededication of the Pantheon in Rome; the Dijon rotunda was also dedicated on the same day as the Pantheon.[37] The rotunda's diameter was equal to its height, as was the case in the Pantheon, although the rotunda in Dijon was divided into three storeys. Even the inner segment of tufa forming the *oculus* in Dijon resembled the zone above the Pantheon's coffering, although this segment and the dome in Dijon had to be supported by a central well of columns. Nonetheless, its third storey evoked the expansive space and light of the Pantheon (figs 88–90). Given his trip to Rome in 1027 with William,[38] Rodulf would have appreciated the fact that the Pantheon was the model for the rotunda in Dijon.

This Pantheon-like rotunda made an emphatic reference to Rome as the Christian capital, and so did St Bénigne's western apse and continuous transept with its simple apse above the tomb of a saint, as in the Constantinian church of St Peter. By the time Rodulf was writing, the Dijon abbey's independence had been established, and its direct dependence on Rome would have been signalled by these referents. In 1012 Abbot William had established immunity for St Bénigne from episcopal control and attached it to Rome.[39] Yet earlier, at the moment of design around the year 1000, these forms may have expressed ecclesiastical aspirations for a spiritual world order based on the alliance of pope and emperor. William probably met Otto III during his first trip to Rome in 996, and on his second trip around 1000 no doubt saw Gerbert, who had taken the name Pope Sylvester II in emulation of Constantine's pope.[40] St Bénigne's Bishop Bruno had earlier attended the cathedral school at Reims with Gerbert and, perhaps like him, believed that emperor and pope as joint rulers should direct from Rome a single commonwealth consecrated to religious ideals.[41] The idea of Roman universal power still conditioned Rodulf's point of view in the 1030s since he points out in his *Historiarum* that Rome's power had been transferred to the Saxons and that the empire's universal power manifested the presence of the divine plan.[42] Bruno and William's reforms in Burgundy, Normandy, and Lorraine had contributed to such a new world order around the year 1000.[43] New construction, in itself, was a way of effecting reform through new physical conditions. Using architecture, as at St Bénigne, to evoke an earlier golden age is consistent with the underlying philosophy of reform since dissatisfaction with the religious *status quo* is the notion that things had been better in the past.[44]

The Metaphor and Reform

As a site for monastic devotion, the church of St Bénigne, its rotunda, and its many altars were also part of this ecclesiastical reform since spiritual renewal is the foremost aim of reform. Recall that in book 3, chapter 4 of the *Historiarum*, just preceding the account of Abbot William's reform and St Bénigne's wonderful plan, Rodulf had introduced the theme of reform by emphasizing the 'splendour' of church reconstruction in the sentences framing his metaphor of the new 'white mantle':

> Just before the third year after the millennium, throughout the whole world, but most especially in Italy and Gaul, men began to reconstruct churches, although for the most part the existing ones were properly built and not in the least unworthy. But it seemed as though each Christian community were aiming to surpass all others in the splendour of construction. It was as if the whole world were shaking itself free, shrugging off the burden of the past, and cladding itself everywhere in a white mantle of churches. Almost all the episcopal churches and those of monasteries dedicated to various saints, and little village chapels, were rebuilt better than before by the faithful.[45]

Although today's reader at first glance might assume that Rodulf is simply describing limestone or white-washed churches and clerical competition for status during a building boom in a period of reform, a closer reading of his metaphor indicates a deeper, more spiritual level of meaning.

Thomas Head and Richard Landes translated the famous sentence in the following way: 'it was as if the world itself, shaking off the old, had covered itself with a shining white mantle of churches', and they noted the significance of Rodulf's term *candidus*, 'shining white', to describe the mantle. Had Rodulf 'been simply commenting on the colour of the churches, he could have used the more usual adjective *albus*, whereas the term *candidus* resonated with biblical passages describing the coming of the kingdom of heaven'.[46] *Candidus* is also used in the Gospel of Mark to describe Christ's garments during his Transfiguration and that of the angel guarding his tomb, and in the Book of Revelation it describes the clothing of the saint and angels, the throne of God, and the cloud on which the son of man sits. I might add that later, in book 5, chapter 1 of his *Historiarum*, Rodulf used the same word to describe miracles concerning the unblemished white eucharistic host. The *pars candidissima* of the Eucharist, which a criminal cleric had the audacity to consume during a judicial process, came out through his navel as proof of his guilt and unworthy reception of Christ's body.[47] Likewise, a host, lost on route to a sick man in Dijon, was found a year later on the public road near to where it had been lost, and, according to Rodulf, 'it was as white [*candidum*] and as unblemished as if it had just fallen'.[48] In choosing the adjective *candidus* each time to describe the white purity of the host, Rodulf associates the word clearly with Christ's transfigured body. Significantly, when he used the metaphor of the 'white mantle' a second time in the *Historiarum*, he linked it with relics 'waiting for a brilliant resurrection' at St Bénigne.[49] Consequently, the metaphor's adjective, *candidam*, when viewed within the context of the *Historiarum* seems linked with the manifestation of Christ.

Furthermore, Stephen Nichols recognized that Rodulf's reference to *candidam ecclesiarum* *uestem* is an appropriation of Maximus the Confessor's interpretation in his *Ambigua* of Christ's shining white garments as the descent of the *Logos* during the Transfiguration, as recorded in Mark 9. 2.[50] Nichols points out that these shining white garments find their equivalent for Rodulf in the Church through which Christ, the *Logos*, is made manifest and clothes the world of the present Christian Roman Empire.

Certainly for Rodulf, within his history of world order, the splendid reconstruction of churches into a 'shining white mantle' renewing the earth represents reform and a reconstitution of the faith, as is underlined by the sentences framing his metaphor which specify unusual improvement of already worthy churches. Church building is a symbolic way of signifying the imposition of a new ecclesiastical order. The new order around 1000 was in part brought about by the Cluniac reform movement and by affiliated, but independent bishops, such as Bruno, and abbots, such as William, whose reform Rodulf particularly celebrated when writing in the 1030s. Likewise, both Bruno and William around the year 1000 would have intended their reconstruction of St Bénigne to be an important aspect of its monastic reform. Significantly, rebuilding at St Bénigne was begun around 1002, the same year that Rodulf specified for the new order of 'the shining white mantle' that had been brought about by Church, emperor, and king.[51] Nichols also points out that it is around the Church in the new Christian Roman Empire that Rodulf constructed his entire history.[52] Therefore, Rodulf's history has a similar conceptual basis as the design of St Bénigne with its continuous transept, western apse, and rotunda since these forms in Dijon, themselves, made reference to the abbey's tie with Rome and its role in the Christian Roman Empire. Nichols also argues that the premise underlying Rodulf's history of the world is anagogical in that the reader is to ascend to a knowledge of the unity of God by finding a coherent unity in the multiplicity of recorded events.[53]

The Rotunda as a Site of Theosis

The concept of anagogy, according to Nichols, is also implicit in Rodulf's metaphor of God's manifestation as a 'white mantle of churches' renewing the earth. For Maximus the Confessor, the Transfiguration represented in sensible symbol not only the descent of the *Logos* as shining white light but also the ascent toward an understanding of the Holy Spirit of Christ's disciples, Peter, James, and John, who witnessed it.[54] According to Maximus's *Ambigua*,

> By means of the white garments they received a revelation of what they had learnt from the great works of creation and from the Scriptures as a single truth, and so in their contemplation [*epignōsei*] of God they beheld that which the Holy Spirit revealed in Scriptures and that which their science and wisdom had taught them about the created universe as one, and in that unified vision they saw Christ himself.[55]

Consequently, for Maximus and his readers, the Transfiguration was a narrative of *theosis* (deification), the mystical conjunction of the ascending individual with the descending godhead, as defined by John Scotus Eriugena on the basis of Maximus the Confessor.[56] Eriugena, who had translated Maximus the Confessor's *Ambigua*, called the Transfiguration 'the height of spiritual vision'.[57] It was the supreme theophany of the New Testament, except for the Resurrection, and it became a paradigm for what is revealed in spiritual contemplation.[58] On the basis of John 1. 14, 'And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, [and we saw his glory, the glory as it were of the only begotten of the Father,] full of grace and truth', Eriugena and Maximus explained, according to Nichols, that the 'Word descended into man in order that, through it, man could raise himself to God'.[59]

In addition, Eriugena, in his translation and commentary on the Pseudo-Dionysius's *Expositiones super Hierarchiam celestem*, stated that we 'need to rise from this outpouring of illumination so as to come to the simple ray of Light itself. [...] Material lights are images of the outpouring of an immaterial gift of light [...] so that [God] might lift us in spirit up through the perceptible to the conceptual'.[60] Rodulf himself articulated this anagogical concept in his *Historiarum* when he wrote 'so that by means of what the eyes see and the mind perceives He might raise the wise man to a direct view of God'.[61] He adds that

> God is proclaimed most plainly, beautifully, and silently by this patent chain of correspondences, in frozen motion [*stabili motu*] each thing indi-

> cates another, and they do not cease to proclaim the original source from which they derive and to which they seek to return in order to find peace again.[62]

In this case Rodulf used the oxymoron 'immutable motion' (*stabilis motus*), frequently found in the *Ambigua*, to capture the moment of conjunction when the soul in motion meets and reflects the motionless deity and *theosis* occurs.[63] Moreover, Rodulf explains that '[the] fathers of the Greek church were the first to win fame for themselves by examining and becoming familiar with such matters', confirming his appropriation of concepts such as anagogy and return from Greek theologians, such as Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and Maximus the Confessor, no doubt via Eriugena.[64]

A copy of Eriugena's translation of the *Ambigua* of Maximus the Confessor, which included references to the Pseudo-Dionysius, was in the library at St Bénigne by at least 1052; another ninth-century copy has been attributed to Cluny on the basis of a twelfth-century book list.[65] St Bénigne's copy had ninth-century glosses and was prefaced by Eriugena's dedicatory letter to Charles the Bald. In addition, Abbot Odilo (994–1049), Rodulf's mentor at Cluny, praised the Pseudo-Dionysius in his biography of Cluny's previous abbot, Mayeul (954–94), who highly esteemed the *Expositiones,* spending nights of ecstasy reading it by candlelight.[66] Abbot Mayeul himself had been William of Volpiano's mentor at Cluny and had sent William at Bishop Bruno's request to reform St Bénigne, and it was William who recommended that Odilo study with Mayeul.[67] Hence Greek anagogical ideas and concepts of *theosis* were known around the millennium in the monastic communities of Cluny and St Bénigne.[68]

Given this theological context and the hierarchical arrangement of altars in the Dijon rotunda, it is possible to interpret the rotunda symbolically as a frame for God's descent expressed as shining light and as a framework that structured the monk's return towards God. Rodulf may have associated the rotunda in Dijon, as a site for *theosis*, with the metaphor of God's manifestation as a 'white mantle' of churches since the point of the metaphor was that each reformed and rebuilt church was a sacred site for Christ's manifestation. Of these churches the rotunda in Dijon provided the most spectacular site for God's descent and for the anagogical process of man's return to him. The emphasis on light in the rotunda was exceptional among churches before Suger's St Denis, built in the twelfth century. Moreover, the rotunda's altar arrangement as a three-storeyed *schema* for spiritual ascent to a Trinity altar has remained unique to this day. Although Rodulf could not have viewed the rotunda historically in this way, he did consider St Bénigne 'incomparable in all Gaul'. Certainly, the rotunda shone forth from the 'white mantle of churches', as the most striking manifestation of 'shining white' light. For Rodulf the rotunda of St Bénigne may have epitomized his metaphor for *theosis* and indeed may have suggested the metaphor.

Significantly, the three levels of the rotunda, distinguished by the *Chronicon* as 'oratorium sancti Johannis baptistae [...] basilicam sanctae dei genitricis mariae [...] aecclesiam sanctae et individuae trinitatis', articulate an ascending spiritual programme. This proceeds from the shadow of the Law in the crypt of John the Baptist, the last of the prophets, to its fulfilment in the Church (*Ecclesia*) on the choir level of the Virgin, where rebirth is transmitted through the Incarnation, and finally to the light of eternal life in the third storey dedicated to the Trinity.[69] The altars of the Dijon rotunda at crypt level were dedicated to the martyrs and confessors of the universal Church as well as to regional martyrs buried near the tomb of Saint Bénigne; its axial chapel housed the altar of John the Baptist (fig. 91). At choir level the altars of the rotunda were dedicated to the apostles and the evangelists with special emphasis on the altar of the Virgin in the axial chapel. On the third level not only was the main altar dedicated to the Trinity, but also its axial chapel held the altar of the archangel Michael.

In the Dijon rotunda not only was a Trinity altar positioned on a third level for the first and only known time, but an altar dedicated to Paul was also located just to the east of the Trinity altar because, according to the *Chronicon*, Paul 'was ravished to the third heaven'.[70] Here, according to Gregory the Great, God showed Paul, 'the power of his Majesty'.[71] Joined to the dedication of Paul's altar was the *sanctorum martyrum Dyonisii.*[72] At St Bénigne Dionysius, that is, Saint Denis, would have been considered to be not only the patron saint of the Parisian abbey of St Denis but also Dionysius the Areopagite, the Athenian, whom Paul, according

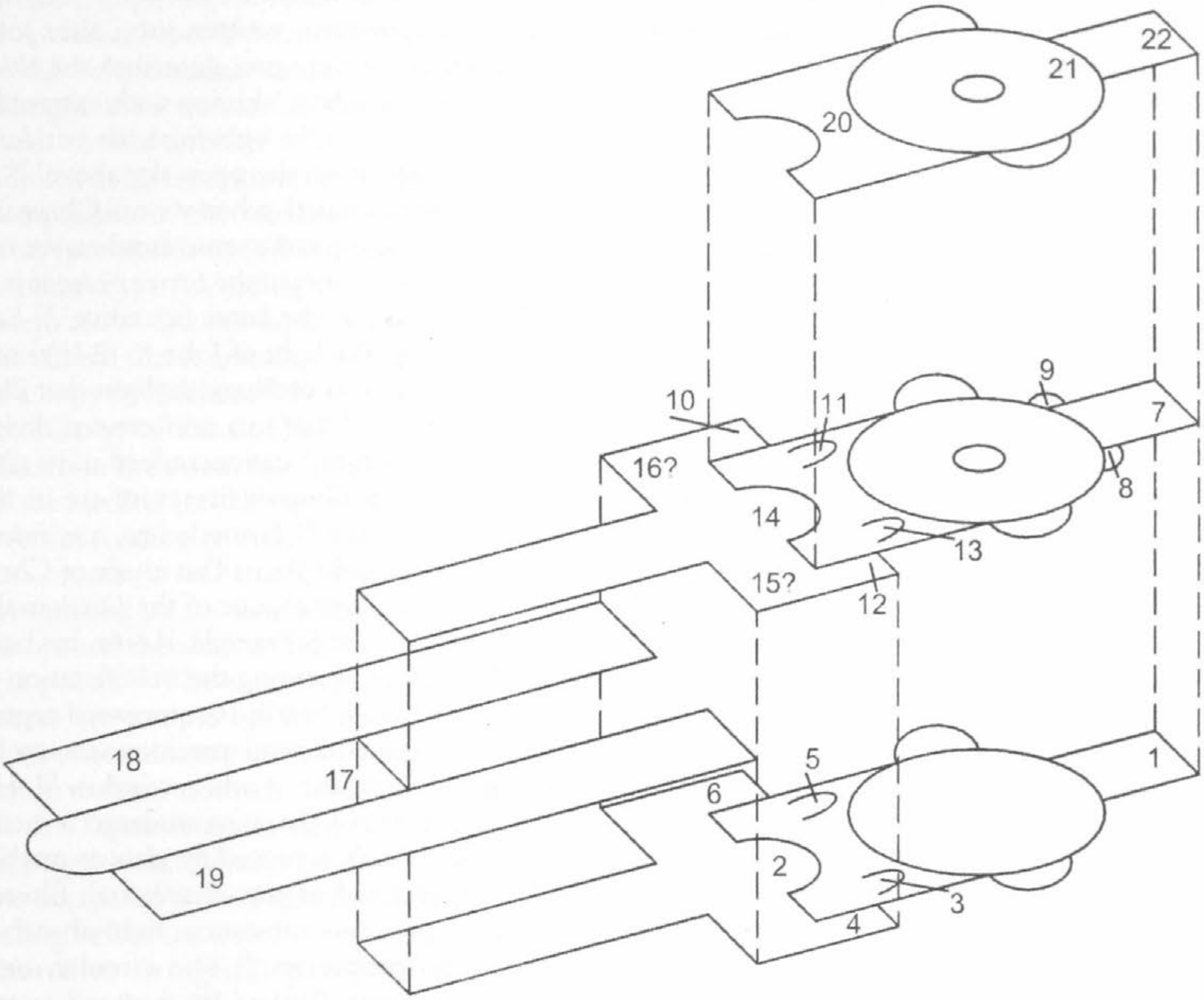


Fig. 91. Diagram of altars described in the *Chronicon S. Benigni Divionensis* and in the second customary of St Bénigne: Altars: (1) St John the Baptist, (2) St Bénigne's tomb and altar, (3) St Paschasia, (4) St Ireneus, (5) St Nicholas, (6) St Eustadius, (7) St Mary, (8) Sts John the Evangelist, James, and Thomas, (9) Sts Matthew, James, and Philip, (10) St Peter and St Andrew, (11) St Bartholomew, (12) Sts Stephen, Lawrence, and Vincent, (13) Sts Matthias, Barnabas, and Luke the Evangelist, (14) Sts Maurice and Bénigne, (15) St Raphael, (16) St Mark the Evangelist, (17) Holy Cross, (18) St Polycarpe, (19) St Mammetis, (20) Holy Trinity, (21) St Paul, (22) St Michael; drawing by C. Malone, after W. Schlink.

to Acts 17. 34, converted to Christianity.[73] Eriugena adds that Dionysius, following Paul, 'flew above the lofty stars of the Empyrion and gazes upon the third kingdom of heaven'.[74]

Accordingly, the rotunda afforded a unique setting in which the worshipper, after devotions at the altars of the martyrs in the crypt, could move upwards to intercession at the altar of the Virgin at choir level and finally ascend to pray before the altar of the Trinity in the third level. As an oratory for monastic devotions, the rotunda thus framed the monk's upward ascent to the third heaven. The hierarchical arrangement of the altar dedications can be interpreted as structuring an anagogical programme of prayer. Spiritual progress enhanced by physical ascent through the levels of the rotunda toward the light of eternal life can be imagined also during processions, such as that documented for the Feast of the Trinity in St Bénigne's customary written between 1086 and 1092; in this case we have proof that the monks climbed upward through the levels of the rotunda from crypt level to chant before the altar of the Holy Trinity.[75] As the worshipper ascended he could look upward through the open octagonal light-well toward the *oculus*, and, as advised in the meditations of John of Fécamp (990–1077), 'illuminated by light from on high it [the mind] will scorn earth and fix its gaze on heaven'.[76] John, Abbot William's nephew, was prior at St Bénigne until 1017 and thus for perhaps a year lived with Rodulf in Dijon; consequently, John may have shared Rodulf's understanding of the rotunda, an understanding that may have been known to William's greater monastic community.

During meditations at the Trinity altar, the worshipper, bathed in physical light, anticipating divine unbounded light, may have understood the third storey as the Cluniac forecourt of heaven. In Cluniac belief monastic asceticism, chastity in particular, transformed the future into an eschatological present providing a foretaste of heaven.[77] The virginal state of the monks represented the spiritual eschatology of the Gospels since spiritual grace came into the world with the birth of Christ.[78] Odo of Cluny (927–42) stressed the theme of return, as found in Gregory the Great, and the chance of the monk to regain the state of paradise just as the saints recovered the original state of man.[79] Mayeul and Odilo developed this concept in sermons composed at Cluny; William may also have done so in Dijon.[80]

Viewed as the forecourt of heaven, the third storey of the rotunda in Dijon provided a sublime atmosphere for adoration of the Trinity: here contemplation, illuminated by brilliant physical light, afforded a foretaste of divine light. The analogy of the third storey to heaven was emphasized by the juxtaposition of the altar of Paul and Dionysius with that of the Trinity. Augustine had interpreted Paul's third heaven as Paradise, where God is seen face to face.[81] John of Fécamp also writes of Heaven, 'Here God is seen face to face. [...] It is my pleasure to strain toward your light [...] and gaze forever on that supreme, indescribable, and unbounded light.'[82] Many of John's prayers anticipate this face-to-face experience in Paradise, and it is attractive to imagine the altar of the Trinity at St Bénigne as a focal point of his devotions and those of Rodulf. John states that the aim of his meditations was to put the soul in a blessed state of exaltation: 'Let my soul pass from the visible world to the invisible, from earth to heaven, from time to eternity.'[83] When speaking of the blessed, he adds, 'Who can imagine [...] how they have become light by union with the true Light, or how they are changed into changelessness by gazing constantly on the changeless Trinity?'[84] John often refers to God 'as light of my eyes'.[85] Significantly, the *Chronicon*, written soon after John was abbot of St Bénigne, describes the third level of the rotunda as 'shining with extraordinary brilliance with the light from the windows on all sides and from the open sky above'.[86]

Augustine had stated 'when we call Christ the light it is not in the same sense as when we call him the corner-stone; in the former case it is in the literal sense, in the latter figurative'.[87] Still his reference to the light of John 8. 12 (*Ego sum lux mundi*) is not to ordinary daylight that illuminates the world, but to a non-created divine light existing before creation; indeed most allusions to light in Church literature are in the metaphorical sense.[88] Nonetheless, a window framing light itself in place of an image of Christ in the ninth-century mosaic of the *Deësis* in the chapel of S. Zeno at S. Prassede, Rome, has been interpreted as representing the manifestation of the invisible God. Patrik Reutersward argues that light acquired a semi-precious sanctity by passing through the marble window.[89] His hypothesis is that light must undergo a metamorphosis, usually achieved by glass or marble, to be appreciated as non-terrestrial: filtered through a precious substance, light absorbed some of its properties.[90] The circular, now blocked, window flanked by frescoed angels above an *Agnus Dei* and *Majestas* in the twelfth-century Cluniac apse of Berzy-la-Ville in Burgundy can be interpreted in the same way.[91]

At the same time Reutersward states that the nature of divine light can be expressed in terms of intensity: a light stronger than usual terrestrial light can distinguish divine from created light.[92] Might the *oculus* and its focused light 'shining with extraordinary brilliance' at St Bénigne have suggested the shining whiteness of divine light? The 'simple ray of light' in the Dijon rotunda was given form by the perfect circle of the *oculus* and would have reflected off the precious, and perhaps materially semi-precious, altar of the Trinity in a way that recalls the analogy that Eriugena found in Maximus the Confessor:

> When sunlight is mixed with air, it begins to be visible. So in itself it cannot be apprehended by the senses, but when mixed with air it can. From this analogy you should understand the Divine Essence cannot be apprehended in Itself. [...] God will be seen through bodies and in bodies, not in Himself.[93]

While completing his *Historiarum* at St Germain at Auxerre, Rodulf penned both his metaphor of the 'white mantle' and his description of St Bénigne as so wonderful 'that it would be difficult to find another as beautiful'.[94] Perhaps implicit in his description of St Bénigne was his comparison of the wondrous light of its outer-crypt rotunda to St Germain's smaller, darker outer crypt. According to Nichols, Eriugena's poem *Aulae Sidereae* equates with divine light the church that it describes, possibly Compiègne as a copy of Aachen.[95] For Eriugena it is contemplation of the double-storeyed, octagonal church in the poem that invites the mystic leap of the intellect into the spiritual realms.[96] Moreover, according to Michel Foussard, Eriugena's concept of man's return to God is symbolized by the ascent and descent of people around the altars of the church described in the poem.[97] The image created by this line, 'there are people up and down, around the altars', becomes still more striking if envisioned not in the two-storeyed Carolingian church but in the Dijon rotunda where the altars were arranged hierarchically on three levels around the octagonal well of light, with ascent culminating before the altar of the Trinity.[98] Like the church in Eriugena's poem, the rotunda in Dijon for Rodulf may have invited 'the mystic leap of the intellect into the spiritual realms'.

Moreover, Eriugena's *Aulae Sidereae* equates the octagonal church with the symbolic structure of the world at the Incarnation.[99] Recall that Maximus the Confessor and Eriugena interpreted the Incarnation as a gesture intended to engender the human response of return to God. John 1.14, 'And the Word was made flesh [...] and we saw his glory [...]', suggested that the descending grace of the *Logos* into man would stimulate a reciprocal human gesture of ascent.[100] Therefore, the Incarnation was essential to *theosis*.

The rotunda in Dijon as a liturgical centre was used especially for celebrating the Incarnation as might be expected since the main altar at choir level was dedicated to the 'Mother of our Lord and very God, Jesus Christ', and the rotunda as a whole was dedicated to *Dei genitricis*.[101] As an oratory dedicated to Christ's Incarnation, the rotunda in Dijon was especially appropriate as a site for *theosis*, since it was through the Incarnation that the *Logos* as light came into the world.[102] The unusual emphasis on light in the rotunda, therefore, is appropriate to its dedication and special use for celebration of the Incarnation. The rotunda afforded access to God, expressed as light descending through its *oculus*, and, as an anagogical framework for its altars, structured a return to God for the worshipper ascending toward the light and altar of the Trinity. The *Chronicon S. Benigni Divionensis* perhaps hinted at this mystical significance when describing the rotunda in the following way: 'the subtlety of this artful work is not without significance, as is [even] evident to the less learned in literature: many things in it appear to have been made with a mystic sense, more by divine inspiration than due to the skill of any master.'[103]

Nichols points out that *theosis* occurred only in privileged places of spiritual excellence and that the site that manifested God's presence should be as beautiful physically as it was spiritually.[104] It was to be invested with an atmosphere of awe calculated to enable the worshipper to perceive God, the aim of *theosis*. Was the idea of exceptional spirituality implicit in Rodulf's repeated references to St Bénigne's incomparable beauty? Did beauty and wonder have spiritual connotations for him? Might his emphasis on St Bénigne's beauty relate to his metaphor of the 'shining white mantle' in that both resonated for him with the concept of *theosis*? Certainly, the rotunda viewed as a site for return to paradise within a monastic spiritual eschatology is related to the other concepts associated with the metaphor. As Head and Landes have stated, 'Rodulf, like the monks of Cluny, implicitly associated the renewal of the cults of saints, the rebuilding of churches, and the reform of monastic life as a kind of realized eschatology', that is a 'shining white mantle' covering and renewing the earth.[105]

Conclusion

Interpreted in relation to Rodulf's metaphoric 'white mantle', the church of St Bénigne in Dijon can be understood as a reference to the Christian Roman Empire at a moment of Church reform around the year 1000, and its rotunda can be viewed as a site for *theosis*. In addition, St Bénigne's architectural forms when conceived in 1000 may have carried further meanings and may have acquired others as its political situation changed, for example, during the Burgundian civil war between 1002 and 1016.[106] In this study I have concentrated only on the meanings that the church and rotunda may have held for Rodulf thirty years after its design, specifically those relating to the millennial period about which he was writing. At the very least, Rodulf intended to praise the complexity of the rotunda as a formal design, one that is still admired by architectural historians in comparison to simpler buildings constructed at the beginning of the second millennium. Spiritual function and theological context aside, the grandiose plan of the rotunda was a *tour de force* 'more wondrous than those of all Gaul', as Rodulf repeatedly insisted.[107] Nonetheless, his emphasis on the 'wondrous' church of St Bénigne may well convey an understanding of its rotunda's mystic significance, perhaps learned from his abbot and mentor William of Volpiano. Significantly, William did ask Rodulf, while a monk at St Bénigne, to write the *Historiarum*, and his reform is implicit in Rodulf's metaphor of the 'white mantle of churches'. Hence Rodulf's metaphor may resonate not only with Maximus the Confessor's concept of *theosis* but also with William of Volpiano's understanding of these churches, and particularly of St Bénigne, which made up the 'white mantle'. Indeed, as an exceptional site for *theosis,* St Bénigne's rotunda may have even stimulated the appropriation of the metaphor from Maximus.

NOTES

I wish to dedicate this article to my son, Jesse Kramer, on the occasion of his sixteenth birthday. My research was partially supported by a grant from the Graham Foundation for Advanced Study in the Fine Arts.

1. Rodulfus Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories*, ed. and trans. by John France (Oxford, 1989), pp. 116–17.

2. Glaber, *The Five Books*, p. 302.

3. Glaber, *The Five Books*, pp. xlii–xlv, 114–15. (In this paper I cite France's chapter headings of the *Histories*.) Richard Landes in his article, 'The White Mantle of Churches: Millennial Dynamics, and the Written and Architectural Record', in this volume, states that Rodulf may have nearly completed book 3 under William of Volpiano's influence before 1031. Moreover, he suggests that Rodulf's metaphor of the white mantle articulated William's vision and that in writing the history, Rodulf was serving as William's mouthpiece. See also Richard Landes, 'Rodulfus Glaber and the Dawn of the New Millennium: Eschatology, Historiography and the Year 1000', *Revue Mabillon*, 68 (1996), 57–77 (p. 72). These interesting hypotheses only came to my attention during the final editing of this article. Nonetheless, my argument relating Rodulf's metaphor to the rotunda probably would not have changed since there is no evidence that William dictated the metaphor to Rodulf, no matter how attractive this possibility is for my interpretation of the rotunda.

4. Stephen G. Nichols, Jr., *Romanesque Signs, Early Medieval Narrative and Iconography* (New Haven, 1983), pp. 15–16.

5. Glaber, *The Five Books*, pp. xxviii and 120–21. Rodulf may have mentioned St Martin at Tours before St Bénigne because it was begun earlier or because he privileges the Capetians, who patronized St Martin, in this re-writing of the *Historiarum* after 1036. Still, it seems most likely that he reserved his discussion of St Bénigne because he wished to write an entire chapter on reform and feature William of Volpiano as the supreme reformer not only in Gaul but also in Normandy, Lorraine, and Italy.

6. Glaber, *The Five Books*, pp. 120–23.

7. For dating, see *Chronique de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon suivie de la Chronique de St Pierre de Bèze*, ed. by Louis Emile Bougaud and M. Joseph Garnier, Analecta Divionensia, 1 (Dijon, 1875), p. 138; *Annales Sancti Benigni Monasterii Divionensis (Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 448)*, ed. by G. Waitz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, 5 (Berlin, 1844), p. 41; Glaber, *The Five Books*, pp. xx–xi and xxxiii. Rodulf reports William of Volpiano's consecration sermon for the dedication in 1016; he was certainly living at St Bénigne by 1024.

8. Glaber, *The Five Books*, pp. xlv and lxxii. Rodulfus Glaber, *The Life of St William*, ed. by Neithard Bulst, trans. by John France and Paul Reynolds (Oxford, 1989), p. 295.

9. Glaber, *The Life*, pp. xxxiv, xlv, and lxxi.

10. Glaber, *The Life*, p. 289, provides the evidence for the church's consecration in 1016. For the dedication of the rotunda, see *Annales Sancti Benigni Monasterii*, p. 41.

11. *Annales Sancti Benigni Monasterii*, p. 50.

12. Abbé Louis Chomton, *Histoire de l'église de S. Bénigne de Dijon* (Dijon, 1900), pp. 306–08.

13. Wilhelm Schlink, *Saint-Bénigne* (Berlin, 1978), pp. 27–34.

14. Dom Urbain Plancher, *Histoire générale et particulière de la Bourgogne* (Dijon, 1739), pp. 488, 489, 491, and 499.

15. *Chronique de Saint-Bénigne,* pp. 139–48; Andrew Martindale, 'The Romanesque Church of S. Bénigne at Dijon and MS 591 in the Bibliothèque Municipale', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 25 (1962), 21–54 (pp. 47–50), established a new edition of the description of the church and rotunda in the *Chronicon S. Benigni Divionensis* (Bibliothèque Municipale de Dijon, MS 591, fols 41–43).

16. Carolyn Marino Malone, 'Les fouilles de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon (1976–1978) et le problème de l'église de l'an mil', *Bulletin monumental*, 138 (1980), 253–84.

17. Kenneth J. Conant, 'Cluny II and St. Bénigne at Dijon', *Archaeologia*, 99 (1965), 180–94.

18. Malone, 'Les fouilles', p. 266.

19. Christian Sapin, 'Cluny II et l'interprétation archéologique de son plan', in *Religion et Culture autour de l'an Mil*, ed. by D. Iogna-Prat and J.-Ch. Picard, Actes du colloque Hugues Capet 987–1987: La France de l'an Mil, Auxerre-Metz, 1987 (Paris, 1990), pp. 85–89 (p. 88); Carolyn Marino Malone, 'Saint-Bénigne de Dijon: L'espace occidental et la contre-abside de l'an mil', in *Avant-nefs et espaces d'accueil dans l'Eglise entre le IV^{e} et XII^{e} siècle*, ed. by Christian Sapin, Actes du colloque international at Auxerre, 1999 (Auxerre, 2002), 424–437 (pp. 430–32).

20. Carolyn Marino Malone, 'L'église de Guillaume de Volpiano et sa lien avec la rotonde', in *Guillaume de Volpiano et l'architecture des rotondes*, ed. by M. Jannet and C. Sapin, Actes du Colloque Europeen, Guillaume de Volpiano (Dijon, 1996), pp. 45–58; Malone, 'Les fouilles', p. 258.

21. Martindale, 'The Romanesque', p. 36; Malone, 'Les fouilles', p. 258 n. 69.

22. Martindale, 'The Romanesque', p. 49, line 80.

23. Glaber, *The Life*, pp. 274–75.

24. *Chronique de Saint-Bénigne*, p. 138. (translations mine)

25. *Chronique de Saint-Bénigne*, p. 138.

26. Jean Hubert, 'Les églises à rotonde orientale', in *Actes du III Congrès international pour l'étude du haut Moyen-Age*, ed. by L. Birchler, E. Pelichet, and A. Schmid (Lausanne, 1954), pp. 308–20.

27. Christian Sapin, *La Bourgogne préromane* (Paris, 1986), pp. 42 and 112.

28. Chomton, *Histoire*, p. 88; *Chronique de Saint-Bénigne*, p. 130.

29. Paolo Verzone, *L'architettura religiosa dell'alto medioevo nell'Italia settentrionale* (Milan, 1942), figs 78, 76.

30. Malone, 'Les Fouilles', p. 275; Hans Thummler, 'Die Baukunst des 11. Jahrhunderts in Italien', *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 3 (1939), 141–226, figs 193, 199.

31. John France, 'Rodulfus Glaber and the Cluniacs', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 39 (1988), 497–508 (p. 503).

32. Glaber, *The Five Books*, pp. 126–27.

33. Glaber, *The Life*, pp. 276–77.

34. Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet, 'Culte des Saints et Pelérinage en Bourgogne du XI^{e} au XIII^{e} Siècle', *Les Cahiers de Saint Michel de Cuxa*, 29 (1998), 63–71, summarizes St Bénigne's accumulation of relics.

35. Glaber, *The Life*, pp. 276–77.

36. Glaber, *The Life*, p. 277.

37. Chomton, *Histoire*, p. 123, quotes *Martyrologium S. Benign. Divionen* (Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 379, fol. 25): 'Natalis sanctae Mariae ad martyres, quando beatus Bonifacius papa ecclesiam in honore semper virginis Mariae et omnium martyrum dedicavit. Divione, coenobio beati Benigni martyris, dedicatio oratorii in honore praefatae Dei genitricis.' In 1018 Easter fell on April 6, making the Tuesday of Rogations May 13. *Annales Sancti Benigni Monasterii*, p. 41: 'Ad annum 1018: Hoc anno fuit dedicata ecclesia Sanctae Mariae in Divionensi monasterio cum toto atrio ejusdem loci per manus Lamberti episcopi feria tertia Rogationum'; Richard Krautheimer, 'Sancta Maria Rotunda', in *Arte del primo millennio*, ed. by Edoardo Arslan, Atti del II convegno per lo studio dell'arte dell'alto medioevo, Pavia, 1950 (Turin, 1953), pp. 21–27 (p. 23) (reprinted in his *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art* (New York, 1969), pp. 107–14 (p. 107)), gives for the dedication of the Pantheon 10 May 609 or 610. Cf. Louis Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis*, vol. I (Paris, 1886–92), p. 317 n. 2. In the Roman martyrology the rededication was recorded on May 13, and this date was passed down to later martyrologies.

38. France, 'Rodulfus', pp. xl, lx.

39. France, 'Rodulfus', p. 503; Neithard Bulst, *Untersuchungen zu den Klosterreformen Wihelms von Dijon (962–1031)* (Bonn, 1973), pp. 43–45.

40. Chomton, *Histoire*, p. 92; *Chronique de Saint-Bénigne*, p. 136.

41. Glaber, *The Life*, p. 230 n. 2. Henri Focillon, *The Year 1000*, trans. by Fred D. Wieck (New York, 1969), pp. 135–37 and 146–47.

42. Glaber, *The Life*, pp. 11, 19, 23–31; Piotr Skubiszewski, 'Ecclesia, Christianitas, Regnum et Sacerdotium dans l'art des X^{e}–XI^{e} s. Idées et structures des images', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 28 (1985), 133–79 (pp. 162–65).

43. Bulst, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 106–14. These reforms were independent of, although related to, those of Cluny and Gorze.

44. Giles Constable, 'Renewal and Reform in Religious Life', in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Robert L. Benson and Constable (Cambridge, MA, 1982), pp. 37–67 (pp. 40–41).

45. Glaber, *The Five Books*, pp. 114–17.

46. Thomas Head and Richard Landes, eds. *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000* (Ithaca, NY, 1992), pp. 11–12. Constable, 'Renewal', p. 39, citing Amos Funkenstein, *Heilsplan und naturliche Entweicklung: Formen der Genenwartsbestimmung im Geschichtesdenken des hohen Mittelalters* (Munich, 1965), pp. 77–84, associates this metaphor of millenarian rebirth with 'baptismal renewal, represented by the white robe' and related it to the Peace of God, as does Richard Landes in his essay, 'The White Mantle', in this volume.

47. Glaber, *The Five Books*, pp. 232–33.

48. Glaber, *The Five Books*, pp. 232–33.

49. See note 32 above.

50. Nichols, *Romanesque*, p. 15. Maximus the Confessor died in 662. The *Ambigua* are primarily commentaries on difficulties and complexities in Gregory of Nazianzus's writings.

51. Nichols, *Romanesque*, p. 16.

52. Nichols, *Romanesque*, p. 16.

53. Nichols, *Romanesque*, p. 22.

54. Nichols, *Romanesque*, p. 15.

55. Nichols, *Romanesque*, p. 15, cites 1 *Ambigua* 6. 31 quoted by Inglis Patric Sheldon-Williams, 'The Greek Christian Platonist Tradition from the Cappadocians to Maximus and Eriugena', in *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early*

Medieval Philosophy, ed. by Arthur Hilary Armstrong (Cambridge, 1970), p. 430.

56. Nichols, *Romanesque*, p. 11. Eriugena died after 870.

57. Nichols, *Romanesque*, p. 15.

58. John Elsner, 'The Viewer and the Vision: The Case of the Sinai Apse', *Art History*, 17 (1994), 81–102 (p. 89).

59. Nichols, *Romanesque*, p. 10.

60. *Iohannis Scoti Eriugenae Expositiones in Ierarchiam Coelestem*, ed. by Jean Barbet, Corpus Christianorum, continuatio mediaevalis, 31 (Turnholt, 1975), pp. 8–9. Cf. *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works*, trans. by Colm Luibheid and Paul Rorem (New York, 1987), pp. 145–46. Schlink, *Saint-Bénigne*, p. 119, also relates the rotunda to Pseudo-Dionysius.

61. Glaber, *The Five Books*, p. 5. Pseudo-Dionysius lived in the late fifth or early sixth century.

62. Glaber, *The Five Books*, p. 7.

63. Nichols, *Romanesque*, p. 12; Paul Edward Dutton, 'Raoul Glaber's "De Divina Quaternitate": An Unnoticed Reading of Eriugena's Translation of the *Ambigua* of Maximus the Confessor', *Medieval Studies*, 42 (1980), 431–53 (pp. 451–52).

64. Glaber, *The Five Books*, p. 5; Dutton, 'Raoul', pp. 432, 444–47.

65. Dutton, 'Raoul', pp. 440, 444–46, 451. In both the Dijon and Cluny manuscripts of the *Ambigua* there is a Chrismon at the point where Rodulf found his comparison of the four elements to the four virtues; even his title for this chapter, 'De divina quaternitate', is found in Eriugena's translation of the *Ambigua*.

66. Yves Christe, *Les grands portails romans. Etude sur l'iconologie des théophanies romanes* (Geneva, 1969), p. 30.

67. France, 'Rodulfus', p. 503.

68. Christe, *Les grands portails*, pp. 29, 40–41, 50–55, and 82; Edmond Ortiques and Dominique Iogna-Prat, 'Raoul Glaber et l'historiographie clunisienne', *Studi Medievali*, 26 (1985), 537–72 (pp. 543–47), points out that these ideas were also a tradition in the school of Auxerre.

69. Martindale, 'Romanesque', pp. 48–49, lines 63–64, 68, and 76; Carolyn Marino Malone, 'The Rotunda of Sancta Maria in Dijon as "*Ostwerk*"', *Speculum*, 75 (2000), 285–317 (pp. 307–12), for an elaboration of the programme of altars. A similar sequence of inscriptions (borrowed from Eriugena's commentary in his translation of the Pseudo-Dionysius) is outlined in the *Uta Codex*, which was made for the convent at Niedermunster around 1020. In an illumination depicting Saint Erhard celebrating the Mass (Munich, Clm. 13601, fol. 4) the words *ordo saeculorum*, inscribed on the vertical sash of the saint's pallium, are intersected from bottom to top by three circular labels: *umbra legis*, *corpus ecclesiae*, and *lux aeternae vitae*. See Adam S. Cohen, *The Uta Codex: Art, Philosophy, and Reform in Eleventh-Century Germany* (University Park, 2000), pp. 87–88.

70. Martindale, 'Romanesque', p. 49, lines 107–09.

71. Dom Jean Leclercq, Dom Francois Vandenbroucke, and Louis Bouyer, *The Spirituality of the Middle Ages*, trans. by Benedictines of Holme Eden Abbey Carlisle (New York, 1968), p. 27. Gregory died in 604.

72. Carol Heitz, 'Lumières anciennes et nouvelles sur Saint-Bénigne de Dijon', in *Du* VII^{e} *au* XI^{e} *siècles: Edifices monastiques et culte en Lorraine et en Bourgogne*, ed. by Heitz, Centre de recherches sur l'antiquite tardive et le haut Moyen Age, Cahier 2 (Nanterre, 1977), pp. 64–106 (p. 77).

73. Heitz, 'Lumières', p. 77. The altar of Saint Paul at St Bénigne was also dedicated to Saint Apollinaire and Saint Cyr, both associated with cities of Paul's mission. Dionysius the Areopagite was falsely believed to be the author of the corpus of the Pseudo-Dionysius, actually written five hundred years later. See Paul Rorem, *Pseudo-Dionysius: A Commentary on the Texts and an Introduction to Their Influence* (Oxford, 1993), p. 3. It was believed that the first bishop of Paris and Dionysius the Areopagite were the same, as claimed in the eighth century by Abbot Hilduin of St Denis, the first known western translator of the Areopagite's theological writings. See Pierre Riche, *The Carolingians* (Philadelphia, 1993), p. 334.

74. See *Iohannis Scotti Eriugenae Carmina*, ed. by Michael W. Herren, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, 12 (Dublin, 1993), p. 111.

75. Edmund Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus* (Antwerp, 1736–38), vol. IV, book 3, col. 467; and Chomton, *Histoire*, p. 416.

76. *Meditations of Saint Augustine*, introd. by Jean-Clair Girard, ed. by John E. Rotelle, and trans. by Matthew J. O'Connell (Villanova, PA, 1995), p. 112. (John's works were once thought to be those of Saint Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, and hence have been published as part of Augustine's *Meditations*.) Dom Jean Leclercq and Jean-Paul Bonnes, *Un maître de la vie spirituelle au* XI^{e} *siècle, Jean de Fécamp* (Paris, 1946), pp. 13–14, 30, and 42–43.

77. Kassius Hallinger, 'The Spiritual Life of Cluny in the Earliest Days', in *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. by Noreen Hunt (London, 1971), pp. 29–55 (pp. 38–41), finds these concepts in the writings of Odo (927–42).

78. Ortiques and Iogna-Prat, 'Raoul', pp. 564 and 594. The *Sermo de Beato Maiolo*, reworked at the time of Odilo, develops the theme that the spiritual state of the monks is similar to that of the virgins and martyrs in the Apocalypse. This concept is based on a long development in which the authority of the Apocalypse and Augustine's *De sancta Virginitate* were combined.

79. Hallinger, 'The Spiritual', p. 36.

80. Ortiques and Iogna-Prat, 'Raoul', p. 542. Glaber, *The Life*, pp. 290–91. In a sermon that Rodulf recorded, William does refer to assuming through the Church in baptism 'the first robe of that angelic beatitude which you lost by the sin of your first parent, the inhabitant of paradise'.

81. *St Augustine: The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, trans. by John Taylor, vol. II, Ancient Christian Writers, 42 (New York, 1982), pp. 228, 322.

82. *Meditations of Saint Augustine*, pp. 66–67.

83. *Meditations of Saint Augustine*, p. 94.

84. *Meditations of Saint Augustine*, p. 78. Although many of John of Fécamp's ideas resemble those of Eriugena, they seem to derive from the Latin and not the Greek tradition; both traditions, of course, shared with distinctions many of these concepts.

85. *Meditations of Saint Augustine*, p. 111.

86. Martindale, 'Romanesque', p. 49, line 75. 'Haec in modum coronae constructa, triginta quoque et sex innixa columnis, fenestris undique ac desuper patulo caelo lumen infundentibus micat eximia claritate.' Unlike the Pantheon

where light flooded the entire rotunda, the trajectory of light in the Dijon rotunda was largely limited to the upper level because of the rotunda's division into storeys.

87. Patrik Reutersward, *The Visible and Invisible in Art: Essays in the History of Art* (Wien, 1991), p. 45. I wish to thank Meredith Lillich for this reference.

88. Reutersward, *The Visible*, pp. 45 n. 3 and 285.

89. Reutersward, *The Visible*, pp. 49, 52. Although the marble filling the window is now modern, it probably replaced an original thin slab of marble.

90. Reutersward, *The Visible*, p. 47.

91. Reutersward, *The Visible*, p. 52.

92. Reutersward, *The Visible*, pp. 147–48.

93. Nichols, *Romanesque*, p. 20.

94. Glaber, *The Five Books*, pp. 120–21.

95. Nichols, *Romanesque*, p. 87; Michael Herren, 'Eriugena's "Aulae Sidereae", the "Codex Aureus", and the Palatine Church of St. Mary at Compiègne', *Studi Medievali*, 28 (1987), 593–605 (p. 607).

96. Nichols, *Romanesque*, p. 87.

97. Michel Foussard, '*Aulae Sidereae*, vers de Jean Scot au roi Charles', *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 21 (1971), 80–88 (pp. 84, 88).

98. *Iohannis Scotti Eriugenae Carmina*, p. 122, line 94.

99. Foussard, '*Aulae Sidereae*', p. 82; Herren, 'Eriugena's', p. 607, believes the poem was written to commemorate Charles's celebration of Christmas at Aachen in 869 but anticipates future celebrations of that feast at Compiègne.

100. Nichols, *Romanesque*, p. 10.

101. Heitz, 'Lumières', p. 77; Martindale, 'Romanesque', p. 49, line 68. This altar also contained relics of the Holy Virgin and the Holy Innocents, reinforcing the idea of Mary as Mother. Recall that the *Chronicon S. Benigni Divionensis* refers specifically to the choir level of the rotunda as 'basilicam sanctae dei genitricis mariae'.

102. *Consuetudines Cluniacensium antiquiores cum redactionibus derivatis*, ed. by Kassius Hallinger, Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum, 7.2 (Siegburg, 1983), p. 29, and *Clavis voluminum CCM VII/1–3*, ed. by Candida Elvert, Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum, 7.4 (Siegburg, 1986), p. 39; Chomton, *Histoire*, p. 397. One of the Christmas readings in both St Bénigne's customary of 1030 and that of 1200 was John 1. 1: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.' Bede's homily on this text was also included in the third customary. Likewise, Eriugena composed a Christmas homily for this Mass of the day based on the prologue to John's gospel. See Eriugena, *Homélie sur le Prologue de Jean*, ed. and trans. by Edouard Jeauneau, Sources Chrétiennes, 180 (Paris, 1969), pp. 73–77. Moreover, as the pericope for this Christmas Mass, John 1. 1–14 provided the *tituli* inscribed on the frontispiece to the Gospel of John in the *Uta Codex* (Munich, Clm. 13601 fol. 89^v). The order of the medallions surrounding the image of John resembles the sequence of the dedications in the levels of the rotunda. (See Cohen, *Uta Codex*, pp. 120–28.) The top-left medallion illustrates John 1. 1–3 with an image of the celestial Jesus. The top-right medallion illustrates John 1. 6–7 with an image of John the Baptist. The bottom two medallions depict the Nativity on the right and the Transfiguration on the left with its *titulus*, John 1. 14: 'And the Word was made flesh [...] and we saw his glory [...].' Like this manuscript page, the rotunda (its crypt level dedicated to John the Baptist, choir level to the Nativity, and third level to the Trinity) can be interpreted as encapsulating the opening fourteen verses of John to constitute a theological exposition on the nature of God and the Incarnation in Christ around the theme of light. Beneath the celestial Christ as *Logos* in the *Codex*, and preceding it in a clockwise reading, the image of the Transfiguration glosses John's text. Similar Transfiguration imagery in the upper storey of the rotunda could be imagined complementing the Trinity altar in a similar way. (Capitals on the main level of the rotunda were related to its dedication to the Incarnation.) Christmas sermons at St Bénigne may also have explained the Incarnation with reference to the Transfiguration and possibly to *theosis*. Regardless, it is significant that the Incarnation was glossed at this time with Christ's Transfiguration as a manifestation of his glory in the *Uta Codex*.

103. *Chronique de Saint-Bénigne*, p. 137. Possibly the chronicler, who may have been writing only a year after John of Fécamp was abbot at St Bénigne (1052–54), echoes the monastic community's understanding of the rotunda under John's guidance, an understanding that may go back to his mentor, Abbot William.

104. Nichols, *Romanesque*, pp. 19, 25–26.

105. Head and Landes, *The Peace*, p. 12.

106. This theme, and many of the ideas in this article, will be developed in my book in preparation, *The Abbey of Saint-Bénigne in Dijon: Architecture, Liturgy, and Ideology around the Year 1000*.

107. Glaber, *The Life*, pp. 276–77.

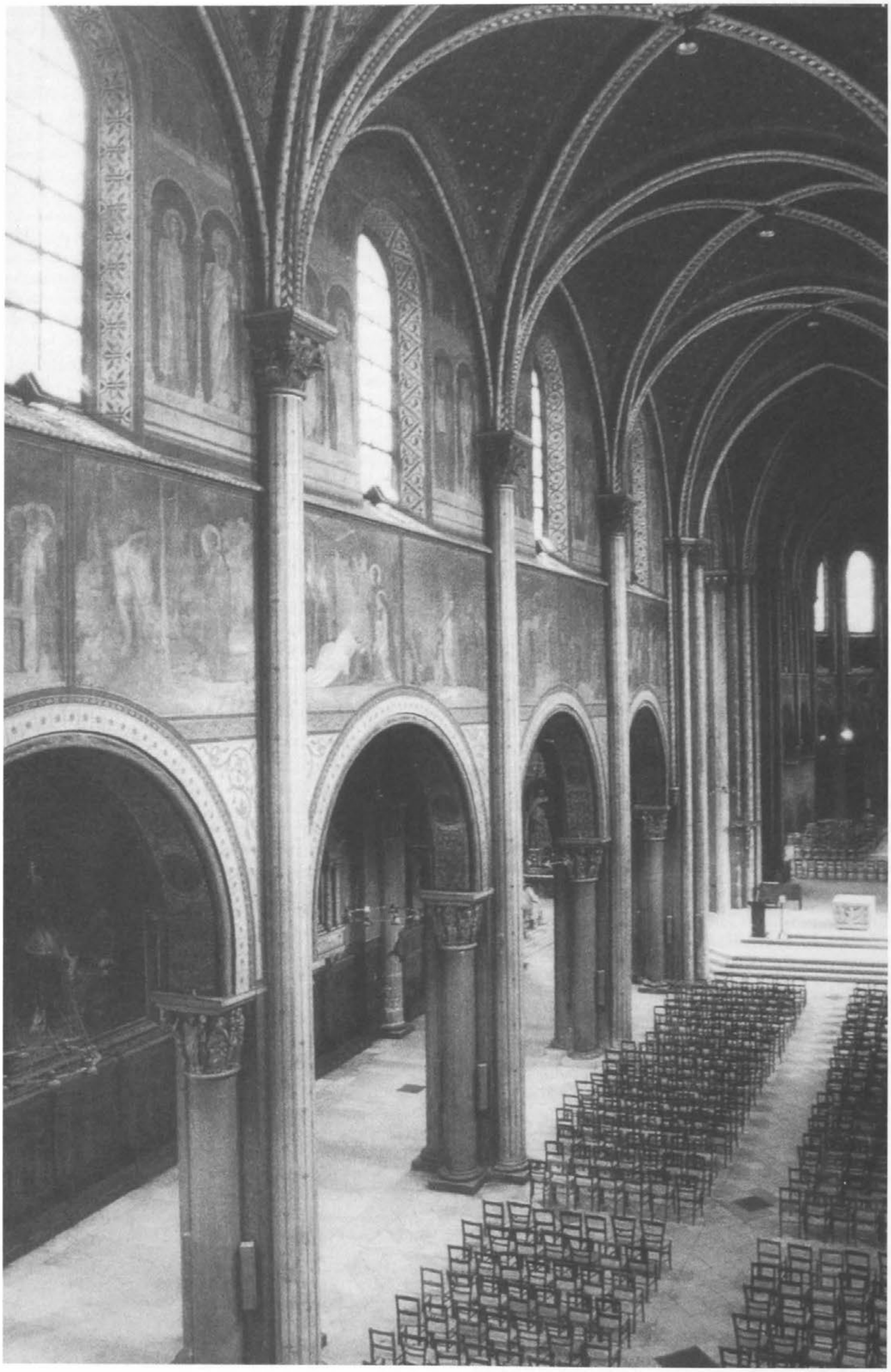


Fig. 92. Paris, St Germain-des-Prés, nave. Sanctuary commenced c. 1025, nave probably 1040–50; present vault 1644–46; main arcades restored and clerestory windows enlarged 1820–c. 1825; some nave capitals replaced 1850s; photo M. Thurlby.

10. The Architecture and Sculpture of the Eleventh-Century Abbey Church of St Germain-des-Prés: Their Place in the Millennial Period

DANIELLE JOHNSON

The architecture and sculpture of St Germain-des-Prés has been the subject of numerous studies by historians and archaeologists over a long period of time.[1] The importance of the abbey church to this volume partly lies in its reform and reconstruction by William of Volpiano, at the instigation of Robert the Pious, thereby qualifying it without doubt as one of Glaber's 'white mantle of churches'. Its importance also derives from being the only surviving eleventh-century building in Paris. Thus it should prove instructive both to consider this church in the context of architecture in the new millennium in general and to consider it as providing its own context for the architectural sculpture of its nave.

In 1989, Philippe Plagnieux and I obtained permission to mount scaffolding in the nave of the church. Plagnieux was, at this time, completing his doctoral dissertation on St Gemain-des-Prés,[2] an overview of which has recently been published in the *Bulletin monumental*.[3] Consequently we found ourselves face to face with the sculpture of the nave and were able to identify numerous original capitals, as well as many that had been replaced, and it is important to note that no text covering the nave capitals has so far been published in English.

This chapter therefore will focus on the most salient points of the architecture and provide a detailed description of the sculpture of the nave, from the time of the church's reconstruction under the abbacies of Morad (990–1014), Ignon (1014–25), William of Volpiano (1025–30), and Adraud (1030–60), and to assess their place in relation to Glaber's 'white mantle of churches'.

History

The church of St Germain-des-Prés was founded by the Merovingian king Childebert in the mid-sixth century in honour of Saint Vincent of Saragossa, whose tunic he had brought back from Spain in 542, together with a fragment of the Holy Cross. At that time, Childebert conveyed the church to Saint Germain, archbishop of Paris. On 23 December 558, the church, dedicated to St Vincent and the Holy Cross, was consecrated and the tomb of Childebert was installed near the high altar. During the sixth and seventh centuries, the church became one of the most important burial places of the Merovingian dynasty: Chilpéric I (d. 584), Frédégonde (d. 597), and Clotaire II (d. 628).[4]

After his death in 576, Saint Germain was buried in the chapel of St Symphorien, which was constructed in the second half of the sixth century and situated to the west of the present tower-porch. Remains of his grave were found during archaeological excavations in 1971.[5] Numerous miracles were said to have occurred at his tomb and it is likely that the church was renamed in honour of Saint Germain when his tomb was redisposed in the church in 756.[6]

During the second half of the ninth century, the abbey was sacked by Danes and Normans. In fact, the roofing of the abbey was used by the Danes to repair their boats.[7] After their departure, the abbey complex was restored. However, it was not until the beginning of the eleventh century that the reconstruction of the new church was begun.

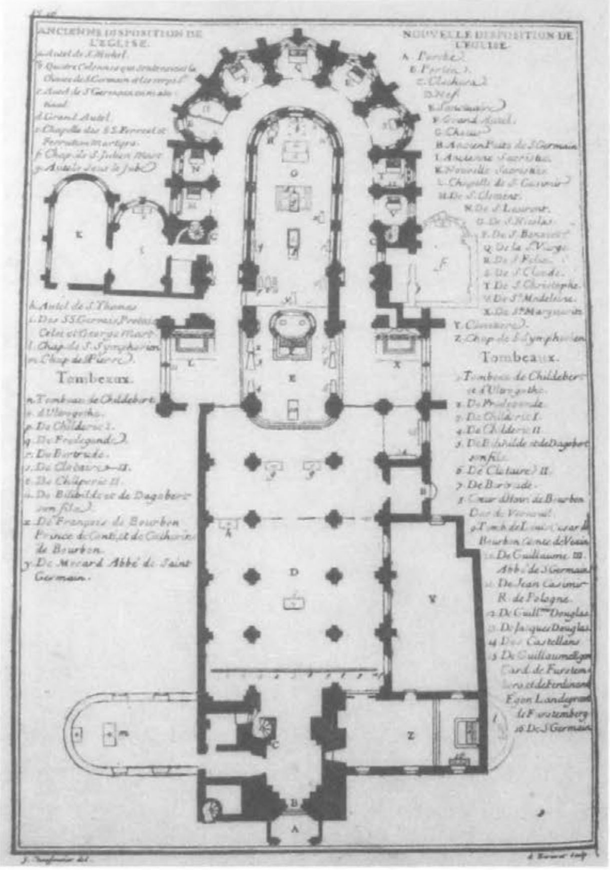

ANCIENNE DISPOSITION DE L'EGLISE.
NOUVELLE DISPOSITION DE L'EGLISE.
Tombeaux.
Tombeaux.

Fig. 93. Paris, St Germain-des-Prés, plan of the church in 1724, drawn by J. Chaufourier.

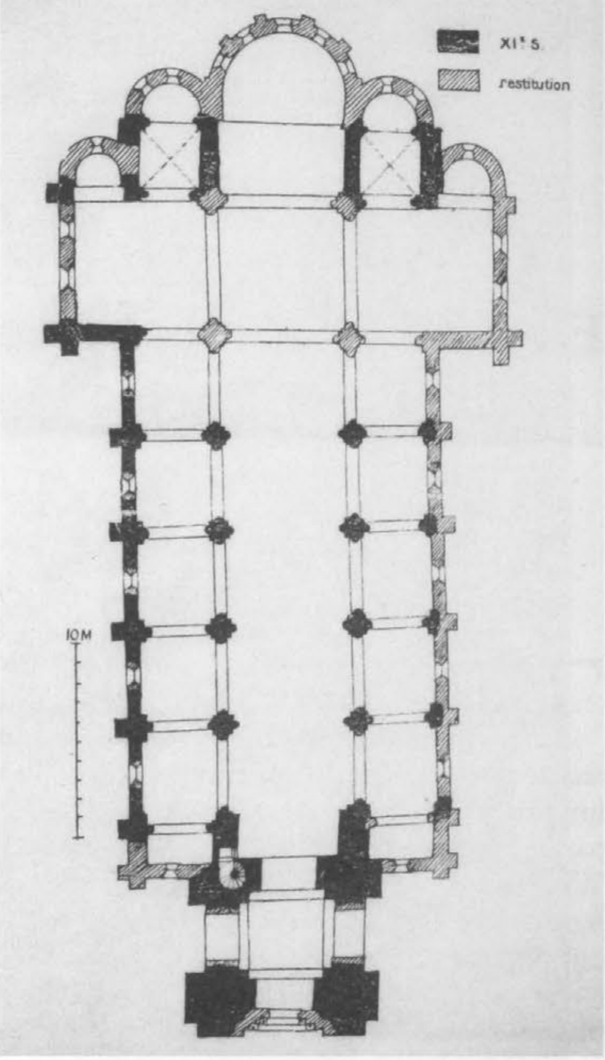


Fig. 94. Paris, St Germain-des-Prés, reconstructed plan of the eleventh-century church; after E. Lefèvre-Pontalis.

The tower-porch was constructed *c.* 1010, during the abbacy of Morad, and it is possible that the chapel of St Symphorien was reconstructed at this time.[8] Following this, the Carolingian church was dismantled and a new church was constructed. Of this early-eleventh-century church, there remains today the nave and the lower storeys of the two towers that flank the transept.[9]

There is no precise documentation that would permit a secure dating of the nave and towers. The reconstruction of the church was most likely begun to the east in 1025 under the abbot, William of Volpiano (1025–30), who was entrusted with the reform of the abbey by Robert the Pious and Queen Constance. It is interesting to note that William of Volpiano was abbot of St Bénigne in Dijon from 987 to 1000 and of La Trinité in Fécamp from 1001 to 1025. The reconstruction of the church was continued under Adraud, who succeeded him in 1030.[10] Based on the opinions of several scholars, the date of 1040–50 for the construction of the nave may be proposed.[11]

Restorations

It is important to note that in the mid-seventeenth century, because of the extremely threatening state of the original wooden roofing, the nave and the side aisles were revaulted with rib vaulting and capitals were added to the tops of the elongated engaged nave columns that appear to support the ribs. This restoration was ordered by the Maurist monks of St Maur-des-Fossés who had installed themselves in the abbey in 1630. It took place between April 1644 and May 1646 under the direction of the architect, Christian Gamare.[12] The north and south transept facades were, for the most part, transformed at this time, and the transept was revaulted (figs 93, 94).[13]

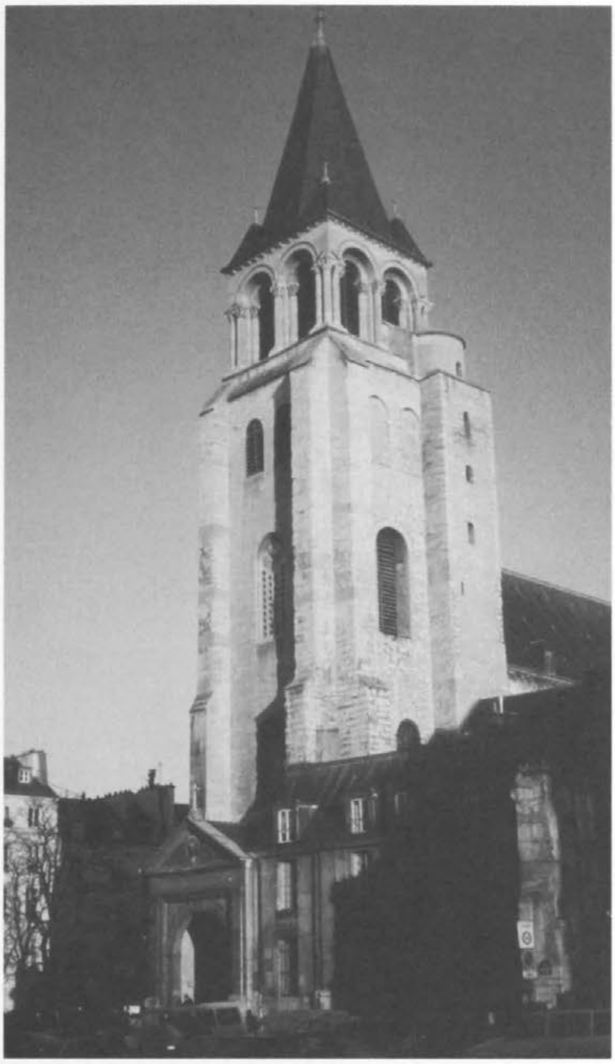


Fig. 95. Paris, St Germain-des-Prés, tower-porch; photo D. Johnson.

At the end of the eighteenth century when, during the revolution, the monks were chased from the abbey, a saltpetre factory was installed in the church in April 1794 and remained in use until 1801. The damage to the piers from the infiltration of the saltpetre was so disastrous that a major restoration was undertaken by the architect Godde in 1820 to save the nave, and this was completed *c.* 1825. He rebuilt the bases and the lower parts of the nave piers, as well as the wall of the south aisle. He demolished the upper storeys of the lateral towers and repaired the lower storeys of the tower-porch, and he also enlarged the clerestory windows of the nave and the north and south transepts. There remain, however, two original windows in the west wall of the north transept.[14]

Godde was succeeded, after 1850, by the architect Victor Baltard, who was responsible for the replacement of the nave capitals. The painted decoration of the church was undertaken by Hippolyte Flandrin between 1856 and 1861.

Architecture

The Tower-Porch

The tower-porch of St Germain (fig. 95) that was constructed, as noted, *c.* 1010 during the abbacy of Morad is a four-storeyed structure. The walls of the three lower storeys are massive with simple window openings. In each of the four walls of the fourth storey are two round arches supported by compound engaged columns. Based on research carried out by P. Colas, this storey was constructed during the second half of the eleventh century and replaced the spire of Morad's tower.[15]

It was restored by Baltard between 1848 and 1853, as were the three lower storeys. The original stairway is set in the north-east angle of the tower-porch and terminates in the tribune at first-floor level. The upper levels are reached by another stairway departing from the south-east angle. While the masonry of the walls of the tower-porch was heavily repaired by Baltard, parts of the masonry of the four-storey tower exist in the north and south exterior faces, as well as in the interior. There are, also, a large number of masons' marks carved on the interior coursing. It is interesting to note that the arches of the tower-porch are horseshoe arches, similar to those of the chapel of St Symphorien, the arcades of the nave, and the tower of the north-east transept.[16]

The Chapel of St Symphorien

The chapel of St Symphorien was constructed during the mid-sixth century to the south-west of the church consecrated in 558. Saint Germain was buried there in 576. The original chapel has been partially reconstructed numerous times over the past centuries, for example, during the early eleventh century (*c.* 1025), and in the seventeenth century, when three reconstructions took place. Another was carried out by the architect Baltard in 1857.[17] However, during excavations undertaken by Jean Derens in 1971, the original foundations of the chapel were brought to light, although they are not particularly homogeneous.[18] In 1975, Robert Vassas, *architecte-en-chef des Monuments historiques*, carried out research by removing plaster from the walls of the chapel. He was able to identify the original level of the chapel that was constructed *c.* 1025. He also discovered the column and capital that were set above a base uncovered during Derens's excavations and that supported the arch of the entry from the south side aisle of the eleventh-century nave into the chapel of St Symphorien. The profile of the base that was found during Derens's excavations (torus, long shallow scotie, wide torus, and soccle) has allowed art historians to reconstruct the profiles of the other bases of the nave piers that were replaced during the nineteenth-century restorations carried out by Godde and Baltard.[19]

The Nave and Lateral Towers

The ground plan of the eleventh-century church is a relatively simple one (fig. 94). The massive tower-porch is set against the west wall of the nave, which has side aisles and a transept, into which opened two small apsidal chapels. The rectangular choir was flanked to the north and south by two towers, to the east of which apses were constructed. The chevet terminated in a large apse. Also, although not shown on this plan, in 1876 the foundations of an apsed hemicycle, set between the two buttresses of the south tower, were excavated by Théodore Vaquer.[20] It is most probable that there was also an apse that extended from the north transept.[21]

The elevation of the nave (fig. 92) is also simple. Rounded arches opening into the side aisles fall on compound piers with engaged columns. The clerestory level consists of large non-articulated windows with rounded archivolts. The original rounded mouldings of the arches of the nave arcades were replaced by flattened mouldings when the restoration took place in the mid-seventeenth century. The nave was originally covered by a roofing of oak beams that was in a very dangerous state in the mid-seventeenth century and, as noted above, was replaced by stone rib vaulting. The elongated engaged columns that supported the original wooden roofing beams mount the piers and divide the main aisle of the nave into concise three-dimensional blocks.

The Architectural Context of St Germain

The architecture of the eleventh-century nave of St Germain-des-Prés fits well within the blossoming of Romanesque architecture during the early and middle decades of the new millennium.

The simple ground plan of St Germain's nave, with side aisles, transept, and chevet flanked by apses, may be compared with several contemporary, or near-contemporary, churches in Europe.

France: Bernay Abbey (1017–55); Caen, La Trinité (1062–70); Compiègne, St Stephen (mid-eleventh century); and Morienval, Notre-Dame (*c.* 1070/75).

Spain: Avila, S. Vincente (1109+); Jaca Cathedral (1036–94); and Léon, S. Isidore (1054–1100+).

Germany: Speyer I, cathedral (1031–62); Mainz, St Mary and St Stephen (1081–1137); and Hildesheim, St Michael (1001–33), east end.

England: London, Westminster Abbey (consecrated 1065); Lincoln Cathedral (1073–92); Old Sarum Cathedral (consecrated 1092); and Lewes Priory (after 1090).

On the other hand, the two-storeyed nave elevation, with nave arcading set on compound piers and single engaged columns rising to the roofing, foreshadowed some churches of the next generation.

France: Vézelay, La Madeleine (1104–32); Fleury, St Benoît-sur-Loire, nave (early twelfth century).

Spain: Jaca Cathedral (end eleventh century); Léon, St Isidore, nave (*c.* 1110–20).

Germany: Abbey of Maria Laach (founded in 1093); and Mainz Cathedral (late eleventh/early twelfth century).

Sculpture

The Nave Capitals

The architectural sculpture of the nave of St Germain-des-Prés is by far the most important aspect of this early-eleventh-century church. There are three series of capitals (the third series being composed of two groups), dating from 1040–50, that are set above the columns of the nave. The first two series are carved by two different sculptors, as are the two groups of the third series.

First series: foliate capitals that derive mainly from the Corinthian capital and are referred to in French as *chapiteaux corinthisants.* These are hardly a novelty for this period, but essentially carry on the Carolingian tradition. Neverthe-

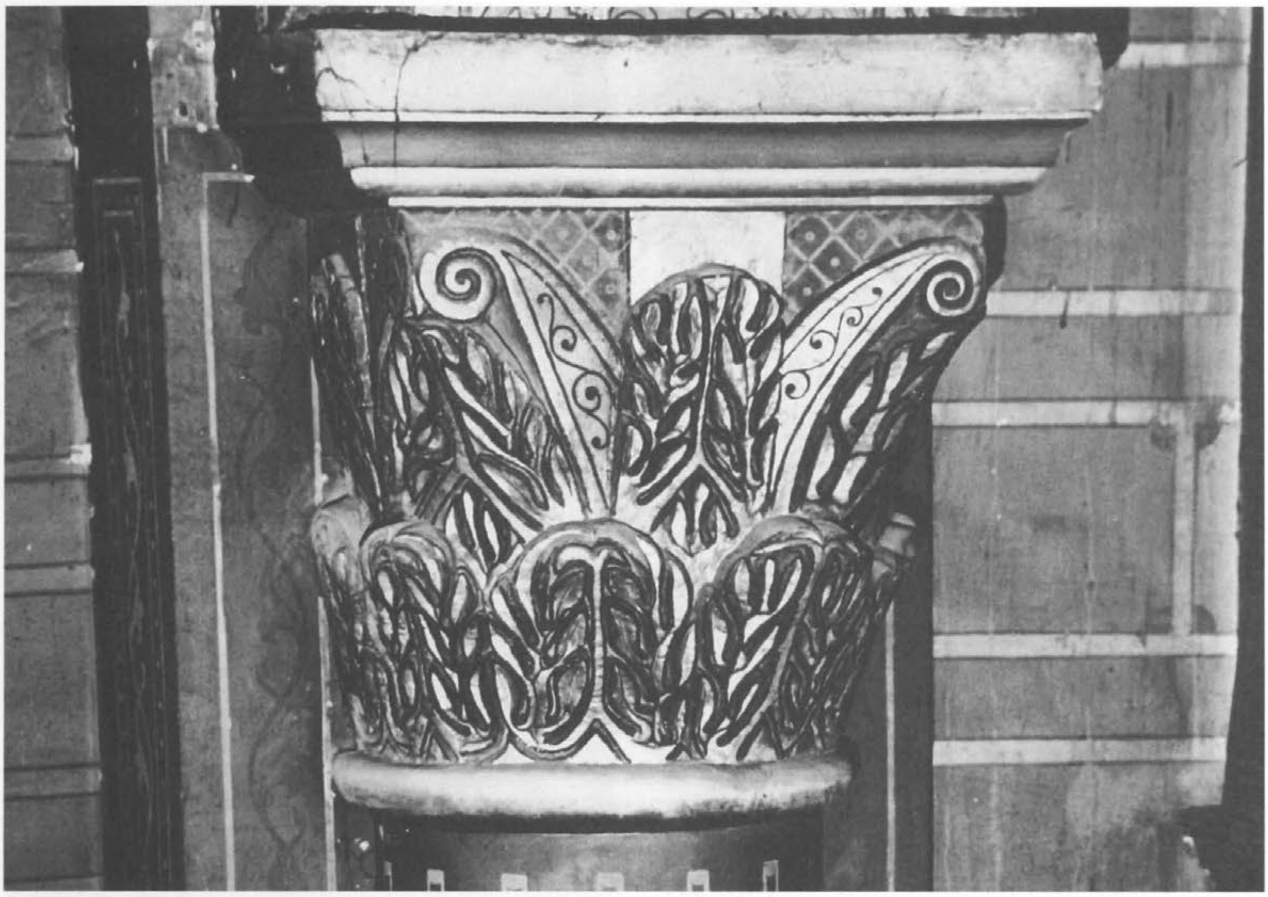


Fig. 96. Principal face of a foliate capital (engaged western pier, south nave arcade); photo D. Johnson.

less there is a great deal of creativity and inventiveness on the part of the sculptors of these capitals.

Second series: figurative capitals with fantasy themes.

Third series: historiated capitals.

The capitals of the second series and, especially, the third series added a great novelty to the architectural sculpture of the first half of the eleventh century, and in fact, in France, historiated capitals are extremely rare before 1050. The other important abbey in this regard is St Benoît-sur-Loire (Fleury) and the architectural sculpture of its tower-porch, which may be dated *c.* 1010.[22]

Maylis Baylé, in an article published in 1992, underscored the importance of the *chapiteaux corinthisants* and those decorated with animals and figures as an intermediary link between Italy and Normandy.[23]

Before presenting the three series of capitals from the nave, it should be noted that numerous capitals were damaged by the infiltration of the saltpetre into the stone when the factory was installed in the church during the Revolution. These were replaced or recarved during the nineteenth century. Twelve of the original capitals, including capitals from all three series, are presently displayed in the *Musée national du Moyen Age* (inv. nos. Cl. 18612–18623).

The rather dramatic repainting of the church under Baltard has made it extremely difficult to identify the nave capitals that are original and those that have been replaced or recarved. However, as a result of the detailed inspection that took place in 1989, it was possible to make progress in distinguishing between original capitals and replacements. There are, however, several capitals that remain a puzzle.

The First Series of Capitals

As noted, this series consists mainly of foliate capitals based on the Corinthian capital, although several incorporate figures of animals and vine patterns.

There are three capitals of this series in the nave that are definitely original. The first capital is a direct play on the Corinthian capital (fig. 96): a *collerette* of acanthus leaves is carved in the lower zone, a creative *caulicole* is set under the

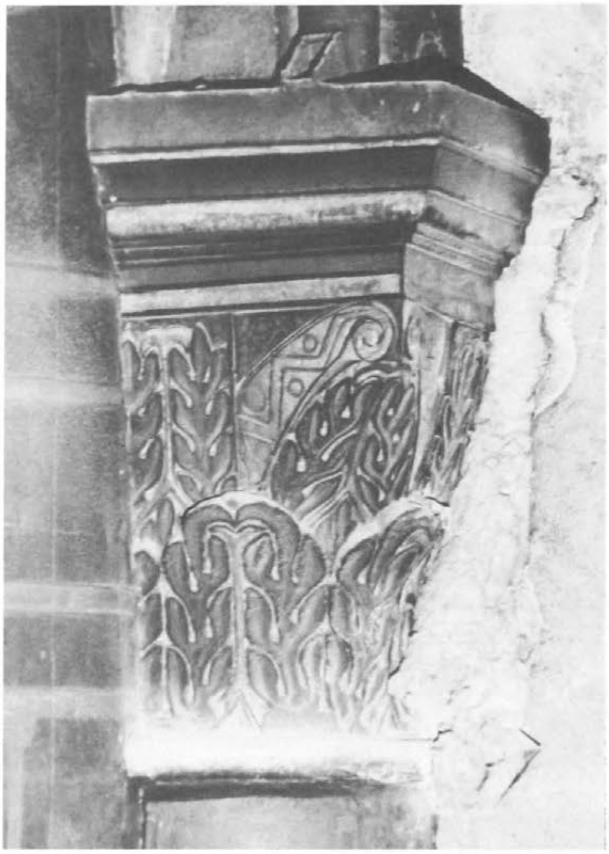


Fig. 97. Left face of a foliate capital (first engaged column, south aisle); photo D. Johnson.

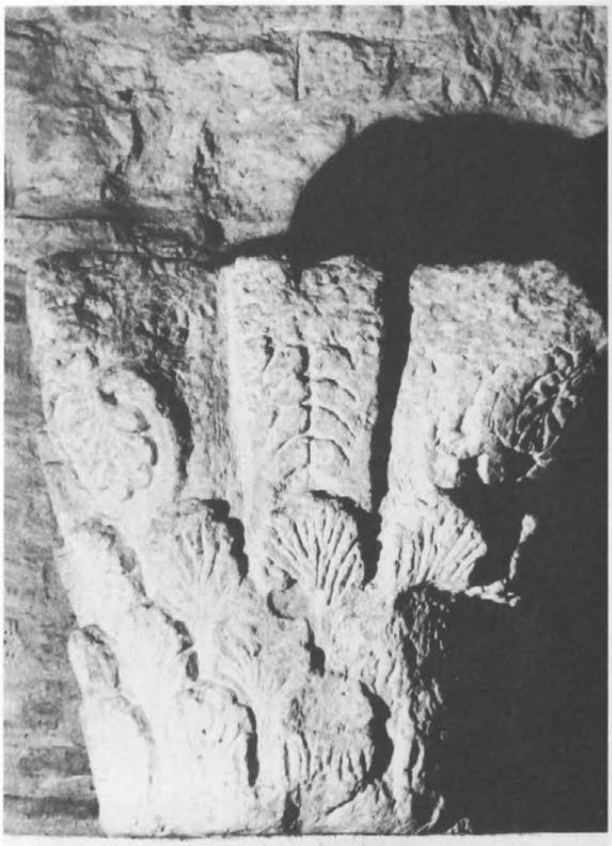


Fig. 99. Foliate capital (*Musée national du Moyen Age*); photo D. Johnson.

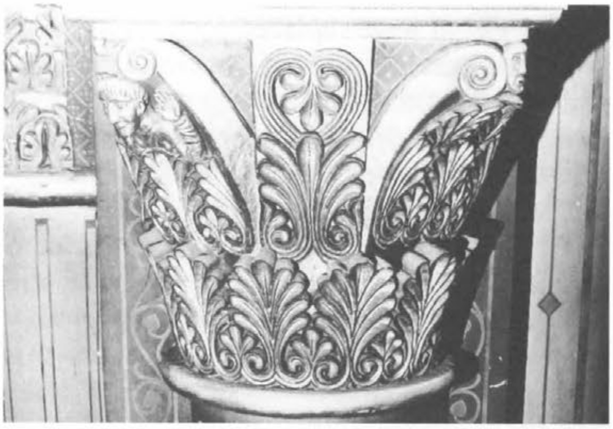


Fig. 98. Foliate capital with figures (first pier, north nave arcade, west); photo D. Johnson.

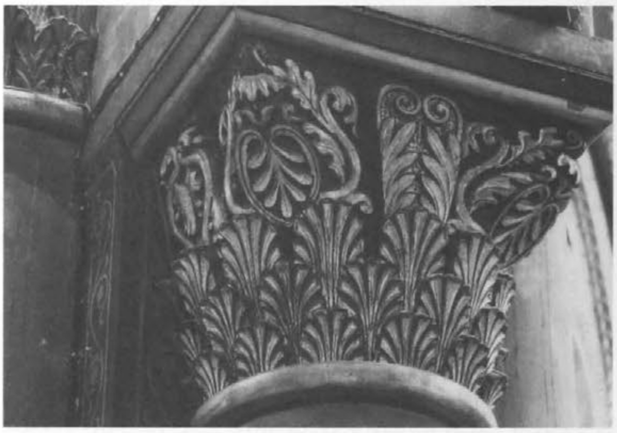


Fig. 100. Copy of fig. 99 (third pier, south nave arcade, east); photo D. Johnson.

upper angles, volutes are placed on the angles, and a *fleuron* is set on the abacus. A painted capital with similar painted motifs (fig. 97) is set above a column supporting an arch in the southwest wall that opened into the chapel of St Symphorien. It is today cut by the eastern wall of the chapel that was reconstructed in the seventeenth century. The original unpainted faces of this capital are today exposed in the chapel. On another painted foliate capital of similar composition (fig. 98), a head is set between the volutes of the right angle of the capital and the head of a figure is placed under the volute of the left angle.

A fourth capital of this series is displayed in the *Musée national du Moyen Age* (Cl. 18620) (fig. 99). Around the lower zone of the basket are three rows of small, incised acanthus leaves. A large palmette is set under each angle and is encircled by a thick vine. The *fleuron* of the aba-

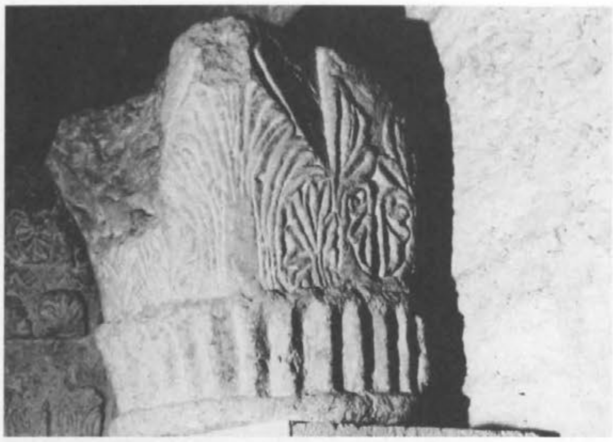


Fig. 101. Capital with a collar (*Musée national du Moyen Age*); photo D. Johnson.

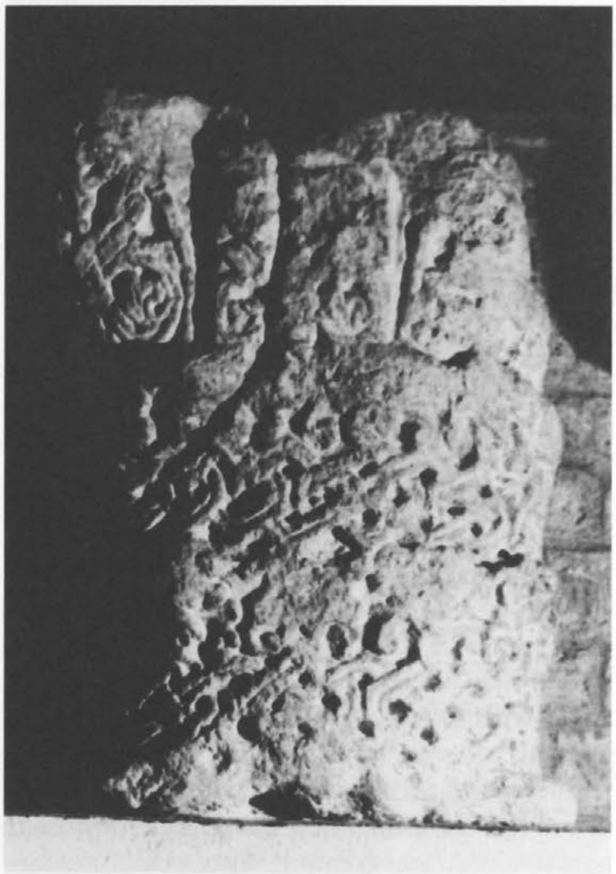


Fig. 102. Capital with interlaced vines (*Musée national du Moyen Age*); photo D. Johnson.

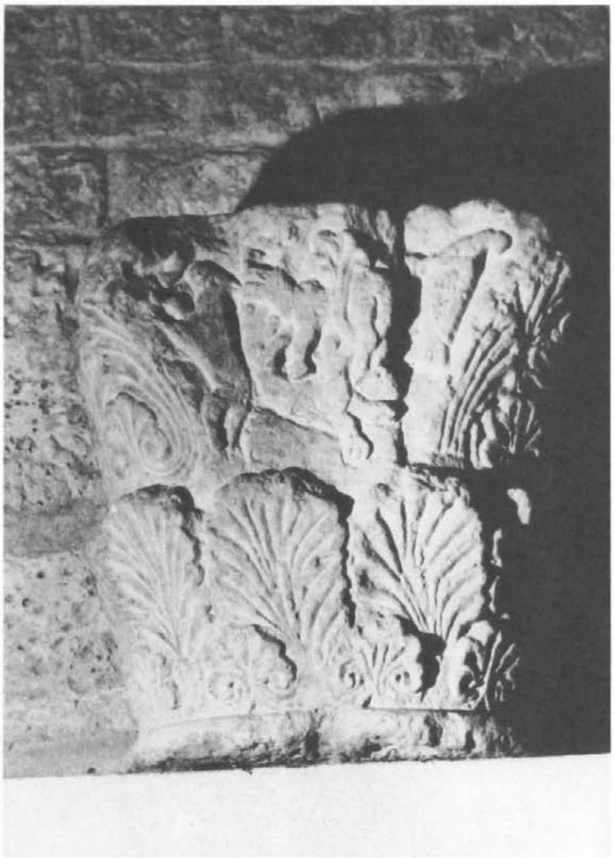


Fig. 103. Foliate capital with animals (*Musée national du Moyen Age*), placement of copy (fourth pier, south nave arcade, east); photo D. Johnson.

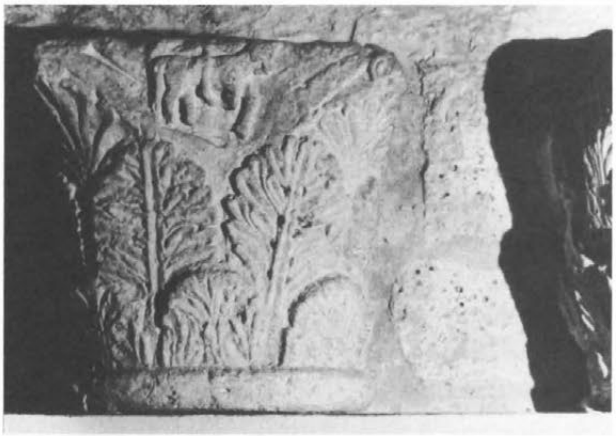


Fig. 104. Capital with *Agnus dei* (*Musée national du Moyen Age*), placement of copy (first pier, south nave arcade, east); photo D. Johnson.

cus is decorated with thick, flattened, multilobed leaves. Its copy is, today, in the south aisle of the nave (fig. 100).

Also in the *Musée national du Moyen Age* is a capital (Cl. 18622) (fig. 101) with a *collerette* consisting of smooth, carefully carved, rounded-out leaves. Against each of the angles is set a large, elongated acanthus leaf that fans out onto the faces of the basket, that are decorated with small palmette leaves.

Three other capitals of this series in the *Musée national du Moyen Age* stray away from the Corinthian. On the first capital (Cl. 18616) (fig. 102), two thick bands of interlaced, incised vines enwrap the basket. While the *fleuron* of the abacus and the upper right angle are badly dam-

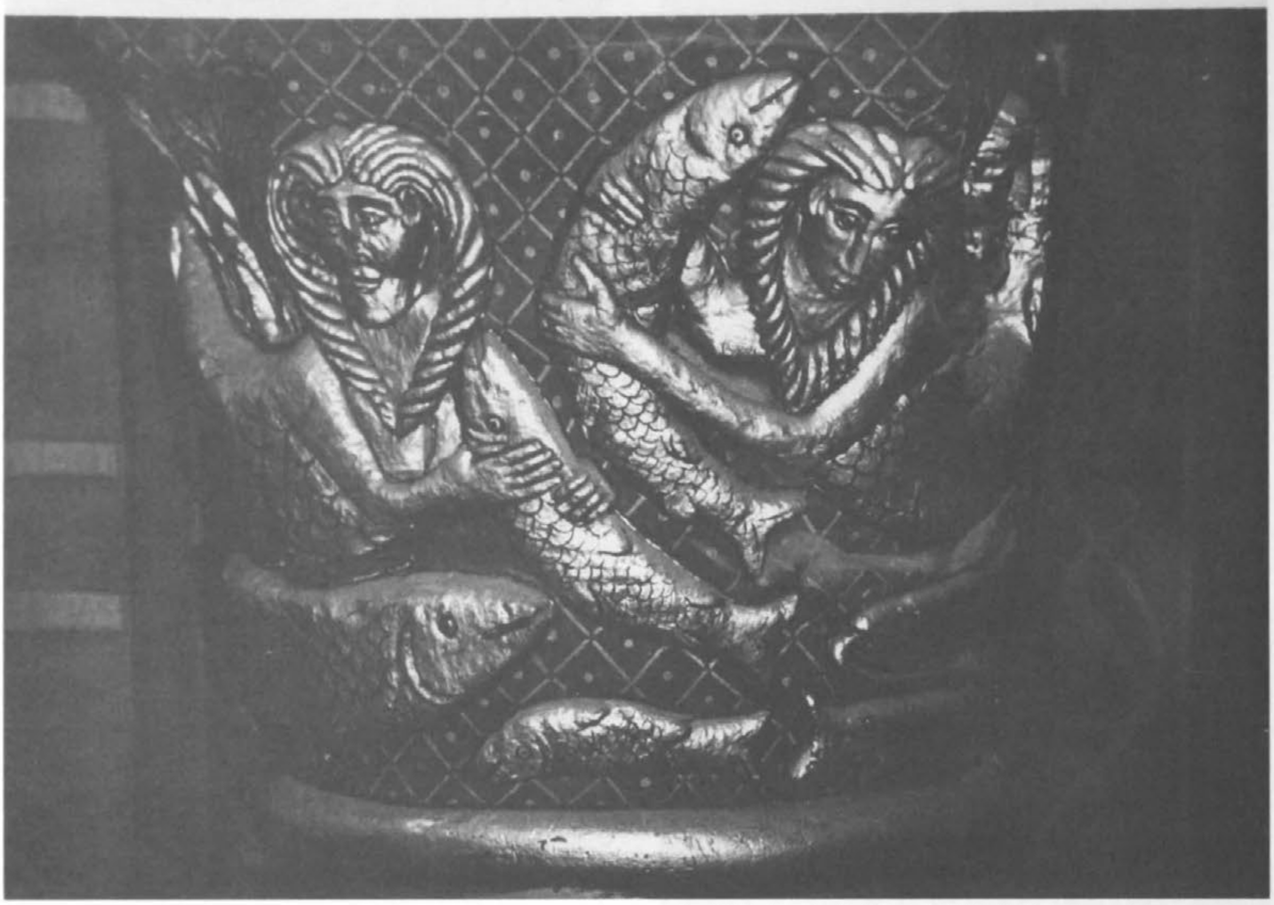


Fig. 105. Capital with Sirens (engaged western pier, north nave arcade); photo D. Johnson.

aged, a small palmette rolls around itself below the upper left angle. The second capital (Cl. 18617) (fig. 103) is decorated with large, rounded, incised acanthus leaves set above small palmette leaves. On the *fleuron* of the abacus and set against the angles of the principal face are several animals, the tails of two of which are entwined in the central axis. A large bird is set against the upper right angle. On the third capital (Cl. 18621) (fig. 104), two thin, flat vines emerge from the central axis and terminate at the angles in a small volute. On the *fleuron* of the abacus and framed by the vines is the *Agnus dei*.

The decor of all of the capitals in this series is carved in relatively low relief. However, the creative treatment of the different leaf and vine motifs (dynamic, thick and thin, rounded out or incised, tightly compact or fanned out) offer a different vision of the traditional Corinthian capital.

The Second Series

This is composed of simple, figurative capitals based on fantasy themes. It consists of only three capitals still in place in the nave and two others that appear to be nineteenth-century copies.

The first original capital (fig. 105) is decorated with sirens and fish that are very ornamental and inventive for the early eleventh century. And, although the figures are sculpted in a rather crude manner, the treatment of their hair is extremely creative. Also, the composition of the scene is dynamic: plants blossom behind the sirens' twisted tails and the observer has the impression that the fish are actually swimming.

The other original capitals are equally imaginative, and they definitely reflect a certain secularity. On one of the capitals (fig. 106), a nude man appears to be choking an animal, while he pulls its tail in between its legs. Another small animal is about to bite the large animal's stomach. The bodies have received no sculptural body carving except the rounded eyes and ears and the long flat noses. Another nude man, seat-

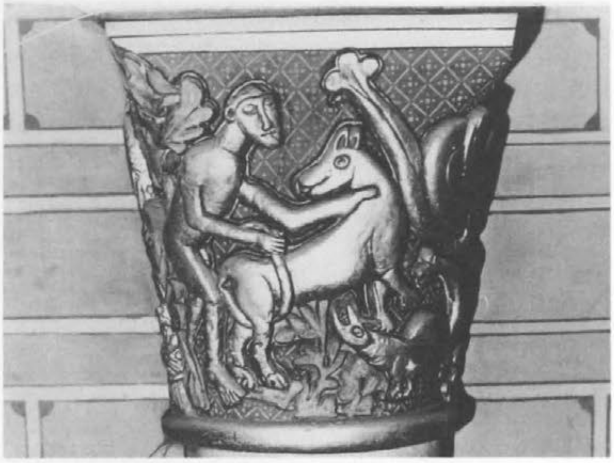


Fig. 106. Capital with male and animal figures (fifth engaged column, north side aisle); photo D. Johnson.

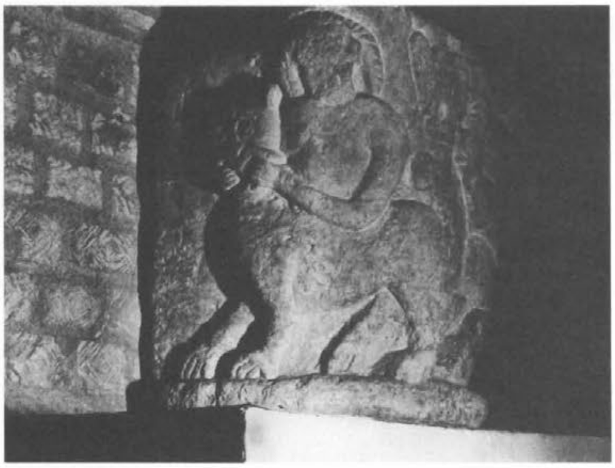


Fig. 108. Samson and the Lion (*Musée national du Moyen Age*), placement of copy (second pier, south nave arcade, east); photo D. Johnson.

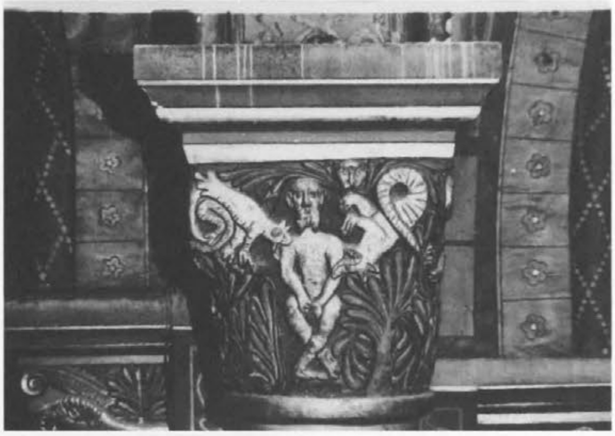


Fig. 107. Capital with male and animal figures (first pier, south nave arcade, south), photo D. Johnson.

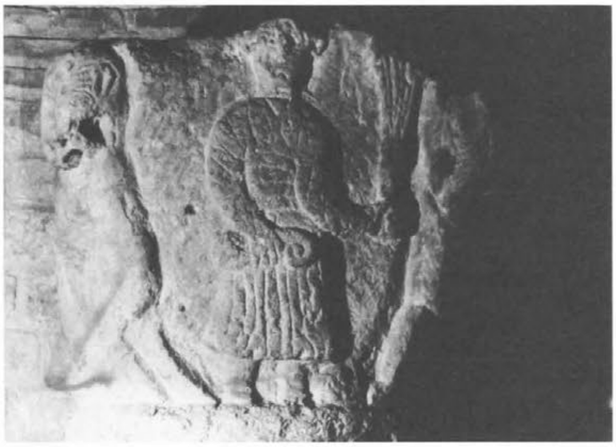


Fig. 109. Daniel in the Lions' den (*Musée national du Moyen Age*), placement of copy (fourth engaged column, north aisle); photo D. Johnson.

ed with his feet crossed, is portrayed on the third capital (fig. 107). He is being bitten by rather rampant lizards. Above is a lionesque face spouting thick vines. It is probable that the face of the nude man figure was recarved.

As noted, this series is based on fantastic themes that are in no way connected with religious iconography. Furthermore, the work of this second series differs from the first in the way the carving is more modelled and the figures are more restless and independent of each other, all of which highlights the inventiveness and creativity of the St Germain sculptors.

The Third Series

This consists of a number of historiated capitals and is composed of two groups. Each group is carved by a different hand and with a different mindset.

The first group: This set includes five capitals, two of which are in the *Musée national du Moyen Age*. On the first capital, Samson, who is set on the angle (Cl. 18615) (fig. 108), bravely grasps the mouth of a lion. Samson's hair is reminiscent of that of the sirens noted above (fig. 105). The relatively static bodies are carved in low relief and there are no incisions portraying body traits. On the second capital (Cl. 18619) (fig. 109), Daniel stands in the vertical axis, his feet positioned on the astragal. In his hand is the symbol of his martyrdom. A large-headed lion is set on each face of the engaged capital. Although the pleats of Daniel's robe are lightly incised, the carving of these figures is similar to that of the previous capital.

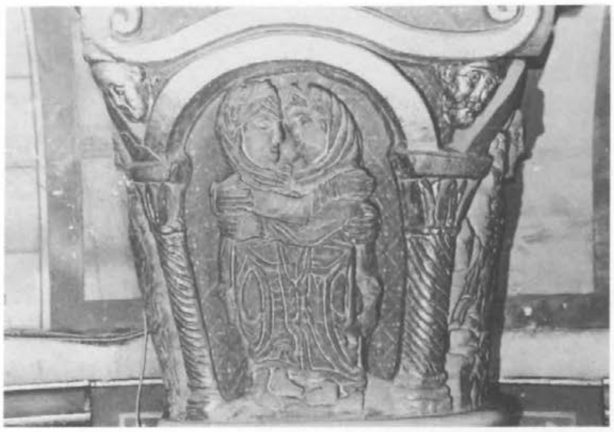


Fig. 110. Visitation (fourth pier, south nave arcade, south); photo D. Johnson.

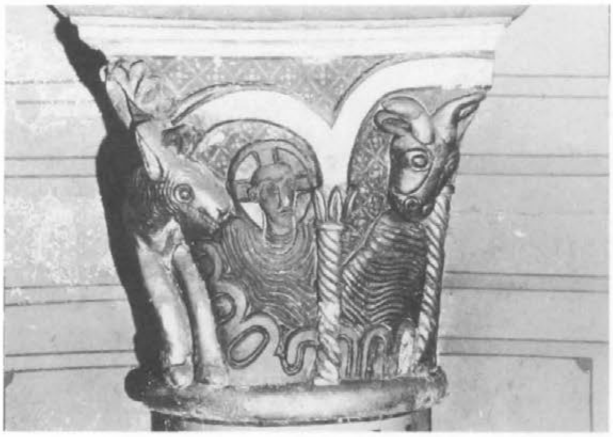
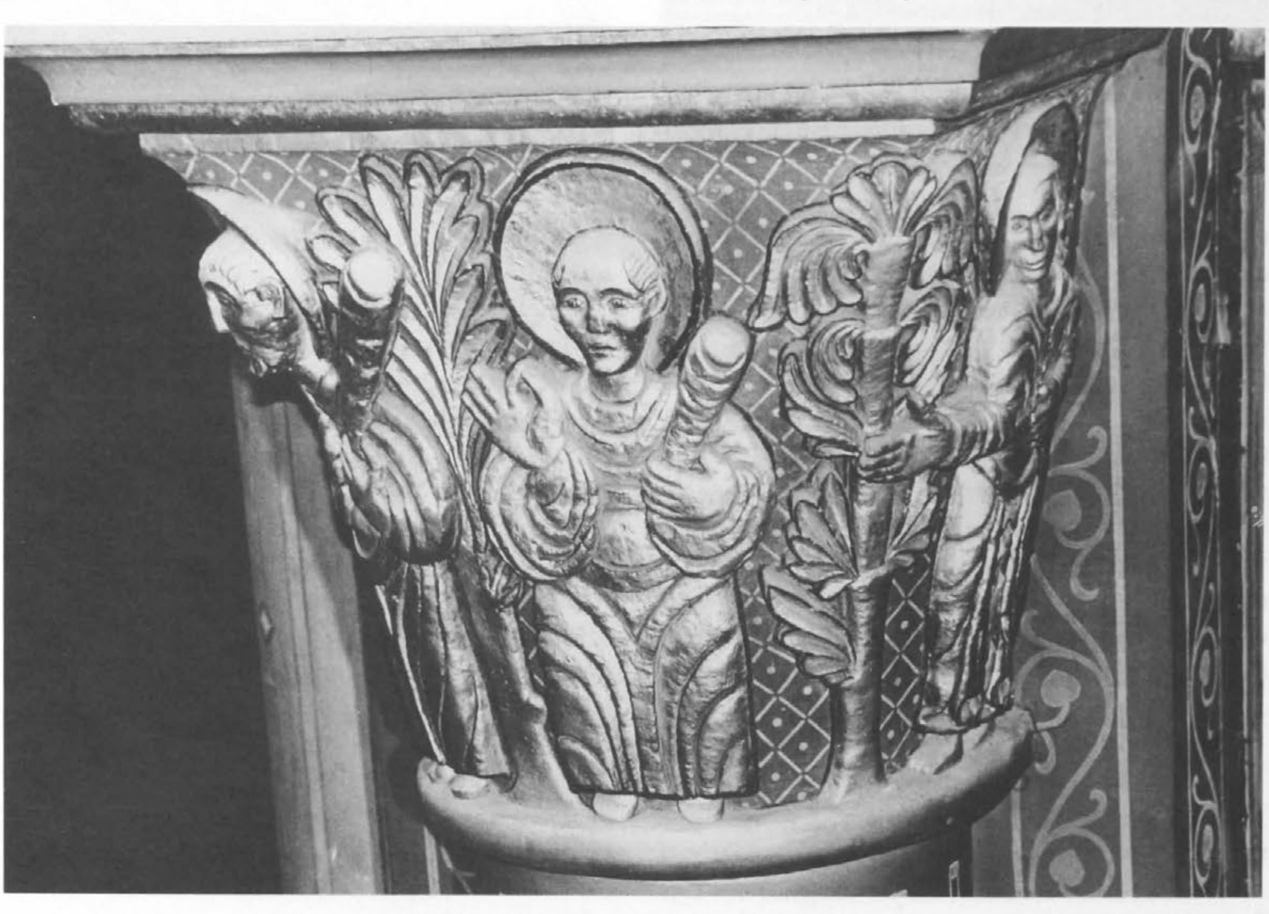


Fig. 111. Nativity (first engaged column, south aisle); photo D. Johnson.

The Visitation is presented on the principal face of the third capital (fig. 110). Mary and Elizabeth embrace each other warmly under an arcade. It is interesting to note the creative geometry of the pleats of the drapery of their robes, their serene and sensitive facial expressions, and the long, unarticulated fingers of their hands. The heads, set under the angles, are reminiscent of those of the *chapiteau corinthisant* presented in fig. 98, and are, again, a play on the secular. A scene related to the Nativity is carved on the fourth capital (fig. 111). Christ, placed under arcading similar to that of the Visitation, is accompanied by two animals: a horse and a cow. The thin, rippling pleats of Christ's robe appear to be related to those of the cow's body and the mane of the horse, and his hair is also treated in fine ripples. On the fifth capital (fig. 112), three martyrs are posed on the astragal, separated by small trees. They raise their hands in veneration of Christ. Although the drapery of the robes of these martyrs is much simpler than that of the figures of the Visitation, their relief, as well as body and facial expressions, are closely linked to the other capitals of this series.

Fig. 112. Veneration of Christ (first pier, north nave arcade, east); photo D. Johnson.



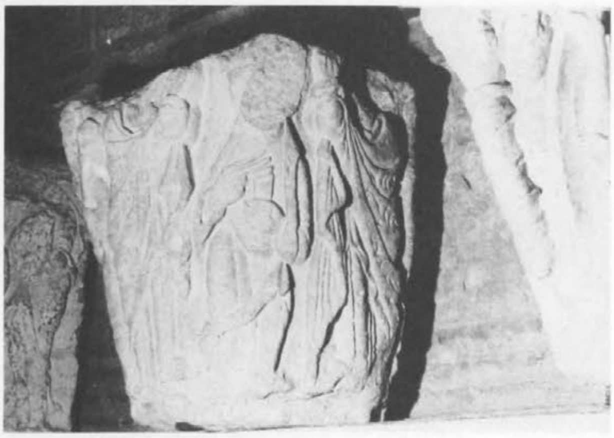


Fig. 113. Mystery of the Eucharist (*Musée national du Moyen Age*), photo D. Johnson.

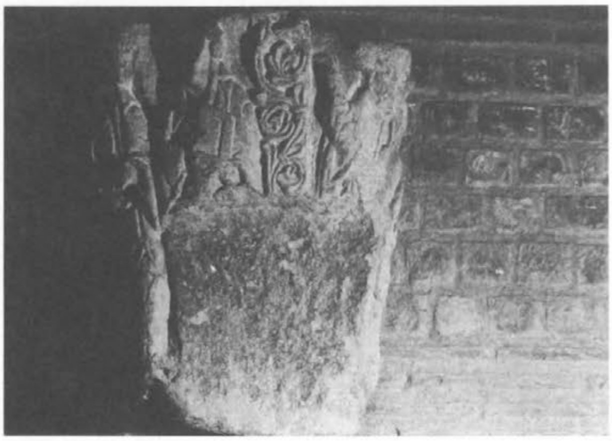


Fig. 116. Mystery of the Eucharist (*Musée national du Moyen Age*), placement of copy (north crossing pier, west); photo D. Johnson.

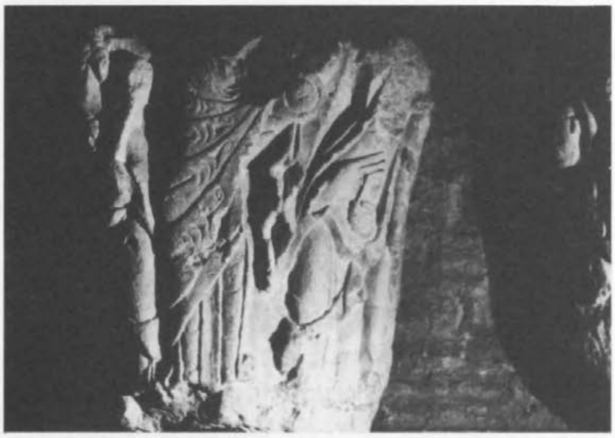


Fig. 114. Mystery of the Eucharist (*Musée national du Moyen Age*), photo D. Johnson.

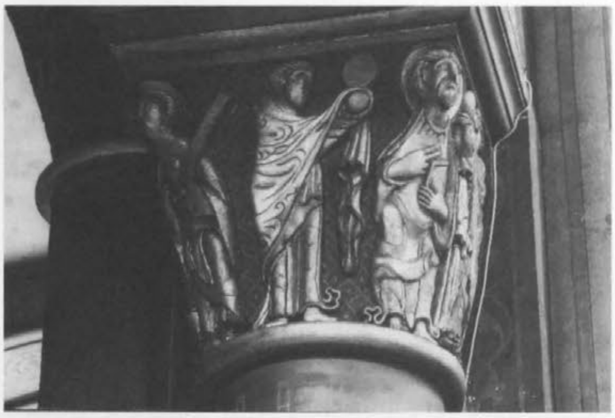


Fig. 115. Copy of fig. 113 and fig. 114 (second pier, north nave arcade, west); photo M. Thurlby.

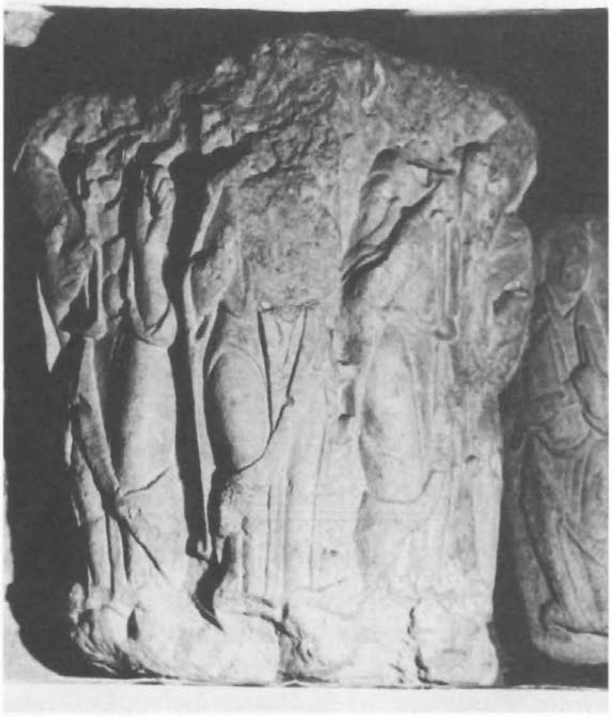


Fig. 117. Mystery of the Eucharist (*Musée national du Moyen Age*), placement of copy (second pier, north nave arcade, east); photo D. Johnson.

The composition and the body movement of the figures on these capitals are considerably more static than those of the capitals of the second series. However, the facial traits of the figures are strongly related to those of the second series. And the pleats of the drapery, especially those of the figures of the Nativity and Visitation, although carved in low relief, are relatively dynamic.

The second group. Four of the original capitals carved by the sculptor of this group in the third series are displayed in the *Musée national du Moyen Age*. They were originally engaged in the north piers of the nave. On each capital are five figures whose bodies are disposed around the basket in various positions: frontal, in profile or turned to the right or left. They appear to be in contact with each other in groups of

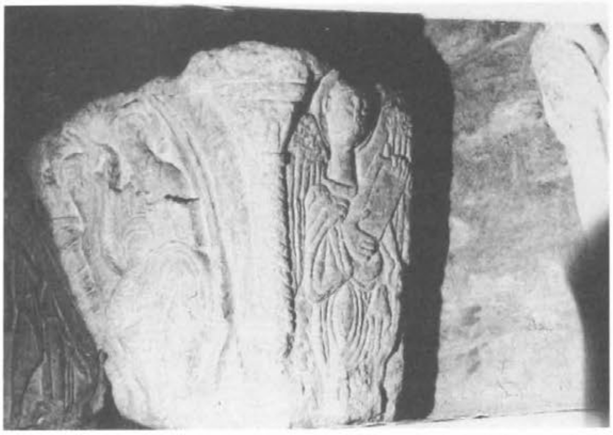


Fig. 118. Christ in Majesty (*Musée national du Moyen Age*), placement of copy (fourth pier, south nave arcade, west); photo D. Johnson.

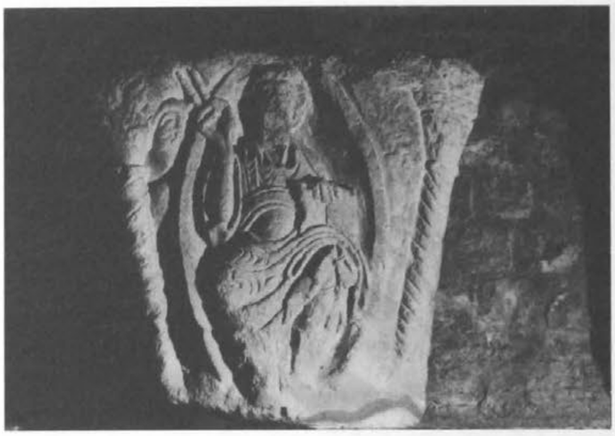


Fig. 119. Christ in Majesty and Angel (*Musée national du Moyen Age*), placement of copy (same as fig. 118); photo D. Johnson.

two or three. In their hands, they hold books, scrolls, and phylacteries. Their bodies are elongated and their drapery is fluid and sculpted in high relief, but their faces have been disastrously damaged. Dany Sandron wrote an excellent article in the 1995 issue of the *Bulletin monumental* on these capitals and their iconography. He especially notes their strong links with contemporary manuscripts and ivories.[24]

The first capital carved by this sculptor in the *Musée* (Cl. 18614) (fig. 113), and the best preserved, is one on which there are figures of four clerics dressed in their aube (long tunic), chasuble, and dalmatic. On the right face, one of the three clerics holds a chalice. The figure of Christ is placed on the angle. On the principal face (fig. 114), another cleric presents the host to Christ. This is the first capital of a well-defined programme that insists on the Mystery of the Eucharist, and it is of a wholly different iconographic significance from that of the first group. However, its iconography underscores the sensibility of the sculpture of St Germain-des-Prés. The replacement of this capital in the nave of St Germain shows the originality of the copyist (fig. 115).

The second capital of this group (Cl. 18613) (fig. 116) places the clerics around the basket divided by a band decorated with scrolls of palmette leaves set in the axis of the principal face. The basket below this band is badly damaged. On the third capital (Cl. 18618) (fig. 117), the figure carved on the left angle, the torso and face of which are illegible, has been interpreted as that of Christ. The figure placed to his left appears to be holding a musical instrument, and on his right, the cleric's hands are raised in praise. The fourth capital is, for the most part, illegible.

The figures of all of the capitals of this group are carved in a very similar fashion: elongated bodies expressing movement, carved in high relief, flowing drapery that marks their body forms, as well as long, thin, non-articulated fingers. Owing to the effects of the saltpetre, the faces of all of the figures are badly damaged, so that their facial expressions are, therefore, illegible.

Other capitals: There are two other historiated capitals that depict Christ in Majesty and David and Goliath. On the principal face of the first capital (Cl. 18612), Christ is seated in a *mandorla* (fig. 119). The treatment of his drapery and body expression would suggest that he was carved by the sculptor of the second group of the third series (figs 113–17). On the right face of this capital is an angel (fig. 118). His facial expression, the thick flattened pleats of his robe, and the geometric treatment of his wings are considerably different from those of Christ. His hair is finely combed and his ears are small rounded ovals. It is very probable that this figure was carved by the sculptor of the first group of the third series (figs 108–12).

The second capital portrays David and Goliath (fig. 120) and is the only unpainted capital that remains in the nave. Their elongated bodies are carved in low relief. They are posed in a relatively static fashion with their feet touching the astragal. Although it is certain that the sculptor of the second group of the third series did not carve this capital, over the past years there have been many questions as to which of the other sculptors that worked on the nave capitals of St Germain-des-Prés was responsible for this capital.

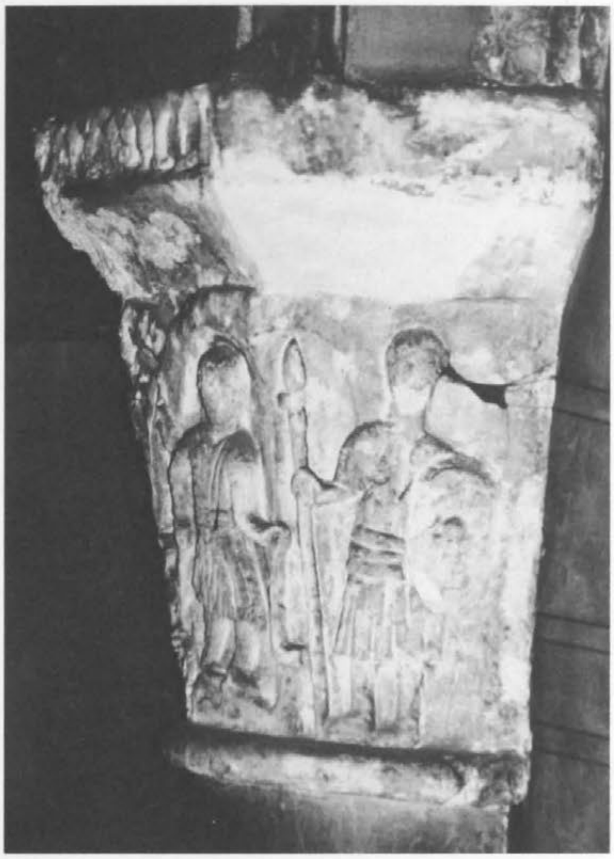


Fig. 120. David and Goliath (first engaged column, north aisle); photo D. Johnson.

To summarize, this series is both conceptually quite different from the second series, especially in the subjects being more iconographic and religious, and stylistically different in the treatment of the elongated bodies.

The Sculptural Context of St Germain's Capitals

The capitals of the eleventh-century nave of St Germain-des-Prés play an important role within the re-imaging of architectural sculpture that took place throughout Europe during the eleventh century and the very beginning of the twelfth. Below is a brief overview of churches whose sculpture, although it may be carved in a somewhat different manner, falls within this highly creative and experimental new vision that is evoked in the three series of capitals in the nave of St Germain.

France: Fleury, St Benoît-sur-Loire, tower-porch (early eleventh century); Dijon, St Bénigne, crypt (after 1001); Reims, St Remi, nave, stucco capitals (*c.* 1020–40); Caen, La Trinité, nave (1066); Bernay, nave (after 1015); Bayeux Cathedral, nave (*c.* 1070); Paris, St Martin-des-Champs, south-west tower (late eleventh/early twelfth century); Morienval, Notre-Dame, nave (*c.* 1070–75).

Spain: Santiago de Compostella, first construction campaign, nave (1075–88) and south transept portal (Puerta de la Plateria, capitals) (*c.* 1100); S. Juan de la Peña, cloister ruins (end of eleventh century); Formista, S. Martin, nave (1066–90); Jaca Cathedral, nave and south wall portal (end eleventh century); Léon, S. Isidore, chapel Panteon de los Reyes (*c.* 1080); Roda, S. Pere (last half eleventh century).

Germany: Speyer I, cathedral (mid-eleventh century); Paderborn, chapel St Bartholomew (mid-eleventh century); Werden, St Leger, crypt (mid-eleventh century); Cologne, St Mary in Capitol, western tribune (mid-eleventh century), and St George, western choir (1080–1120).

England: Canterbury Cathedral, crypt (late eleventh/early twelfth century); Durham Castle chapel, crypt (*c.* 1072); Southwell Minster, tympanum (late eleventh century) and transept crossing capitals (1109–14).

Italy: Brescia, S. Filastro, crypt (end eleventh century); Cortazzone, S. Secondo, nave (end eleventh century); Capo di Ponte, S. Saveur, nave (end eleventh century); Milan, S. Ambrogio, nave and atrium (end eleventh/beginning twelfth century); Montecassino, capitals from the eleventh-century church (1066–71), now in the abbey museum.

Conclusion

The architecture of the eleventh-century former abbey church of St Germain-des-Prés, consisting as it does of its massive tower-porch, two-storey nave elevation with rounded arcades on compound piers, the rectangular choir flanked by lateral bell towers and apses, may be fairly described as singular in design. Yet it is also closely linked to the architectural innovations that spread across Europe from the beginning of the eleventh century, including other churches associated with the influence of William of Volpiano, such as Bernay and La Trinité, Caen. Equally, the architectural sculpture of St Germain's nave, comprising the thematic fantasy of numerous figurative capitals, the finely carved vegetal decor, and the predominance of historiated capitals linked to Eucharistic iconography and to the Bible, also underscores the creative and experimental importance of St Germain-des-Prés within the context of Glaber's 'white mantle of churches'.

It is to be hoped therefore that this brief study may prove a useful aid to discussions concerning the differing characteristics of the capitals, the different hands at work in carving them, the question of the original placement of the capitals, and the potential this offers for iconographic interpretation and liturgical connection. Although necessarily beyond the scope of this investigation, these are nevertheless important avenues for continuing research.

NOTES

1. M. Baylé, 'Sculptures de Saint-Germain-des-Prés et forme du XI^{e} siècle', in *De la création à la restauration, Travaux offerts à Marcel Durliat* (Toulouse, 1992), pp. 205–13; Y. Boiret, 'L'abbatiale de Saint-Germain-des-Prés – Analyses générales du quartier et de l'abbaye', *Les dossiers des monuments historiques*, 2 (1983), 5–35; Dom Brouillart, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Germain-des-Prez* (Paris, 1724); P. Colas, *L'ancienne église de Saint-Germain-des-Prés, concours d'architecte en chef des Monuments Historiques*, 2 vols (Paris, 1979); P. Colas, 'Le clocher et la chapelle Saint-Symphorien', *Les dossiers des monuments historiques*, 2 (1983), 36–72; J. Derens, 'La Basilique Saint-Vincent puis Saint-Germain dès origines au XI^{e}', *Archéologia* (1973), 11–28; J. Derens, 'Rapport sur les fouilles menées dans la chapelle Saint-Symphorien de Saint-Germain-des-Prés', *Commission de Vieux Paris, procès-verbaux des séances des lundis 3 mai, 7 juin, et 5 juillet 1971*, 29 (1978), 22–24; N. Duval, P. Périn, and J.-Ch. Picard, *La topographie chrétienne des cités de la Gaule des origines au milieu du XIII^{e} siècle*, vol. VIII, *Province ecclésiastique de Sens* (Paris, 1992), pp. 119–22; L. Grodecki, 'Les chapiteaux de Saint-Germain-des-Prés conservés au Musée de Cluny', in *Bull. Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (Paris, 1955), pp. 184–85 (résumé of an unedited memoir written in 1933 and reworked in 1938 and 1939); L. Grodecki, 'Saint-Germain-des-Prés', in *Eglises de Paris, La rive gauche* (Paris, 1948); J. Hubert, 'Les dates de la construction du clocher-porche et de la nef de Saint-Germain-des-Prés', *Bulletin monumental*, 108 (1950), 69–82 (re-edited in *Nouveau receuil d'études d'archéologie et d'histoire. De la fin du monde antique au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1985)); E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, 'Etude historique et archéologique sur l'église de Saint-Germain-des-Prés', in *Congrès archéologique de France* (Paris, 1919), pp. 302–70; l'abbé Lebeuf, *Histoire de la ville et de tout le diocèse de Paris*, ed. by P. Bournon (Paris, 1890), I, 260–73; A. Lenoir, *Statistique monumentale de Paris* (Paris, 1867), I, 70–85, pls. 1–36; P. Plaigneux, 'L'abbatiale de Saint-Germain-des-Prés et les débuts de l'architecture gothique', *Bulletin monumental*, 158 (2000), 1–86; D. Sandron, 'Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Les ambitions de la sculpture de la nef romane', *Bulletin monumental*, 153 (1995), 333–50.

2. P. Plagnieux, 'Le chevet de Saint-Germain-des-Prés et la définition de l'espace gothique au milieu du XII^{e} siècle' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Université de Paris, 1991).

3. Plagnieux, 'L'abbatiale de Saint-Germain-des-Prés'.

4. A. Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort: étude sur les funérailles, les sépultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XII^{e} siècle* (Paris, 1975), pp. 51–59.

5. Derens, 'Rapport sur les fouilles menées dans la chapelle Saint-Symphorien', pp. 22–24.

6. Plagnieux, 'L'abbatiale de Saint-Germain-des-Prés', p. 12 and n. 22.

7. Plagnieux, 'L'abbatiale de Saint-Germain-des-Prés', p. 13

8. Hubert, 'Les dates de la construction du clocher-porche', p. 72, and Plaigneux, 'L'abbatiale de Saint-Germain-des-Prés', p. 14 and n. 37.

9. Plagnieux, 'L'abbatiale de Saint-Germain-des-Prés', p. 16 (figs 7 and 8) and n. 39.

10. Plagnieux, 'L'abbatiale de Saint-Gemain-des-Prés', p. 14 and nn. 38 and 39.

11. Baylé, 'Sculptures de Saint-Germain-des-Prés', p. 210.

12. Lefèvre-Pontalis, 'Etude historique et archéologique', p. 311.

13. Lefèvre-Pontalis, 'Etude historique et archéologique', p. 312, and Plagnieux, 'L'abbatiale de Saint-Germain-des-Prés', p. 18. (Plagnieux suggests that it is possible that the transept was vaulted in the twelfth century.)

14. Lefèvre-Pontalis, 'Etude historique et archéologique', pp. 320–22, and Plagnieux, 'L'abbatiale de Saint-Germain-des-Prés', p. 15.

15. Colas, 'Le clocher et la chapelle Saint-Symphorien', p. 49.

16. Colas, 'Le clocher et la chapelle Saint-Symphorien', pp. 42 and 46.

17. Colas, 'Le clocher et la chapelle Saint-Symphorien', p. 55.

18. Derens, 'Rapport sur les fouilles menées dans la chapelle Saint-Symphorien', p. 23.

19. M. Fleury, 'Les fouilles récentes de la chapelle Saint-Symphorien (ou des catéchismes) de l'église Saint-Germain-des-Prés', *Cahiers de la Rotonde*, 4 (1981), 17–27.

20. Bibliothèque de la Ville de Paris, fonds Vaquer, MS 227, fol. 216.

21. Hubert, 'Les dates de la construction du clocher-porche', p. 83, and Plagnieux, 'L'abbatiale de Saint-Germain-des-Prés', p. 17.

22. Eliane Vergnolle, *Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire et la sculpture du XI^{e} siècle* (Paris, 1985).

23. Baylé, 'Sculptures de Saint-Germain-des-Prés', p. 210 and n. 13.

24. Sandron, 'Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Les ambitions de la sculpture de la nef romane', pp. 333–50.

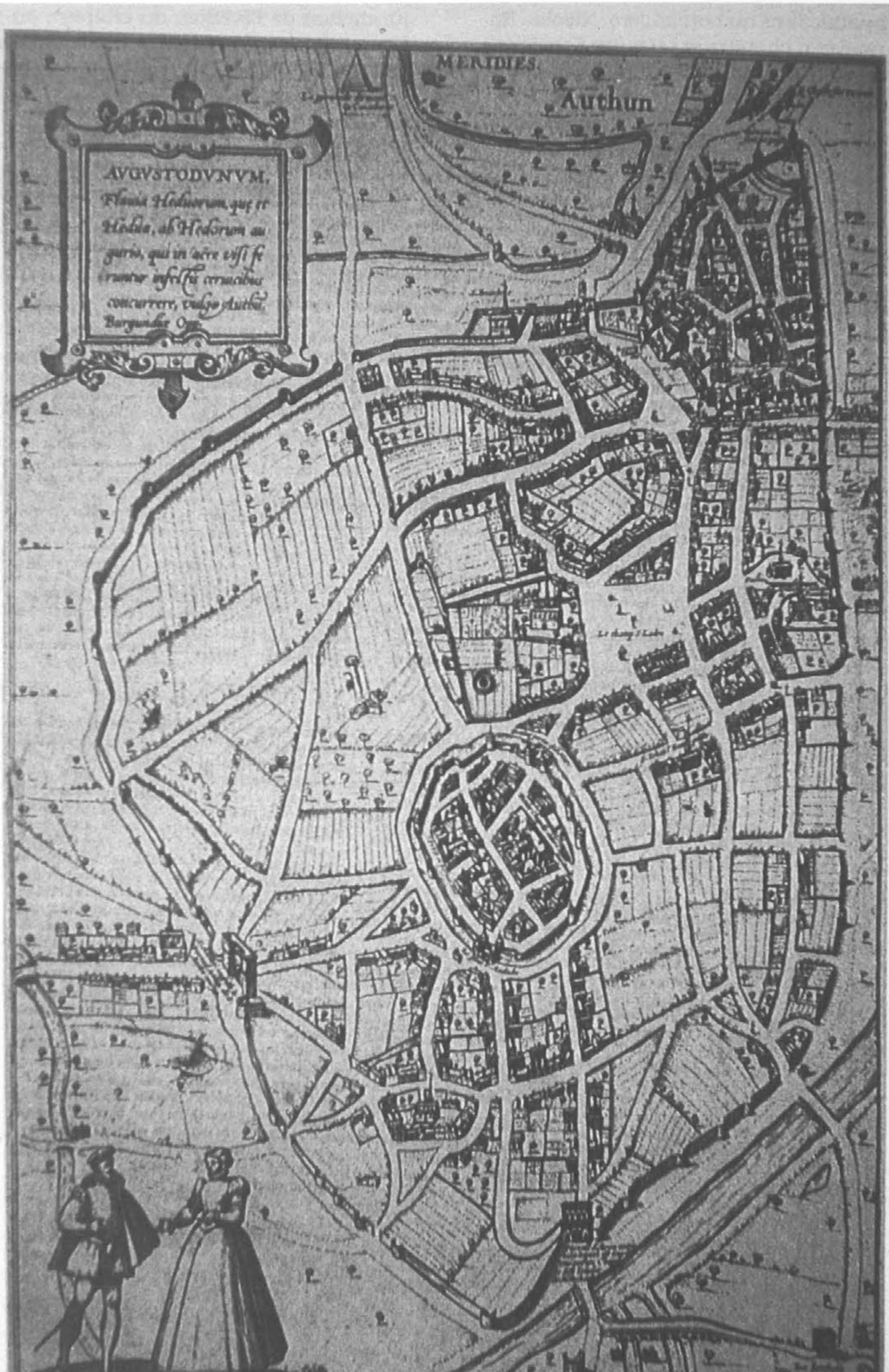


Fig. 121. Plan of Autun drawn by François de Belleforest. The city is still surrounded by its first century walls. The *castrum* is seen at the upper right and the *Fort de Marchaux* at the centre.

11. Architecture and Sculpture at Autun around the Millennium

SYLVIE BALCON, WALTER BERRY, & CHRISTIAN SAPIN

Located in the south of Burgundy some eighty-five kilometres south-west of Dijon, the city of Autun is famed today for both its well-preserved Gallo-Roman monuments and the celebrated sculpture of its twelfth-century cathedral.[1] In contrast, vestiges of the city's early medieval past had already largely disappeared from view before the Revolution.[2] Since the mid-1970s, however, archaeologists and historians have progressively widened our knowledge of the material culture of this intermediary period.[3] One result of this research has been to underscore the longevity and continued importance of older, Roman period building traditions at Autun, and their significant effect on church architecture in the city into the tenth century.[4] It is in fact only during the decades immediately following the year 1000 that one discerns the transformation of this Antique heritage at the moment of the creation of the city's earliest Romanesque buildings.

From Civitas Capital to Episcopal City

Autun (*Augustodunum*) was founded near the end of the first century BC on a previously unoccupied hillside site on the left bank of the Arroux River.[5] Never on a par in political or economic status with cities such as Lyons or Trier, it always held a notable place among the towns of Roman Gaul due to its precocious development as an important cultural centre, already celebrated for its schools by the reign of Tiberius.[6]

The city was established on a grand scale, its walls measuring six kilometres in circumference and enclosing an area of two hundred hectares.[7] By the second century, it possessed the essential features of a Roman provincial city: forum, civic buildings, theatre (the largest in Gaul), amphitheatre, temples.[8] Architectural fragments from these structures, particularly from around the forum area, attest to their impressive proportions[9] and help explain why one could apply to the city the epitaph 'Sister and Rival of Rome'.

The luxury of the larger private houses brought to light by a century and a half of excavation bears witness to the wealth and sophistication of the town during the High Empire.[10] Nevertheless, a gradual decline in prosperity can be observed beginning in the 230s, coinciding with the onset of the so-called 'Third Century Crisis'.[11] This downturn accelerated after 269/70 when following a seven-month siege the city was taken by a rebel army.[12] Although this event and its aftermath were once considered to have been catastrophic,[13] re-examination of the archaeological record now offers a more nuanced picture. Today, conditions in the fourth and earlier fifth centuries can also be viewed differently, with considerable public building activity taking place in some privileged sectors—probably denoting imperial intervention—parallel to the progressive abandonment of other areas.[14]

These revisions to our view of the state of affairs in late antique *Augustodunum* apart, it seems likely that over the course of the fifth century, the city took on the appearance it would retain into the Early Modern period. Most of the lower town became uninhabited and much of the fabric of the ancient city gradually disappeared from view as deserted structures fell into ruin or were exploited for construction materials. Eventually the majority of the area within the first-century walls passed into agricultural use.[15] But as the plan published in 1575 by François de Belleforest shows (fig. 121), numerous vestiges of ancient buildings were still visible in the later sixteenth century.[16] It has long been accepted that these formed the source of the repertory of classical motifs repeated in the architecture and sculpture of the cathedral of St Lazare.[17] It seems as likely that the presence of these remains would also have affected the city's earlier church architecture as well.

The Cathedral Group

As the lower town was abandoned, the remaining population became concentrated within the so-called *castrum* in the uppermost southern part of the city.[18] In these circumstances, it is not surprising that the leaders of the Christian community chose to install the seat of ecclesiastical authority there as well.

Christianity was well established at *Augustodunum* by the third century, and the first documented bishop, Rheticius, appears early in the fourth.[19] The oldest known Christian cult centres are situated *extra muros*, in the *Via Strata* cemetery one kilometre to the east of the city (fig. 122).[20] These include the fourth-century funerary churches of St Pierre[21] and St Etienne,[22] which were joined by the monasteries of St Symphorien in the mid-fifth century and St Martin late in the sixth.[23] It is only at the turn of the seventh century that two semi-monastic establishments appear *intra muros*.[24] Installed on sites in the already largely deserted lower part of the ancient city, these would later become the abbeys of St Andoche[25] and St Jean-le-Grand.[26] Prior to this, the only known urban Christian cult centre within the walls was the cathedral group in the upper town.

The episcopal complex occupied the north-eastern corner of the *castrum* (fig. 123).[27] At its centre was the former cathedral of St Nazaire.[28] The Gothic state of this building was pulled down in 1783, and today a terraced courtyard, the *Cour de la Maîtrise*, occupies its site.[29] Immediately to the south, a group of buildings ranged around a second courtyard, the *Cour du Chapitre*, marks the location of the former canonical cloister. Since at least the ninth century, the bishop's residence has been situated farther to the east.[30] The former collegiate church of Notre-Dame, destroyed at the Revolution, lay to the north, below the modern *Place Saint-Louis*.[31] The present cathedral of St Lazare was constructed in the twelfth century on a site to the west of the original group of buildings.[32]

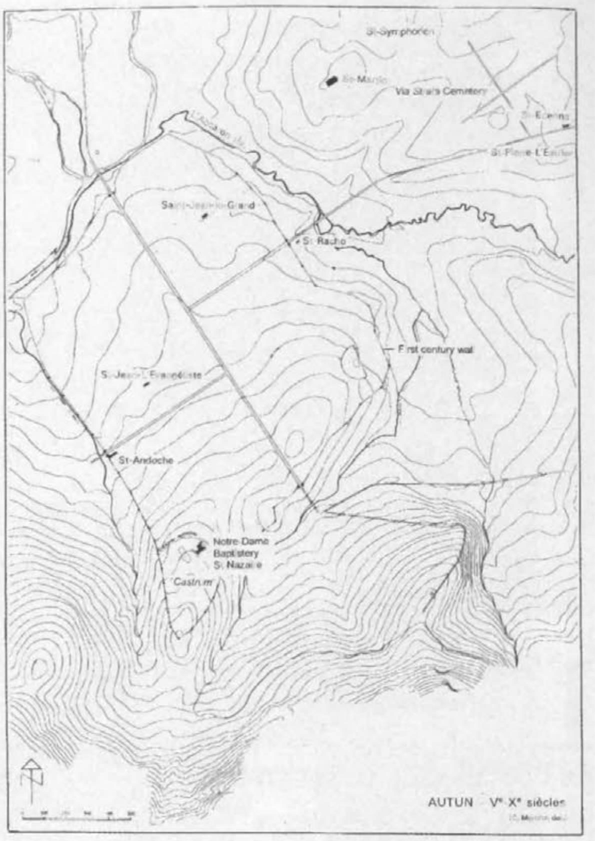


Fig. 122. Simplified plan of Autun in the early Middle Ages with the location of the major Christian sites, adaptation of a plan by G. Monthel.

Since 1983 this part of the upper town has been the subject of a long-term interdisciplinary research project.[33] A major element of this involved large-scale excavation in the *Cour du Chapitre* between 1984 and 1989.[34] Work has since continued on the cathedral of St Nazaire, the conventual buildings around the former cloister,[35] the structures along the west side of the cathedral complex,[36] and below the choir of St Lazare.[37]

Written documentation for the early history of the complex is scanty,[38] and although the presence of sizeable late antique structures has been confirmed, the exact disposition of the original cathedral group is incompletely understood archaeologically.[39] It is known that the

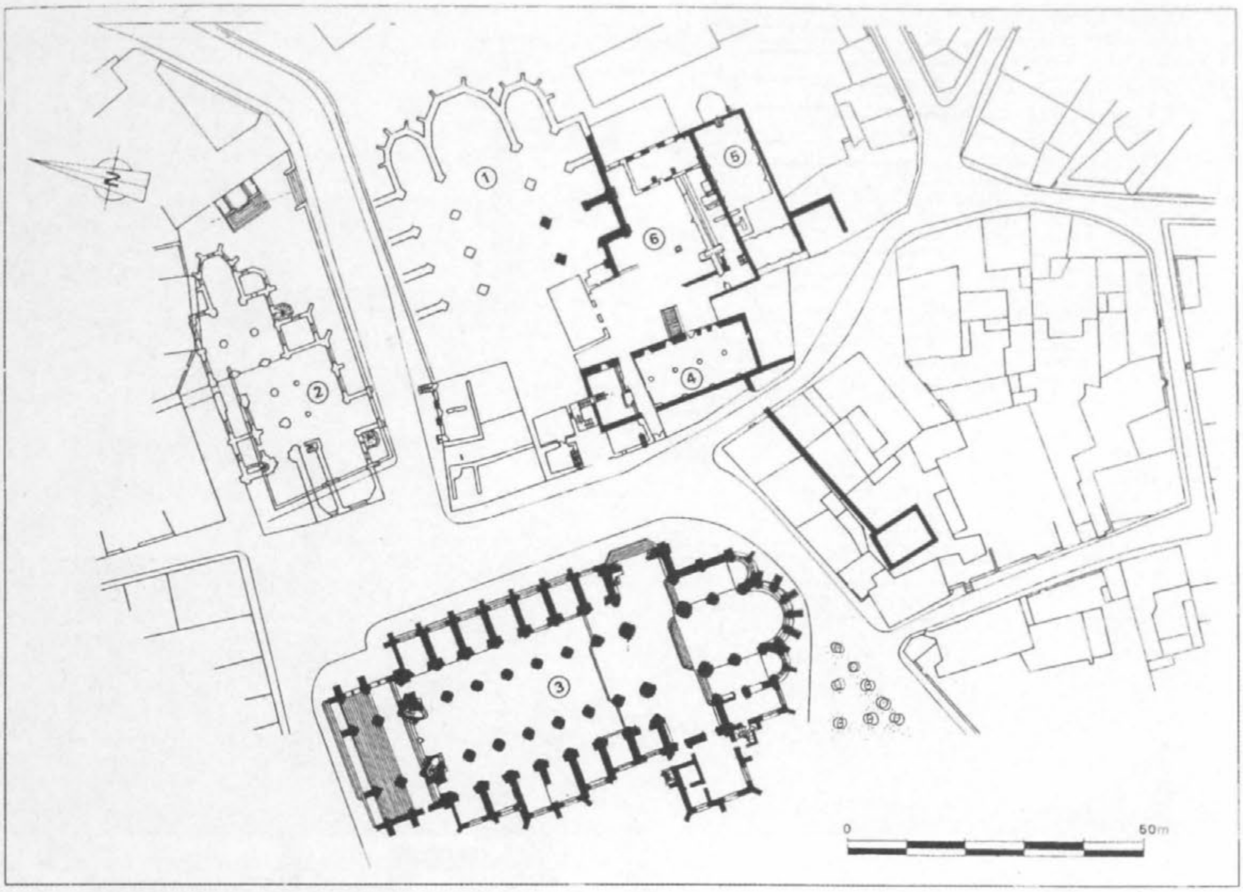


Fig. 123 Plan of the Cathedral Group: (1) cathedral of St Nazaire (destroyed), today the *Cour de la Maîtrise*; (2) Notre-Dame (destroyed), now the *Place Saint-Louis*; (3) present cathedral of St Lazare; (4) *Cellarium*; (5) Refectory; (6) emplacement of the former cloister, today the *Cour du Chapitre*; plan, G. Fèvre.

cathedral St Nazaire was renovated in the sixth century,[40] then enlarged by the addition of an atrium after the middle of the seventh,[41] before, ostensibly, being burned in 731 by raiding Saracens.[42] The next phase in the architectural development of the episcopal complex belongs to the ninth century.[43] From the written sources it is learned that St Nazaire was restored, or possibly partially rebuilt, after 843 with the aid of Charles the Bald.[44] Recent excavation has brought to light a portion of the south aisle of this building and a pier of the nave arcade.[45] But it is in the adjacent *Cour du Chapitre* that the picture is most illuminating.

The Cathedral Group: The Carolingian Cloister of St Nazaire

The precepts of the Council of Aachen of 817[46] seem to have been put into practice at Autun under bishop Modoinus (810/15–40), and one or more existing buildings, possibly including the former *domus episcopi*, were perhaps given to the new chapter or constructed for them.[47] Whatever the initial provision, it was soon judged insufficient for the needs of the more than fifty canons of the new chapter, and the documents speak of what appear to be additions or renovations realized under bishops Jonas and Adalgarius toward the end of the 850s and the 870s respectively.[48] Work on the *claustra*[49] seems to have been completed by the final decade of the ninth century.

As a result of the archaeological investigation in the *Cour du Chapitre*, it is now possible to reconstruct the Carolingian cloister in some detail (fig. 124).[50] In its late-ninth-century state, the organization of the different components resembled closely that depicted on the idealized St Gall Plan.[51] The cloister garth was square in form, measuring 18.60 m on a side. The twelfth-century well near its centre may have succeeded one of Carolingian date. Enclosing the open area, galleries 3.20 m wide have been found on three sides and probably also existed on the north, along the south aisle of the cathedral. At

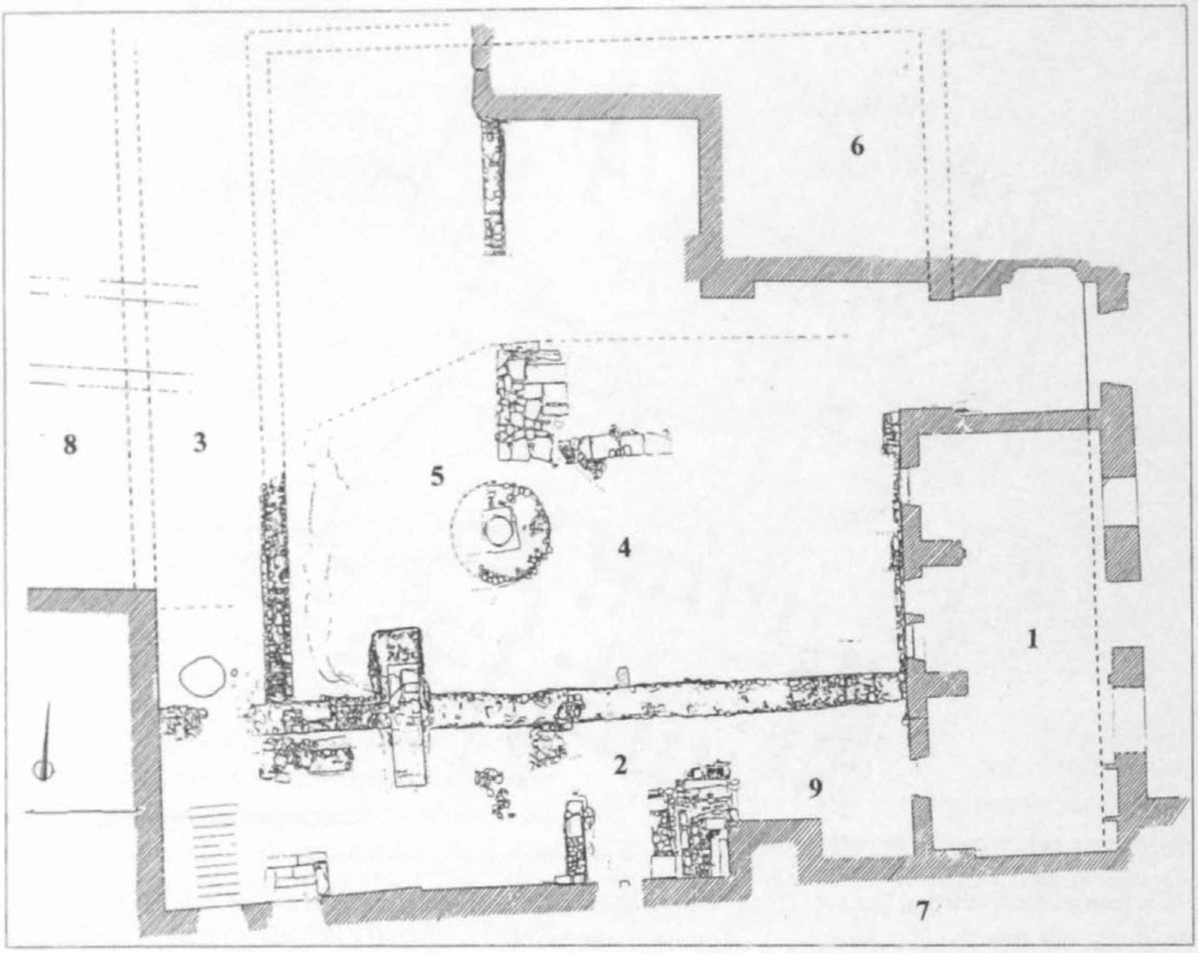


Fig. 124. Plan of the excavations in the *Cour du Chapitre*: (1) East Gallery; (2) South Gallery; (3) West Gallery; (4) cloister garth; (5) twelfth-century well; (6) choir of Gothic state of St Nazaire; (7) Refectory; (8) emplacement of the ninth century *Cellarium*; (9) area excavated below the staircase in 1999; plan, A. Bossoutrot.

this time, the gallery walls facing onto the garth appear to have been of fairly light, timber-framed construction.[52] Open wooden roofs no doubt covered the galleries. Their floors were initially of beaten earth.

Portions of the original canonical buildings, the *officinae* mentioned in the charters, have also survived. Incorporated within structures of more recent date, these include elements still in elevation belonging to the presumed 'Chapter Room' at the east, with the Dormitory probably located above, the Refectory on the south, and the *Cellarium*[53] at the west. The stone used is mainly re-employed Roman material, as will remain the norm at Autun into the eleventh century.[54] Two fragments of Carolingian masonry are conserved in the present west wall of the 'Chapter Room'.[55] These are built of well-coursed medium- to very large-sized ashlar (*moyen* and *grand appareil*) of sandstone framed by broad 'buttered' joints. Clearly the heaviness and solidity of this masonry mirrors that of Roman period structures then still visible in the city.[56] Interestingly, excavation has shown that a series of large wooden pillars in the 'Chapter Room' supported the floor of the presumed Dormitory above,[57] emphasizing again the mixed character of construction in the cloister at this period.

Re-employed large ashlar (*grand appareil*) is also found in the extant, lowest ninth-century part of the north wall of the Refectory. Mostly of limestone, these blocks served a purely structural role; they were not exposed to view as in the 'Chapter Room', but were hidden by a thick coat of plaster.[58] In contrast, on the south side of the same building, a surviving, somewhat higher section of ninth-century wall is constructed quite differently. Small squared blocks (*petit appareil*) of variously coloured sandstone are arranged in neat level courses in evident imitation of the *opus vittatum* widely

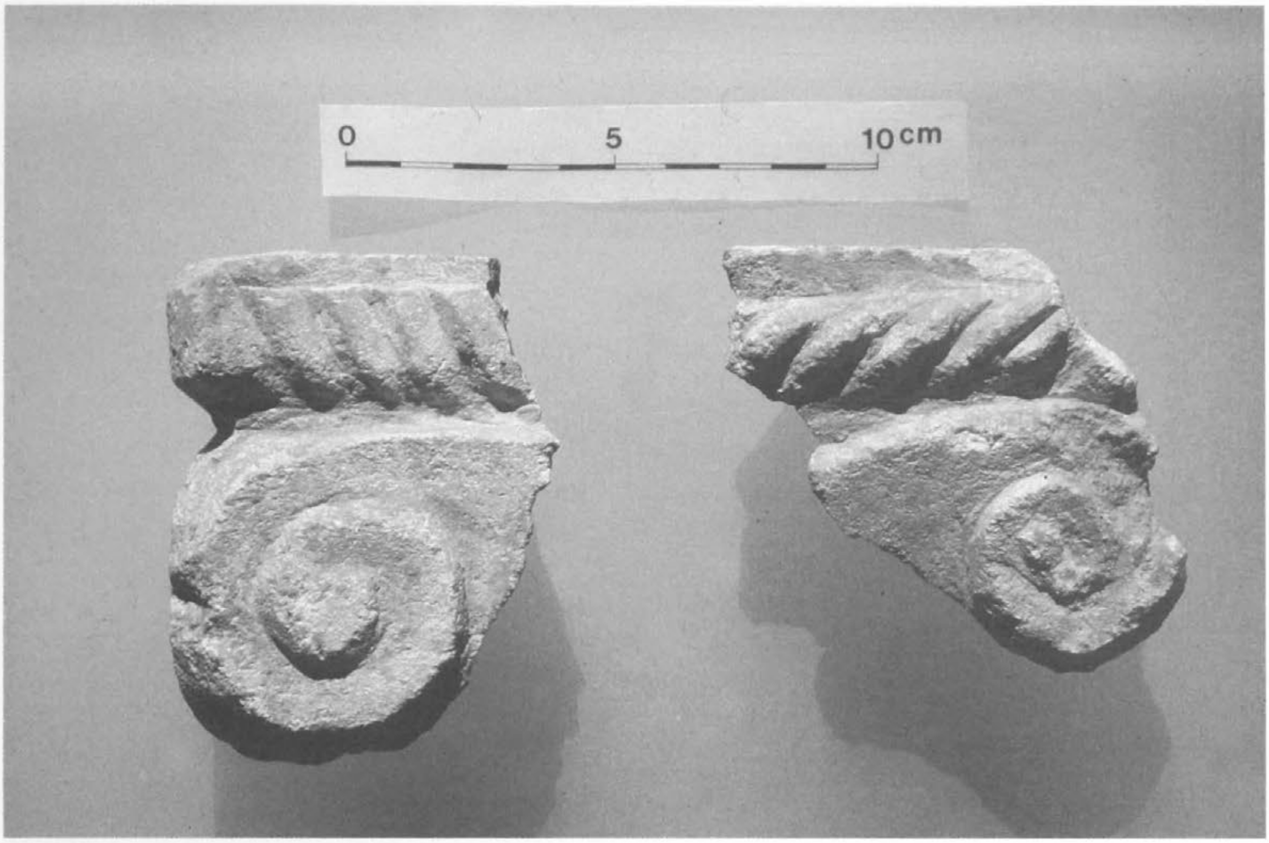


Fig. 125. Two of the larger fragments of limestone pilaster capitals of the earlier eleventh century found in the construction levels of the second half of the twelfth century in the South Gallery in 1985.

employed by the city's Gallo-Roman masons.[59] From this, it seems likely that the upper parts of the Refectory and Dormitory may have been treated similarly.[60]

Along the west side of the cloister, the east wall of the Carolingian *Cellarium* is preserved in places to a height of several metres. Containing far less re-employed material, its coursing is often quite irregular and, like the base of the Refectory north wall, it was plastered over.[61] Compared to the principal structures to the south and east, the well-built but more ordinary character of this stonework may perhaps be explained by a difference in function. Excavation has demonstrated that throughout its history, this side of the cloister was always associated with the more domestic aspects of canonical life.[62]

In the various fragmentary vestiges of the ninth-century cloister, one observes a preference on the part of the builders to repeat certain aspects of Antique construction. This was achieved at times by imitating its appearance, as in the walling (*petit appareil*) on the south side of the Refectory, and in other instances by displaying re-employed materials, as in the exposed ashlar found in the 'Chapter Room'. One also encounters similarities to older building practices. For instance, throughout the structures in question, lime mortar mixed with crushed tile (*mortier de tuileau*) was utilized in the Roman manner.[63] Rather than a return to Roman sources stimulated by the Carolingian *renovatio*, there is ample evidence that this is more the result of direct continuity at the local level.[64] It is in this context of a strongly maintained local sub-Roman building tradition that changes after the year 1000 must be interpreted.

The Cathedral Group: The Early-Eleventh-Century Renovation of the Cloister

The likelihood of an early-eleventh-century renovation of the cloister was signalled in 1985 by the recovery of fragments of carved limestone pilaster capitals (fig. 125) from a late-twelfth-century demolition layer in the South Gallery.[65] At that point these fragments could not be linked to any extant structural elements. Excavation farther east in the gallery in 1987 brought to light the foundations of three pilasters added to the inner face of the ninth-

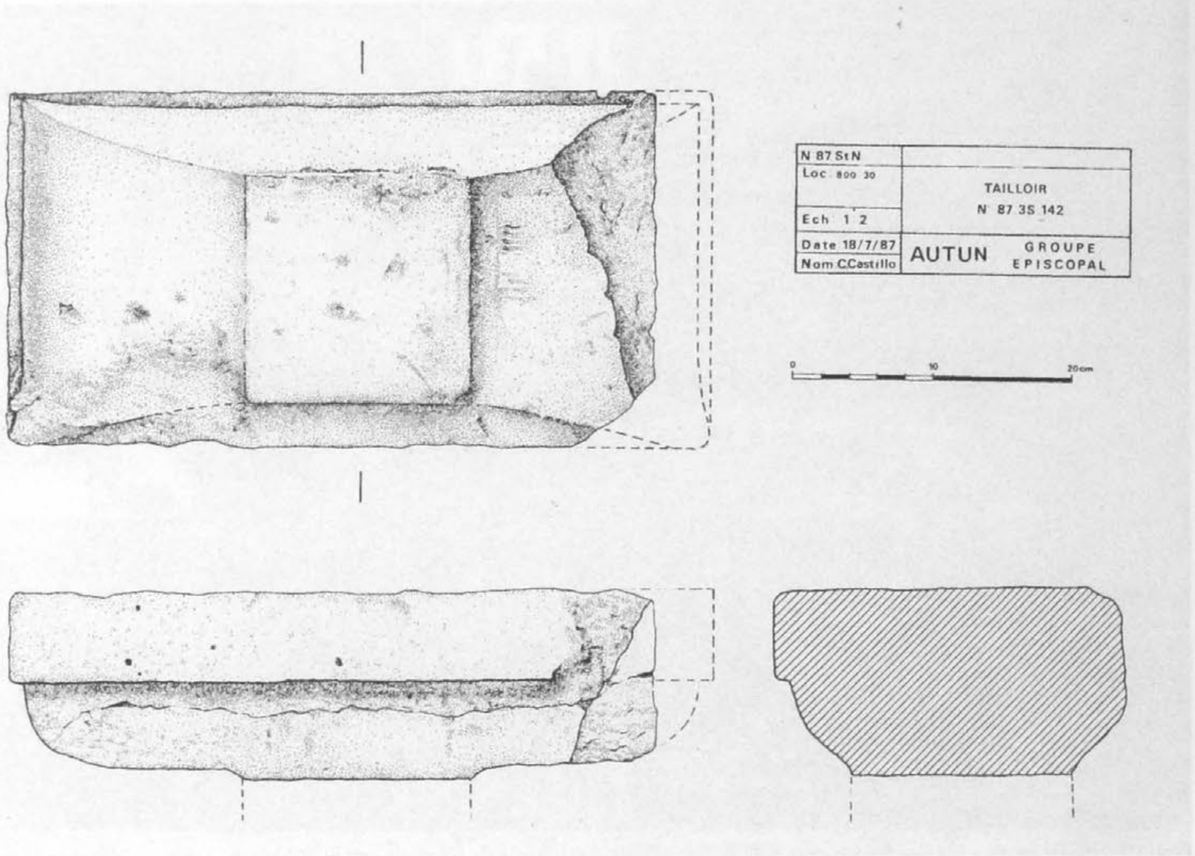


Fig. 126. Limestone impost of the earlier eleventh century reused in the foundation of a pilaster of the second half of the twelfth century in the South Gallery, recovered in 1987, drawing, C. Castello.

century gallery wall.[66] One of these could be related in turn to an extant socle found *in situ* along the north side of the Refectory.[67] It was apparent that the pilasters were post-Carolingian in date, and the presence of an eleventh-century impost (fig. 126) reused in the masonry of one of the foundations seemed to indicate that these belonged to a late-twelfth-century phase of restoration already known from study of the East Gallery.[68]

In effect, the actual sequence of events only became apparent in 1999, when an eighteenth-century staircase built in the angle between the Refectory and the East Gallery was removed.[69] Behind it on the south, a preserved section of the north wall of the Refectory was conserved to a height of several metres; much of this was rebuilt in 1873 when the building was transformed into a parish centre. Successive phases of construction were revealed (fig. 127), of which that of the ninth century has been described above. Two additional socles were disclosed in place corresponding to the foundations already unearthed along the gallery wall. On one of these was found the lower part of a pilaster and the decorated base of an engaged column, both of late-twelfth-century date.[70] Below the foundation of the staircase, floor levels of the cloister gallery had also survived intact. From the results of the excavation of these floors, which date from the ninth to the sixteenth century, and the analysis of the masonry of the adjoining wall, it is now possible to demonstrate that the twelfth-century phase of construction actually constituted a reworking of an existing, early-eleventh-century transformation of the Carolingian gallery (fig. 128).[71]

From the evidence at hand, it can be seen that the Early Romanesque campaign resulted in the division of the previously continuous gallery into a series of nearly square bays separated by pilasters, probably carrying transverse arches, and in all likelihood covered by groined vaults.[72] The weight of the vaulting would have necessitated the strengthening of the gallery wall facing onto the garth. That the rebuilt gallery wall included arcades supported in part by colonnettes is furnished by finds of capitals carved in the round (fig. 129) and the form of corresponding imposts (fig. 126). The original floor of beaten earth appears to have been replaced at this point by limestone slabs.[73] Finds of poly-

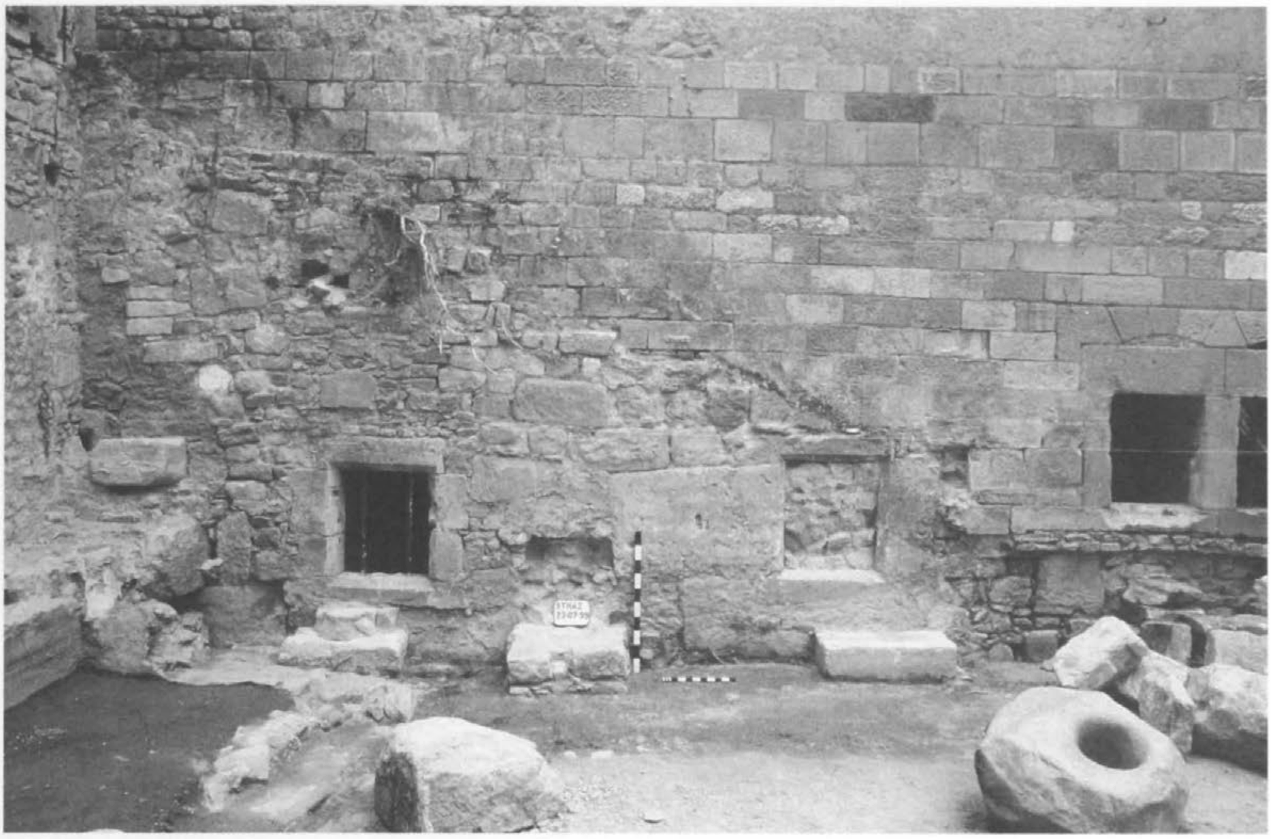


Fig 127 Eastern end of the north wall of the Refectory after the removal of the staircase in 1999, seen before excavation of the floor levels of the South Gallery, photo, W Berry

chromed plaster indicate that at least part of the new gallery included painted decoration.[74]

It may have been a desire to manifest their increased status that led the chapter to decide to renovate this part of their cloister a decade or more after the year 1000, to create a more proper setting for the exercise of their daily activities.[75] Despite the very incomplete conservation of these structures, it is clear that in doing so, the canons chose to replace the old timber-framed, wooden-roofed Carolingian galleries using 'up-to-date' masonry construction and stone vaulting. The result is comparable to such better-known cloisters as that of the abbey of St Philibert at Tournus (Saône-et-Loire).[76] The novelty of such construction in the region at this time is emphasized by a passage in the *Vita Gauzlin* concerning the newly built *domus hospitus* at the priory of Perrecy-les-Forges (Saône-et-Loire).[77] Erected during the first third of the century, it is described as 'built to perfection of lime mortar and sandstone, of which there is no like in Burgundy'.[78]

If one searches for other architectural projects in the city contemporary with the renovation of the cloister of St Nazaire, one is forced more-or-less into the realm of conjecture. We are ignorant of any other changes in the episcopal group. The erection of an entry structure replacing the atrium at the west end of the cathedral takes place later, after 1050.[79] Similarly, the (re)construction of the church of Notre-Dame seems to belong to the second half of the century.[80] At the abbey of St Andoche, three capitals of early-eleventh-century date, which are discussed below, attest to building activity contemporary with the cloister of St Nazaire but connected with an unidentified structure now lost.[81] At the abbey of St Jean-le-Grand, known renovation comes toward the end of the eleventh century.[82] Evidence for the city's seven medieval urban parishes, which come into being over the course of the eleventh century, is also quite meagre.[83] Knowledge regarding the *extra muros* religious establishments around the year 1000 is equally limited, with the major exception of St Pierre-l'Estrier. Study of the early-eleventh-century portions of this building, though also incompletely preserved, adds important additional evidence concerning the

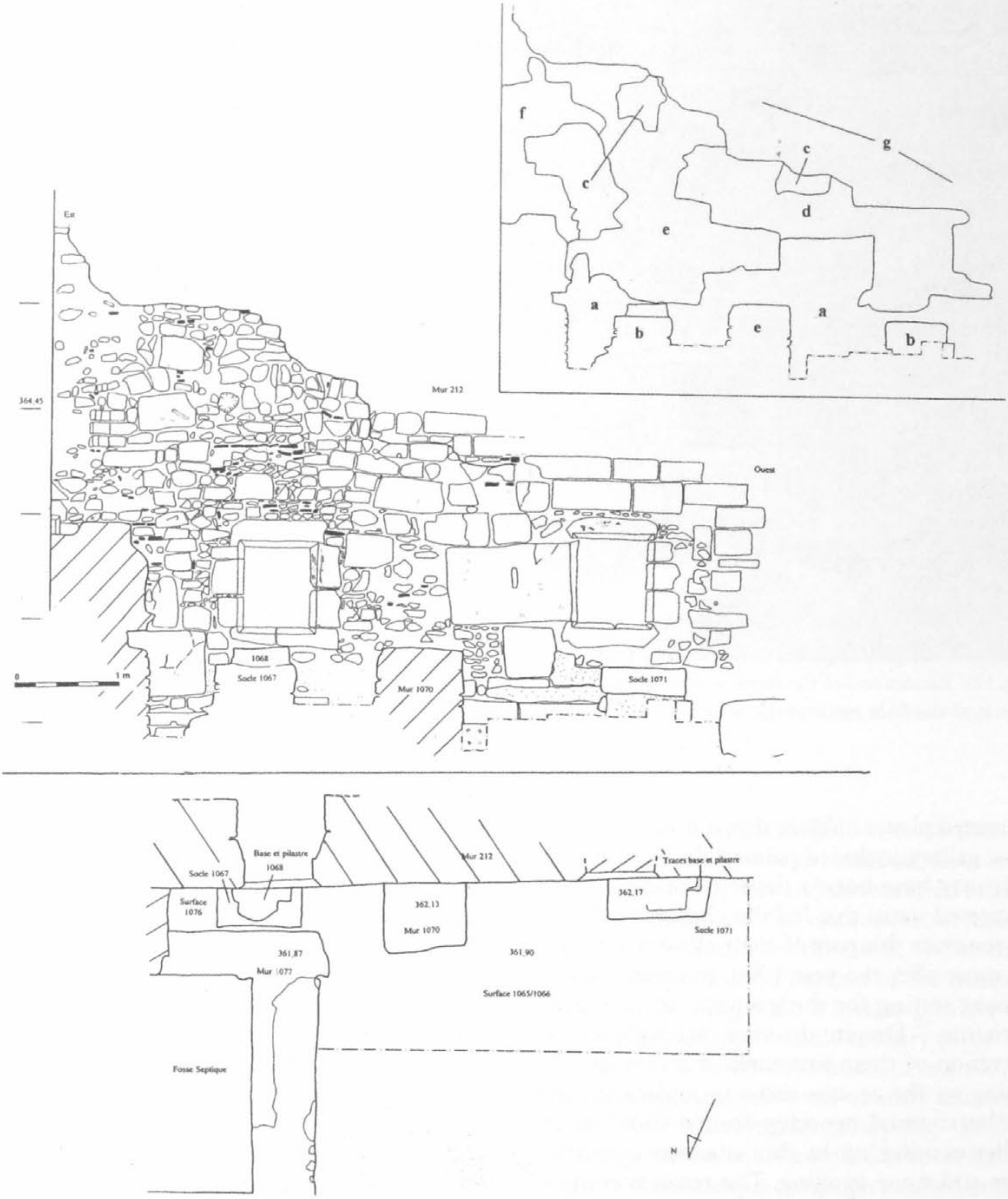


Fig. 128. Plan and elevation of the eastern end of the north wall of the Refectory after excavation of the floor levels of the South Gallery in 1999. Relative chronology for the wall: (a) ninth century; (b) 1020–30(?), socles 1067 and 1071; (c) second half of the twelfth century, bases 1068 and 1072; (d) thirteenth century; (e) sixteenth century, wall 1070; (f) eighteenth century, staircase 203 added; (g) nineteenth-century reconstruction of the former Refectory; drawing, S. Balcon.

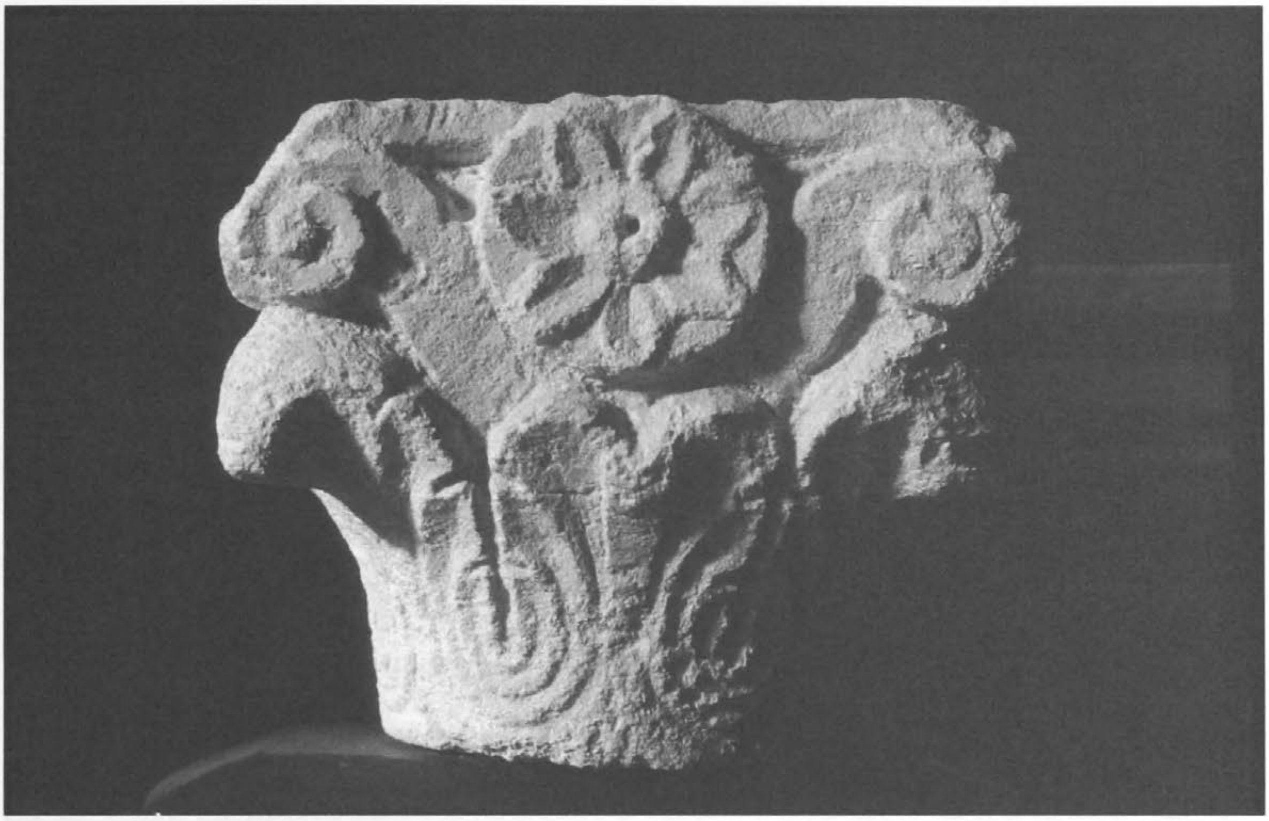


Fig. 129. Limestone capital of the earlier eleventh century recovered from the fill of the cloister well; photo, W. Berry.

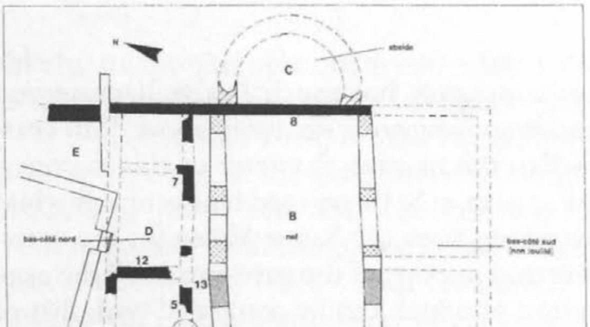


Fig. 130. Simplified plan of the excavations of the former church of St Pierre-l'Estrier with indication of the main phases to the eleventh century; plan, H. Delhumeau. (a) Mausoleum of *c.* 300; (b) nave; (c) apse added in the fifth century; (d) north aisle; (e) possible portico.

development of Early Romanesque architecture at Autun.

The Unrealized Reconstruction of St Pierre-l'Estrier

St Pierre is cited for the first time in the documentary record in 843 as 'monasterium sancti Petri [...] in suburbio'.[84] Under the authority of an 'abbot', the exact function of the church remains unclear until the early fourteenth century,[85] when it appears in a diocesan *pouillé* as a parish church, 'Sancti Petri de Strata'.[86] Though suppressed at the Revolution, much of the reduced, eighteenth-century state of the building has survived.[87]

From archaeological research conducted between 1976 and 1986,[88] it is now known that the church occupies the site of a Gallo-Roman villa deserted after the siege of 269/70 (fig. 130). Around the turn of the fourth century, a vaulted, hypogeum-like mausoleum was built just to the west of the abandoned habitation. By the second quarter of that century, burials had already begun to cluster around the mausoleum when a second structure was laid out immediately to the east of the tomb. Incorporating parts

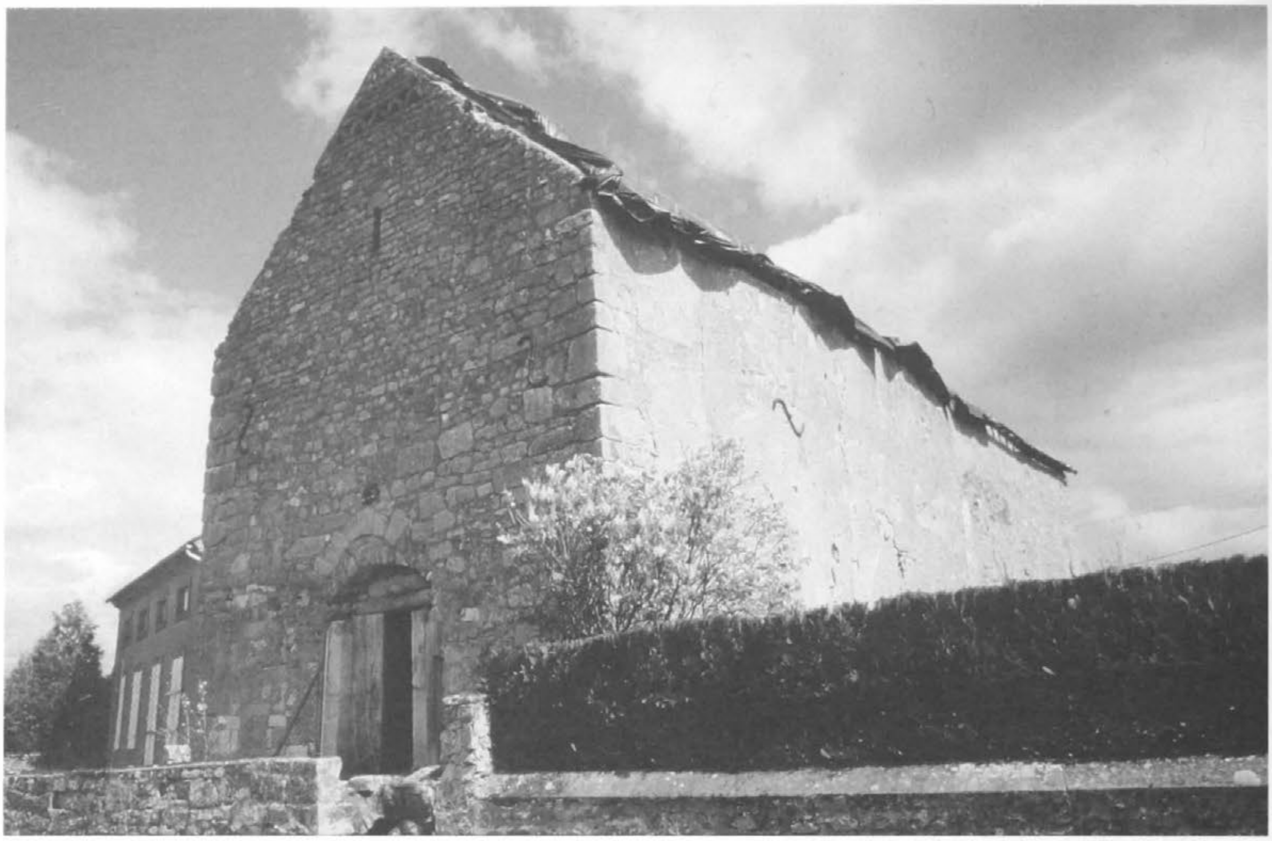


Fig. 131. View of the west front and the south side of the nave of St Pierre-l'Estrier (ninth and eleventh centuries) seen from the south-west; photo, W. Berry.

of the former villa, this consisted of a single-vessel 'nave' with a 'porch' along its north flank, and can be identified as a funerary church or chapel. A cemetery quickly developed around the new building while its interior appears to have been reserved for a small number of privileged inhumations.[89]

The initial structure was enlarged during the fifth century, taking on the form of a broad three-aisled basilica with a single eastern apse.[90] This was modified at several reprises between the sixth and the eighth centuries, during the heyday of the *Via Strata* cemetery, when it numbered among the more celebrated pilgrimage sites of Merovingian Gaul.[91] Waning in importance from the eighth century, it was not entirely forgotten.

The continued significance of the site is affirmed by several phases of rebuilding over the course of the Carolingian period.[92] Large portions of the west front as well as of the nave arcades of this time have survived in elevation (fig. 131). The presence of large re-employed sandstone blocks in the quoins of the facade as well as in the piers of the nave brings to mind similar stonework conserved in several of the contemporary but much less well-preserved buildings *intra muros* discussed above.[93] In contrast to the massive character of this masonry, the masons at St Pierre used blocks of soft white limestone from the Saône Valley for the voussoirs and imposts of the nave arcades,[94] the execution of which can be compared with that of major Carolingian buildings in Burgundy, such as the crypt of the abbey church of St Germain at Auxerre.[95]

It was this fourth, Carolingian state of the church of St Pierre that Robert the Pious undertook to rebuild, presumably when he visited Autun in February of 1018.[96] In Helgaud of Fleury's *Epitome vitae regis Roberti Pii*, the author states that the king rebuilt the 'abbey', which was 'in ruins due to its great antiquity', asserting that he also provided ample revenues for the clergy attached to the church.[97] In this passage, Helgaud refers to St Pierre as the 'monastery of St Cassian' ('Monasterium sancti Cassiani'), apparently conflating the church with the saint's tomb, or sarcophagus. By that point, the relics of that bishop-saint were no longer at Autun.[98] The cult would seem to have become attached to the burial place or, more

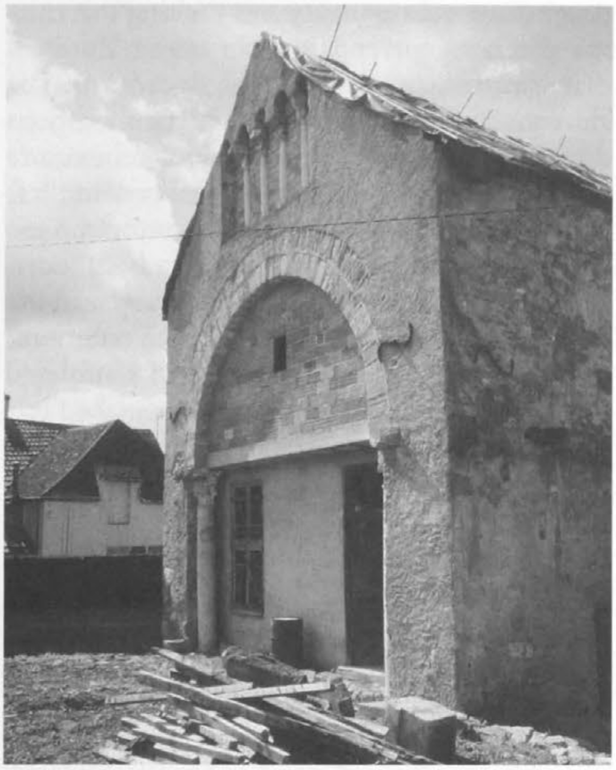


Fig. 132. St Pierre-l'Estrier, view of the east side of the crossing, probably built between 1020 and 1030, seen from the north-east; photo, W. Berry.

likely, to the sarcophagus itself, which may already have been transported to the church.[99]

It is evident that a major building campaign was undertaken in the years between roughly 1020 and 1030. Yet, only the crossing bay appears to have been completed before the project was halted. Why this occurred is unknown.[100] Excavation has disclosed construction trenches and incomplete foundations of what was surely to have been a much-enlarged east end. The planned building can be compared closely with two extant contemporary priory churches in the region, Perrecy-les-Forges[101] and Bourbon-Lancy,[102] as well as with the plan of the recently discovered first phase of the priory of Paray-le-Monial (all in Saône-et-Loire).[103] As in these examples, it was probably intended to build an elongated choir flanked by aisles terminating in smaller secondary apses. And it is likely that additional secondary apses would have opened off the east side of the transept arms to either side of the crossing.[104] No doubt as in the other churches of this type, the whole of the eastern part of the building would have been vaulted, with a domical vault on squinches over the crossing, barrel vaults in the transept arms and choir, and groined vaults in the narrow aisles along the choir. Further, it can be assumed that at the west, the nave and aisles were intended to have been rebuilt as well along the lines of Perrecy-les-Forges and Bourbon-Lancy, with arcades carried on square piers and unvaulted.[105]

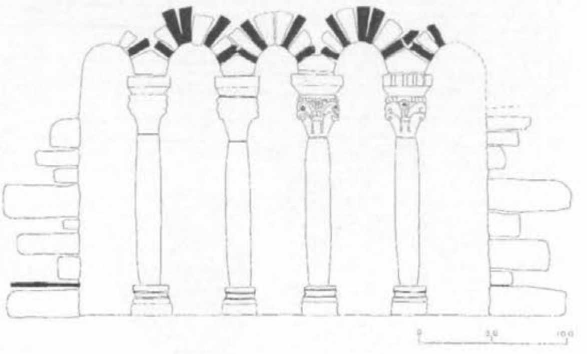


Fig. 133. Upper arcade on the east side of the crossing at St Pierre-l'Estrier, probably 1020–30; elements in terracotta shown in black; drawing, M. Jannet.

The crossing bay is square, 6.5 m on a side, almost identical with that of Perrecy-les-Forges. On the north and south, twin arches opened into what were to be the arms of the transept.[106] The east side of the crossing is the best preserved (fig. 132). At ground level, the large arch supported by re-employed Antique columns with eleventh-century capitals, discussed below, would have opened into the choir. Above this, four colonnettes carry an open arcade of five small arches, of which the shafts are also *spolia* and the capitals eleventh-century work.[107] The west side of the crossing, destroyed in 1750, is known to have been similar. Above this level, the crossing tower may never have been finished, but would probably have been planned to include an additional storey with single windows on each face near the level of the vault.[108]

Close examination of the masonry in the crossing reveals both the persistence of the local building tradition and the appearance of new features apparently arriving from other sources. In the upper arcade (fig. 133), limestone voussoirs alternate with wedge-shaped blocks of moulded terracotta.[109] Though this indicates a continued attachment to earlier decorative techniques,[110] architectural ornament of this type was still current in the eleventh century[111] and would persist in the region into the twelfth.[112] Also indicative of the continuation of older techniques is the use in the lower arch of lead plaques between the columns and their bases

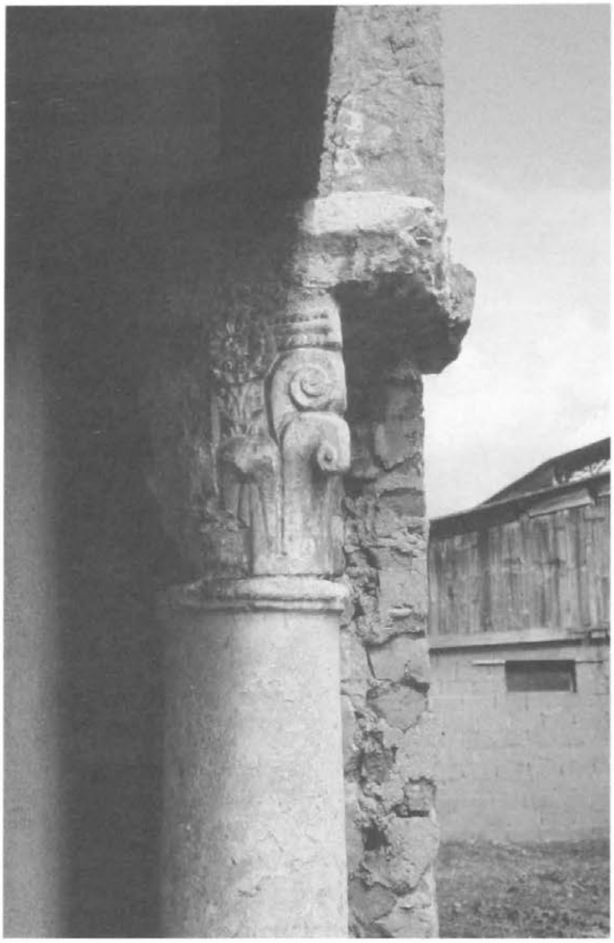


Fig. 134. Limestone column capital at St Pierre-l'Estrier on the north side of the triumphal arch, probably 1020–30; photo, W. Berry.

and capitals.[113] Similarly, one remarks that, as previously, masonry of the St Pierre crossing is composed almost entirely of re-employed materials. This is quite unlike Perrecy-les-Forges, where ashlar cut for the purpose is used in the lower and middle levels of the crossing, and in other parts of the east end.[114] Nevertheless, the blocks chosen by the builders at St Pierre are generally smaller and more uniform in size when compared with the ninth-century nave, and the coursing of the visible stonework in the crossing more orderly as a result.[115] Differences are also observable in the treatment of the doubled voussoirs of the lower arch.[116] The blocks are narrower, more elongated, and more regular in shape than in the Carolingian nave arcade, and are directly comparable in quality to the *claveaux* found throughout the east end at Perrecy and in the crypt of the cathedral of Auxerre.[117]

At St Pierre, as in the even more fragmentary vestiges in the southern and eastern galleries of the cloister of St Nazaire, one encounters developments in masonry and vaulting that mirror advances current in other major Burgundian centres during the first decades of the eleventh century.[118] If there are particular aspects distinguishing early Romanesque architecture at Autun, it is what appears to be a certain preference for monumentality and a continued use of Antique materials and methods of construction. Both tendencies seem to attest to the active perpetuation of Gallo-Roman traditions, as one would expect in a city still populated with impressive ancient monuments.[119]

Autun and the Beginnings of Romanesque Sculpture

The plastic arts at Autun around the year 1000 were as rich and as varied, if not more so, than the local church architecture of the same period. This sculpture benefited perceptively from a working tradition formulated in Antiquity[120] and maintained over the course of the early Middle Ages.[121] Yet, at the same time, the character of their ornamentation reflects more recent developments in decoration that respond to the evolving new mode of construction in which the multiplication of supports and the extension of vaulting provided the stimulus for further innovation.[122] In this context, it is interesting to observe how the carvers of capitals produced at Autun at this period assimilated the older heritage while at the same time transforming the traditional Corinthian and Composite prototypes.

Some forty examples of architectural sculpture attributable to the earlier eleventh century are known at Autun. Eight of these are either still in place or their original position can be ascertained. The others are found in the reserve of the *Musée Rolin* at Autun or in private collections. The essential part of this work consists of decorated capitals, all of which are carved in limestone.[123] Comparison of the ensemble of this work permits their division into several groups, predicated on common motifs or dimensions, or similarities in handling. This in turn makes possible the advancement of hypothetical attributions for some of the examples lacking provenance, although in a number of cases, it would be necessary to proceed to laboratory analysis of the stone in order to confirm these suppositions.[124]

At St Pierre-l'Estrier, six capitals are still found *in situ* in the opening of the triumphal arch and in the upper arcade on the east side of the former crossing. While the monolithic column and colonnette shafts are Antique *spolia*,[125] the capitals were visibly created for their present locations.[126] One can appreciate not only the quality of the execution of these elements but also their implementation, as for instance in the insertion of lead plaques under the columns and capitals of the lower arch.

The capitals in place at St Pierre are patently the production of a single workshop. Despite their differing dimensions, one discerns the same plastic invention and identical treatment, as well as the absence of an astragal.[127] The two well-preserved capitals of the triumphal arch are of fairly large size (fig. 134).[128] They have the peculiarity of a very tall basket, composed of two ranges of flat leaves. The extremities of these curve to form simple spiral volutes at the corners above and elementary crocket-like motifs below. On each face, a single flat leaf occupies the centre of the lower register, its median rib indicated by two converging incised grooves and its tip turning outward to form a beak-like point. Framed by the corner leaves of the upper register, the space above this is filled with small alternating leaflets. These surround a vertical stem that seems to pass under the central floral medallion on the abacus above. The medallion is formed by a large circular corolla of radiating petals within a second concentric ring ornamented with pearls. It exceeds the width of the somewhat more deeply carved abacus, which is decorated with two rows of twisted rope above and below a plain narrow horizontal fillet.

The four smaller capitals in the upper arcade are more compact in their proportions,[129] corresponding to the small size of the arcades, 1.85 m in height, and related possibly to their being viewed from below. Though these present the same characteristics of composition as the capitals of the triumphal arch, their plastic expression is more simplified. Ornamentation with leaflets, incised ribs, or twisted rope is absent, and the central medallion is reduced to a single corolla of seven petals (fig. 133).[130] A notable characteristic of these smaller capitals is that a pair of plain vertical stems extends upward from the lower central leaf to the medallion on the abacus.

Among the capitals that can be related to the St Pierre group, one encounters features exhibited by both the larger and smaller capitals still in place. One example, exposed in a wall of the nineteenth-century *Maison des Caves-Joyaux* near the Roman theatre,[131] presents the form and proportions of the large capitals, but without the central medallion, which in this case is replaced by the extremity of a leaflet. To this, one can add four others conserved at the *Musée Rolin*.[132] These present two registers of similar flat leaves at the level of the basket, as well as plain or twisted double stems joining the central leaf and the abacus, as in the smaller capitals *in situ*. Two of the *Musée Rolin* examples have medallions with very pronounced petals. On a third, this button is replaced by a clockwise helix.[133]

The compositional features of the St Pierre group bring to mind a small number of capitals in the Carolingian tradition whose lower register is composed of flat leaves,[134] and also the representation of stylized capitals in illuminated manuscripts such as the *Godescalc Evangelary*.[135] However, if one looks for contemporary early-eleventh-century parallels in Burgundy, one will find few possessing the same general morphology. Only certain details can be found, such as the helix medallion of one of the capitals of the north cloister gallery of the abbey of St Philibert at Tournus.[136] But that *atelier* maintains its distinct attachment to more elaborately rendered leaves, the effects of stems or *cauliculi*, and the projecting volutes of the traditional Composite Order. The use of flat leaves without relief is found principally either toward the region of the Loire Valley, for example, among the capitals of the porch of the abbey church of St Benoît-sur-Loire at Fleury (Loiret) about 1030[137] or in the abbey church of St Martin at Angers (Maine-et-Loire).[138] This type can also be found in northern Italy, where one senses the beginning of the transformation of the angle volute and where one also occasionally finds flat leaf motifs with pronounced ribs similar to those on one of the *Musée Rolin* capitals.[139] In addition, it is possible to compare the double stem found below the medallions of the smaller St Pierre capitals to similar features on early-eleventh-century capitals in the abbey church of Romainmôtier.[140]

It is perhaps the same or an allied shop that produced the decoration of the canons' cloister at St Nazaire. One meets with evident sim-

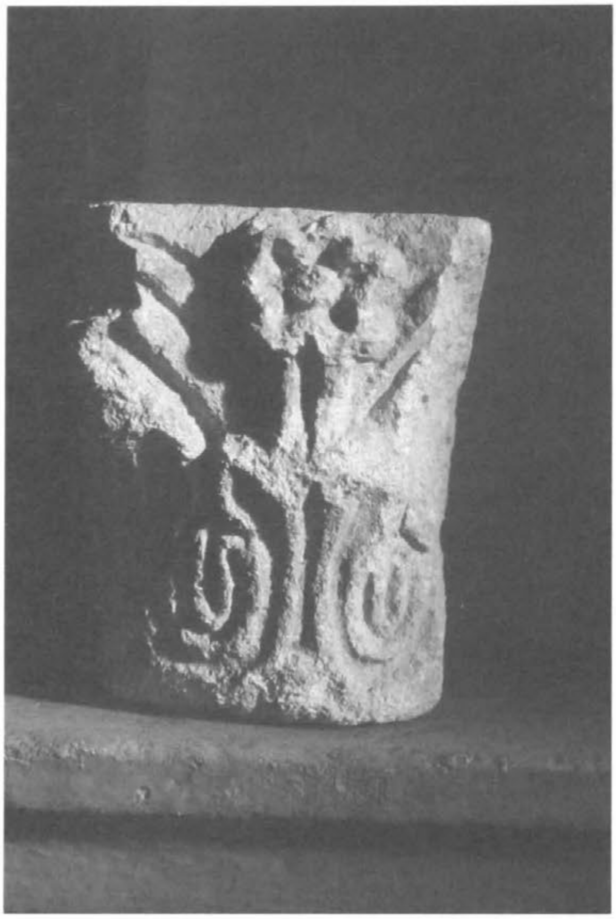


Fig. 135. Small limestone capital of the early eleventh century found near the abbey of St Andoche; photo, W. Berry.

ilarities, yet the overall handling is different. In the capital recovered during the excavation of the well in the cloister garth (fig. 129),[141] the *cauliculi* and volutes are separated from the lower register of vegetal ornament, and the prominent central medallion is reduced to seven large petals, recalling those of the smaller capitals at St Pierre. A single row of leaves forms the base of the basket. The deeply incised leaves join to form a continuous series of eight palmettes encircling the capital's neck, which, as in the St Pierre examples, lacks an astragal. These leaves are fuller and project farther at the corners, while the central leaves terminate in points that recall the beak-like tips of the central leaves of the lower register on the larger St Pierre capitals. The discovery of a number of fragments of similar pilaster capitals during the excavation (fig. 125) confirms that this work was not isolated but belonged to an ensemble corresponding to the decoration of the eastern and southern galleries of the cloister contemporary with their vaulting in stone.

The abbey of St Andoche also appears to have benefited from privileged contacts with the shop active at St Nazaire. A small capital discovered reused in a post-Revolutionary house neighbouring the abbey presents, despite its damaged state, not only the same type of palmette seen in the canons' cloister, but also the departure to either side of two stems or *cauliculi* toward volutes now lost (fig. 135).[142] In addition, one notes the presence of double vertical stems, as on several of the St Pierre group capitals, below the simplified, five-petalled central flower on the abacus.[143]

In contrast, two other capitals re-employed during the seventeenth-century reconstruction of the abbey are quite different in style.[144] The first offers simply long, regular, and well-pronounced leaves at the angles and on each face, as one can find on Carolingian and some Italian examples.[145] Between the leaves, a straight stem terminates at either end in two rings at the level of the plain abacus. The second capital (fig. 136) is close to known types with stylized leaves at each angle created by doubled ridges that terminate just below the extremities of the abacus. At the centre, two stems rise to frame an inverted palmette. The leaves correspond to the evolved capital type *aux angles abattus*,[146] of which one can see many examples in northern Italy and in France in the first half of the eleventh century, for instance in the crypt of St Jean-de-Maurienne (Savoie).[147] Similarly, inverted palmettes are encountered in several decorative schemes of this period, as, for instance, at Saints-Geosmes, near Langres in the Haut-Marne.[148] Two additional capitals in the collection of the *Musée Rolin* can be connected to this group.[149]

Although the chronological relationship among the capitals presented here cannot be established with precision, one can admit nevertheless that those of the St Pierre-l'Estrier, St Nazaire, and St Andoche groups were produced in the first half of the eleventh century. Besides the already evoked comparisons, one is aware of the historical context of their creation. For the ensemble from St Pierre, which is the most readily identifiable group and the most certain, one can connect their execution and installation with the project of Robert the Pious, begun perhaps around 1020.[150] This renovation, of which one finds echoes in the reconstruction and decorative programme of the canonical cloister of St Nazaire, is probably to

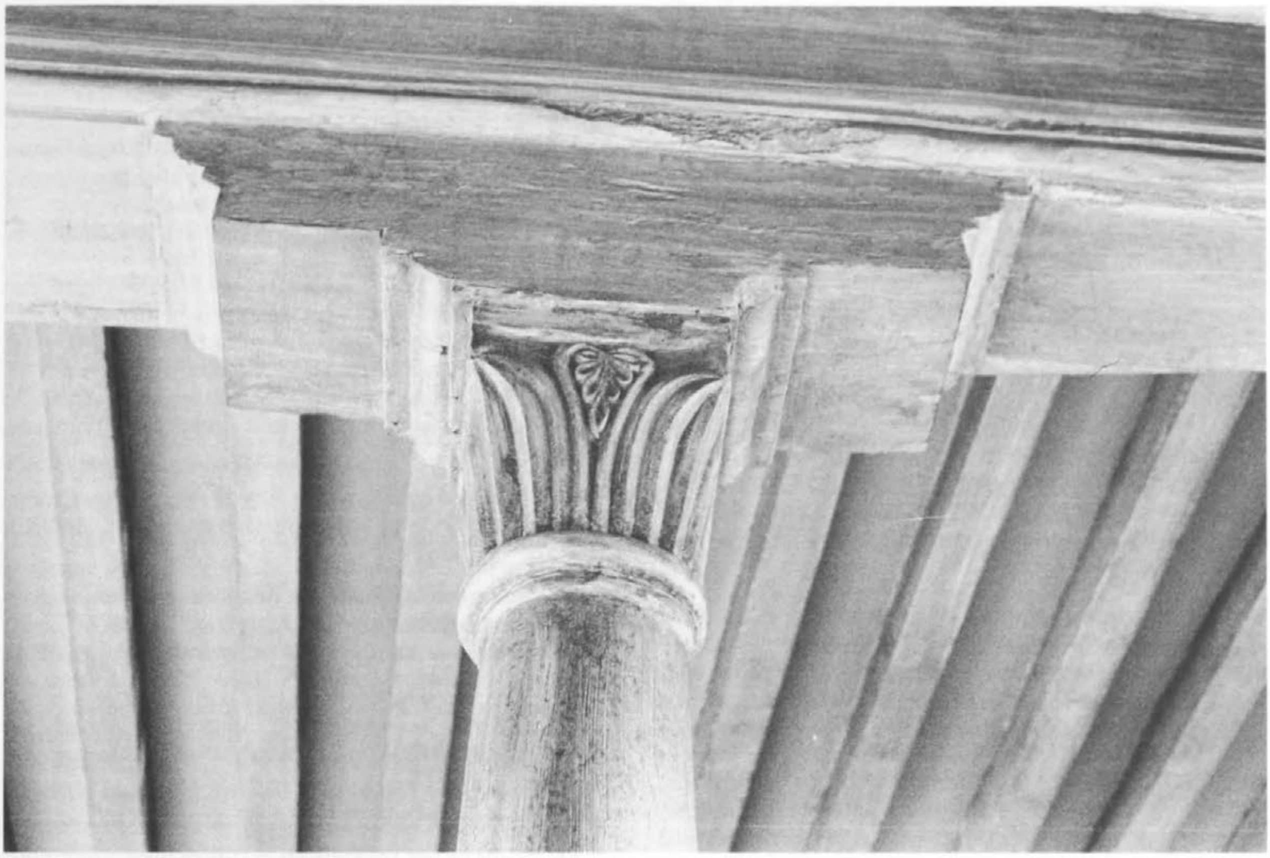


Fig. 136 Limestone capital of the early eleventh century re-employed in the seventeenth-century reconstruction of the abbey of St Andoche; photo, C. Sapin.

be likewise associated with a certain flowering of religious culture at Autun during the final years of the episcopate of Walterius (bishop 975–1024).[151]

Conclusion

This identifiable creative impetus at Autun during the first decades of the eleventh century belongs to a more general movement in Burgundy, where monasteries were reformed and rebuilt from the last years of the tenth century onward. In several instances, this corresponds to the appearance of a renewal in sculpture with the shops growing more and more structured and productive. It is already the case with the work in the abbey of St Bénigne at Dijon (toward 1001–18), where Merovingian traditions and Italian influences mingle simultaneously.[152] And the same is also true at St Philibert at Tournus (toward 1009–20 for the crypt and the low part of the choir), or in the abbey church of St Pierre at Flavigny (Côte-d'Or) toward 1010–20.[153] The sculpture at Autun distinguishes itself from these workshops by a more pronounced taste for the effects of symmetry, the use of volutes formed by extremities of corner leaves, and the contrast between the broad flat leaf and areas of floral decoration in greater relief, without excluding the possibility that painted decoration could have modified this perception, as at St Aignan at Orleans (Loiret) or St Martin at Angers. This sculptural mastery of the first half of the eleventh century probably served as a model for artisans at Autun around the turn of the twelfth century, in particular in the decoration of the former abbey church of St Jean-le-Grand, or in the first phase of the choir of St Lazare before the presumed arrival of the sculptor Gislebertus, to invent a new art of the capital prior to being surpassed by Cluniac influences.[154]

NOTES

1. The only comprehensive histories of the city are those of H. de Fontenay, *Autun et ses monuments*, with a 'Précis historique' by A. de Charmasse (Autun, 1889; repr. 1982); E. Thévenot, *Autun, cité romaine et chrétienne* (Autun, 1932); and D. Grivot, *Autun* (Lyon, 1967). For the Roman period, see esp. M. Pinette and A. Rebourg, eds, *Autun-Augustodunum, capitale des Eduens*, exhibition catalogue (Autun, 1987); A. Rebourg, *Autun*, Carte archéologique de la Gaule, 2 vols (Paris, 1993); and idem, 'L'urbanisme d'*Augustodunum* (Autun, Saône-et-Loire)', *Gallia*, 55 (1998), 141–236. For the sculpture of the cathedral of St Lazare, the best introduction remains that of D. Grivot and G. Zarnecki, *Gislebertus, sculpteur d'Autun*, 2nd edn (Paris, 1962); for the building, see B. Serexhe, 'L'architecture de la cathédrale St.-Lazare d'Autun', *Mémoires de la Société Eduenne*, 55 (1987–94), 15–34.

2. This period long remained the preserve of historians concerned with the origins of the Duchy of Burgundy; primary among these are M. Chaume, *Les origines du duché de Bourgogne*, 2 vols (Dijon, 1925–31); A. Déléage, *La vie économique et sociale de la Bourgogne dans le haut Moyen Age*, 3 vols (Mâcon, 1941); as well as J. Richard, *Les ducs de Bourgogne et la formation du duché du* XI^{e} *au* XIV^{e} *siècle* (Paris, 1954), and idem, 'Aux origines du Charolais. Vicomté, vigueries et limites du comté en Autunois méridional (X^{e}–XIII^{e} siècles)', *Annales de Bourgogne*, 35 (1963), 81–114. These works remain fundamental for the history of the Autunois during the early and central Middle Ages.

3. This is the result of new and increasingly interdisciplinary approaches to research in medieval Burgundy over the past twenty-five years. See, for example, D. Iogna-Prat and C. Sapin, 'Les études clunisiennes dans leurs états', *Revue Mabillon*, n.s., 5 (1994), 236–65; C. Sapin, ed., *Les prémices de l'Art Roman en Bourgogne* (Auxerre, 1999); and idem, 'Architecture et décor des débuts du XI^{e} siècle en Bourgogne. Nouvelles recherches archéologiques et perspectives', *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 32 (2001), 51–63 (pp. 51–54).

4. The continued role of Antique sources is widely acknowledged for the Merovingian period; e.g. Carol Heitz, *La France Pré-Romane, Archéologie et architecture religieuse du Haut Moyen Age, IV^{e} siècle – An Mille* (Paris, 1987), pp. 171–73; and in general, J. Ottaway, 'Traditions architecturales dans le nord de la France pendant le premier millénaire', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 23 (1980), 141–72 and 221–39. At Autun, as will be seen from the examples below, local circumstances appear to have insured that continuity would be greater and last longer.

5. A. Rebourg, 'Les origines d'Autun: l'archéologie et les textes', in *Les villes augustéennes de la Gaule*, ed. by C. Goudineau and A. Rebourg (Autun, 1991), pp. 99–106. The new urban centre (*Augustodunum* can be translated literally as the 'hill-fort of Augustus') appears to have been conceived as a showcase of Roman superiority, with the intention of fostering the process of Romanization. More immediately, its purpose was no doubt to attract the native Gaulish population, the *Aedui*, away from their mountaintop capital, *Bibracte*, 17 km to the west, an objective achieved over the course of a single generation (K. Gruel and D. Vitali, eds, 'L'*oppidum* de Bibracte, un bilan de onze années de recherche (1984–1995)', *Gallia*, 55 (1998), 1–140).

6. Tacitus, *Annals*, III. 43. 1, trans. by Michael Grant, Penguin Classics (Harmondsworth, 1956), pp. 136–37. These, the 'Schools of the Maeniana', are described in 298 by Eumenius in the panegyric *Pro instaurandis scholis* (A. Galletier, *Panégyriques latins*, 2 vols (Paris, 1949–52), I, 122–38). Recent archaeological research has disclosed that the city was also a metalworking centre of major proportions, a role that it inherited from Bibracte; see Rebourg, 'L'urbanisme', pp. 207–09, and P. Chardron-Picault and M. Pernot, eds, *Un quartier d'artisanat métallurgique à Autun. Le site du Lycée militaire*, Documents d'Archéologie Française, 76 (Paris, 1999).

7. Punctuated by more than fifty towers and four monumental gates, two of which survive (Rebourg, *Autun*, I, 42–52).

8. In addition, an important religious complex, including a second large theatre and the extant 'Temple of Janus', existed *extra muros* on the right bank of the Arroux (ibid., pp. 92–103).

9. A. Olivier, 'Les éléments d'architecture d'Autun', in *Autun-Augustodunum*, ed. by Pinette and Rebourg, pp. 62–63.

10. Rebourg, 'L'urbanisme', pp. 199–207. For summaries of the results of the excavations at Autun since 1985, consult the *Annuaires des opérations de terrain en milieu urbain*, published by the Centre National d'Archéologie Urbaine at Tours, as well as the annual *Bilan scientifique* for Bourgogne, prepared by the Service Régional de l'Archéologie at Dijon. Resumés of the results of the field seasons at St Pierre-l'Estrier and St Nazaire are also found in the annual 'Chronique' section of the journal *Archéologie médiévale*.

11. B. Buckley, 'The Aeduan Area in the Third Century', in *The Roman West in the Third Century*, ed. by A. King and M. Henig, British Archaeological Reports, International Series, 109, 2 vols (Oxford, 1981), II, 287–315.

12. Charmasse, 'Précis historique', in Fontenay, *Autun*, pp. lvii–lxvi.

13. For example, P. Le Gentilhomme, 'Le désastre d'Autun en 269', *Revue Archéologique de l'Est et du Centre-Est*, 45 (1943), 223–40, and J. Berthollet, 'La restauration d'Autun au début du IV^{e} siècle', *Mémoires de la Société Eduenne*, 50 (1947–65), 115–23.

14. Recent archaeological research demonstrates that a significant late antique phase of renovation took place in the area of the forum at the same time that buildings in other quarters appear to have been subjected to deliberate dismantling. In general, see W. Berry, 'Southern Burgundy in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages', in *Regional Dynamics, Burgundian Landscapes in Historical Perspective*, ed. by C. Crumley and W. Marquardt (San Diego, 1987), pp. 447–608, and most recently, B. Young, 'Autun and the *Civitas Aedorum*: Maintaining and Transforming a Regional Identity in Late Antiquity', in *Urban Center and Rural Contexts in Late Antiquity*, ed. by T. Burns and J. Eadie (East Lansing, 2001), pp. 25–45.

15. The stark contrast between the two parts of the ancient city endured through the early Middle Ages. By the twelfth century, however, separate poles of activity emerge around the abbeys of St Jean and St Andoche. More important was the appearance of the *Fort de Marchaux* in the region

of the ancient forum, which became the focus of secular control in the person of the *vigeur* of Autun, agent of the Duke of Burgundy. Autun thus develops into a classic example of *ville double*, with the advent of two spatially distinct communities, each pursuing its own economic and political objectives. See Jean Berthollet, 'Esquisse de l'évolution urbaine depuis sa fondation jusqu'au début du XVI^{e} siècle', *Mémoires de la Société Eduenne*, 50.4 and 5 (1950–51), 165–92, and Rebourg, 'L'urbanisme', pp. 180–81.

16. The same is true of later city views and plans (e.g., Rebourg, *Autun*, II, 72–75). For drawings of the Early Modern period, see Noel Duval and P. Quoniam, 'Relevées inédits des monuments antiques d'Autun', *Gallia*, 21 (1962), 155–89.

17. Most recently by C. Edson Armi, 'The Corbel Table', *Gesta*, 39 (2000), 89–116 (n. 75, pp. 115–16).

18. The term '*castrum*' is misapplied (Rebourg, 'L'urbanisme', p. 170 n. 74). A terrace wall may already have separated this area from the rest of the city in the first century AD, creating a sort of enclosed platform or *arx* (ibid., pp. 170–72). The fortifications closing off the northern side of this space (equivalent to only five percent of the area inside the city's Augustan walls) were long considered to date to the late fourth or fifth century. In fact, they are no doubt considerably later, probably Carolingian with twelfth-century additions (J.-C. Picard and C. Sapin, 'Le "*castrum*" ou enceinte réduite d'Autun', in *Autun-Agustodunum*, ed. by Pinette and Rebourg, pp. 351–52, and Rebourg, *Autun*, I, 55–56).

19. N. Gauthier, 'Autun et les débuts du christianisme en Gaule', in *Sept siècles de Civilisation gallo-romaine vus d'Autun*, ed. by A. Rebourg (Autun, 1985), pp. 101–10, and C. Pietri and J.-C. Picard, 'Autun', in *Topographie chrétienne des cités de la Gaule des origines au milieu du VIII^{e} siècle*, ed. by N. Gauthier and J.-C. Picard, 8 vols (Paris, 1986), IV: *Province ecclésiastique de Lyon (Lugdunensis Prima)*, 39–45 (p. 41).

20. For the *Via Strata* cemetery (so called due to its situation along the Roman road leading to Langres), see C. Sapin, 'Les tombes des premiers évêques et l'occupation chrétienne d'Autun, archéologie du site', in *La Bourgogne, études archéologiques*, Actes du Congrès national des Sociétés savantes, Dijon, avril 1984, 2 vols (Paris, 1984), I, 113–29, and Rebourg, *Autun*, I, 85–88 and 149–52.

21. C. Sapin, 'L'ancienne église de Saint-Pierre l'Estrier à Autun', *Archéologie médiévale*, 12 (1982), 51–105, and idem, 'Autun, Eglise Saint-Pierre-l'Estrier', in *Atlas archéologique de la France, Les premiers monuments chrétiens de la France*, 3 vols (Paris, 1995–98), III, 64–69.

22. Destroyed in 1774, it is known today only from the written sources. The church is mentioned specifically by Gregory of Tours (*Glory of the Confessors*, ed. by R. Van Dam, Liverpool Translated Texts for Historians, Latin Series, 4 (Liverpool, 1988), pp. 76–77). It was near St Etienne that the well-known *Pectorios* inscription was discovered in 1839; once dated to the third or even the second century, it is now thought to belong to the fourth century (J. Décréaux, 'L'inscription de *Pectorios*', in *Autun-Augustodunum*, ed. by Pinette and Rebourg, pp. 359–62).

23. The priory church of St Symphorien, burned in 1570 and rebuilt in the eighteenth century, was destroyed in 1806. The abbey church of St Martin was rebuilt between 1741 and 1752; it was also destroyed following the Revolution. For these, see C. Sapin, *La Bourgogne préromane* (Paris, 1986), pp. 143–46 and 166; Piétri and Picard, 'Autun', pp. 44–45, as well as J.-C. Picard, 'Les monastères d'Autun au haut Moyen Age', in *Autun-Augustodunum*, ed. by Pinette and Rebourg, p. 376, and C. Sapin, 'Le monastère Saint-Symphorien' and 'Le monastère Saint-Martin', in *Autun-Augustodunum*, ed. by Pinette and Rebourg, pp. 377–78 and 379–82. To these can be added the priory of St Racho, founded in or before the eighth century just outside the eastern city gate, demolished in 1767 (A. de Charmasse, 'Le prieuré de Saint-Racho-lès-Autun de l'Ordre de Cluny', *Mémoires de la Société Eduenne*, 10 (1881), 1-56, and 17 (1889), 347–414).

24. Piétri and Picard, 'Autun', pp. 42–43.

25. Sapin, *Bourgogne préromane*, pp. 37–41; idem, 'Le monastère Saint-Andoche', in *Autun-Augustodunum*, ed. by Pinette and Rebourg, pp. 382–84; and Rebourg, *Autun*, I, pp. 84–85.

26. Rebuilt in the eighteenth century and destroyed between 1810 and 1820. See E. Vergnolle, 'L'ancienne abbaye Saint-Jean-le-Grand à Autun', *Bulletin monumental*, 135 (1977), 85–108.

27. For an introduction to the site, see C. Sapin and W. Berry, 'Naissance d'un îlot urbain, Les abords de la cathédrale Saint-Lazare d'Autun du IX^{e} au XVIII^{e} siècle', *Bulletin du Centre d'Etudes Médiévales Saint-Germain, Auxerre*, 2 (1999), passim.

28. The initial consecration is not known. Although dedication to Nazaire is securely documented only from the ninth century, it is likely to have occurred by the middle of the sixth (J. Décréaux, 'Le culte de Saint-Nazaire dans les martyrologes francs et autunois', *Mémoires de la Société Eduenne*, 54 (1979–87), 33–49 (esp. pp. 36–39)).

29. H. de Fontenay, 'Epigraphie autunoise', *Mémoires de la Société Eduenne*, 8 (1879), 333–432 (pp. 333–48). Of the old cathedral, only the south-western bay of the choir (the chapel of St Aubin) survives today in elevation.

30. J. Berthollet, *L'Evêché d'Autun* (Autun, 1947). This lies along the interior of the *castrum* fortifications.

31. Fontenay, 'Epigraphie', pp. 396–401, and B. Maurice-Chabard, 'La collégiale Notre-Dame-du-Châtel', *Dossier de l'Art*, 49 (July 1998), 24–29, and idem, 'La collégiale Notre-Dame-du-Châtel', in *Splendeur des Rolin, Table-ronde, 27–28 février 1995*, ed. by B. Maurice-Chabard (Paris, 1999), pp. 91–100.

32. Perhaps begun before 1120 and completed by 1150, this was at first intended to serve as a pilgrimage church housing the relics of Lazare, brother of Mary Magdalene. It became co-cathedral from the end of the twelfth century. For the saint's tomb, see M. Pinette, ed., *Le Tombeau de Saint Lazare et la sculpture romane à Autun après Gislebertus* (Autun, 1986), as well as W. Berry, 'Les fouilles archéologiques du choeur de la cathédrale Saint-Lazare d'Autun', G. Rollier, 'Nouvelles données sur le tombeau de saint Lazare à Autun', and B. Maurice-Chabard, 'Le culte de saint Lazare à Autun: le cheminement des pèlerins', all in *Revue d'Auvergne*, 114 (2000), 114–25, 126–38, and 139–43, respectively.

33. C. Sapin, 'Autun, archéologie d'un quartier épiscopal et canonial', *Archéologia*, 226 (1987), 30–35; idem, 'Le quartier canonial et épiscopal d'Autun, une étude interdisciplinaire', in *Les veines du temps, lecture de bois en Bourgogne*, exhibition catalogue (Autun, 1992), pp. 181–91; and idem, 'Etude archéologique / étude du bâti: Autun, un quartier épiscopal et canonial', *Les nouvelles de l'archéologie*, 53/54 (1993), 13–18.

34. C. Sapin and others, *Le groupe épiscopal et canonial de Saint-Nazaire d'Autun, Rapport de synthèse, 1984–1989*, Service régional de l'archéologie de Bourgogne [hereafter SRA Bourgogne], 2 vols (Dijon, 1989). The project was carried out under the overall direction of Christian Sapin in collaboration with J.-C. Picard, M. Berbuto, W. Berry, A. Bossoutrot, C. Clements, N. Deflou, H. Pothier, B. Saint-Jean Vitus, and B. and K. Young.

35. In association with S. Balcon since 1996, this has included work in the *Chambre des Comptes* on the north side of the *Cour du Chapitre*, as well as in the *Cellarium* and 'Chapter Room'.

36. In 1997, in cooperation with B. Saint-Jean-Vitus and S. Vernault.

37. Excavation carried out in collaboration with G. Rollier and B. Serexhe in 1991 (W. Berry, G. Rollier, and B. Serexhe, *Cathédrale Saint-Lazare d'Autun, rapport des fouilles archéologiques exécutées dans le choeur*, SRA Bourgogne (Dijon, 1991)). For a summary of the results, see Berry, 'Les fouilles archéologiques du choeur'.

38. The date of the initial Christian occupation of the site is not apparent from the written sources. The first probable mention of the cathedral is in the sixth century (Piétri and Picard, 'Autun', pp. 41–42, and Sapin, *Bourgogne préromane*, pp. 30–32).

39. It is nonetheless possible to form a general idea of the layout of the ensemble. The most important elements would include, besides the cathedral itself, the baptistery, habitually at this period an independent structure, and the residence of the bishop (*domus episcopi*). Elements perhaps belonging to the *domus episcopi* (and/or a possible earlier *domus ecclesia*) have been uncovered recently south-east of the cathedral (S. Balcon and W. Berry, *Recherches préalables sur le site de l'ancienne cathédrale Saint-Nazaire [...] 2001*, SRA Bourgogne (Dijon, 2001)). There is reason to believe a second church existed on the site of Notre-Dame, forming a 'double cathedral' with the baptistery between them, as at Lyon or Geneva (N. Duval and J.-P. Caillet, 'La recherche sur les églises doubles depuis 1936: histoire et problématique', *Antiquité tardive*, 4 (1996), 22–37). The church of Notre-Dame (termed 'monasterium beate Marie') is first clearly mentioned in 1204 (*Cartulaire de l'Eglise d'Autun*, ed. by A. de Charmasse, 3 vols (Paris and Autun, 1865 and 1900), I/II, 123). It is possible that the linking of the title '*Dei Genitricis Mariae*' with the cathedral in a charter of 936 (*Cartulaire de l'Eglise*, I/II, 17) could lend credence to the existence of an earlier church associated with St Nazaire on this site. For this question and the problem of a possible 'basilica of Ste-Croix', see Piétri and Picard, 'Autun', p. 42, and Sapin, *Bourgogne préromane*, pp. 30–31. In the thirteenth century, the baptistery was transformed into the crypt-like parish church of St Jean-de-la-Grotte below the reconstructed Gothic cathedral of St Nazaire.

40. This is thought to have been carried out under bishop Syagrius and with the aid of his powerful patron, the Merovingian queen Brunehaut, then resident in the city (J. Hubert, *L'art préroman* (Paris, 1938), p. 112, and Piétri and Picard, 'Autun', p. 42). Sandwiched gold mosaic *tesserae* of this period have been found during the excavations. The generally high quality of the lost architectural decoration of this period at Autun can be imagined from isolated finds (Pinette and Rebourg, eds, *Autun-Augustodunum*, pp. 381–82, nos 744–49); see also C. Sapin, 'Les marbres sculptés du haut Moyen Age de Bourgogne. Problèmes de production et de circulation', in *Artistes, Artisans et production artistique au Moyen Age*, ed. by X. Barrel i Altet, Colloque international, CNRS, Université de Rennes II, 2–6 May 1983 at Rennes, 3 vols (Paris, 1987), II, 559–70. By the sixth century, a large, unidentified masonry building (oriented east-west) is erected to the west of St Nazaire (below the present choir of St Lazare); it remains in use through the tenth century (Berry, Rollier, and Serexhe, *Cathédrale Saint-Lazare*).

41. This and other construction was accomplished during the third quarter of the seventh century under the martyr-bishop Leodegarius (St Léger), perhaps in preparation for the council held at Autun in 670 (Piétri and Picard, 'Autun', p. 42). Portions of the atrium have been uncovered during excavations in the cellars of the houses opposite the present cathedral St Lazare.

42. The fire is mentioned in a charter of 843 (*Cartulaire de l'Eglise*, I/II, 47), but this remains to be verified archaeologically. For a general summary of this period at Autun, see P. Riché, 'La ville d'Autun et la fin de la civilisation antique', in *Sept siècles*, ed. by Rebourg, pp. 145–52.

43. For a recent survey of Autun in the Carolingian period, see A. Strasberg, 'Le paysage monumental religieux autunois à l'époque carolingienne', in *Charlemagne ou l'Eveil de l'Europe*, ed. by B. Maurice-Chabard, exhibition catalogue (Autun, 1999), pp. 18–26.

44. '[...] plenitur restaurata atque in statu suo sublimata' (ibid.).

45. This was found in 1998 below the fifteenth-century *Chambre des Comptes*, on the north side of the *Cour du Chapitre* (W. Berry, *Rapport sur les recherches préalables dans la Cour du Chapitre [...] 1998*, SRA Bourgogne (Dijon, 1998)). Large re-used Roman-period ashlar is employed in the pier. The stone pavement of the church is at the same level as the cloister garth. An idea of the decoration found in this and other buildings of the period is suggested by material from the abbeys of St Martin and St Andoche (Pinette and Rebourg, eds, *Autun-Augustodunum*, pp. 382 and 384, nos 749 and 750).

46. The rule *De institutione canonicorum* imposed a communal life on the higher cathedral clergy, which in turn necessitated the creation of additional architectural units to house the members of the new community within existing episcopal groups. See Y. Esquieu, *Autour de nos cathédrales* (Paris, 1992), pp. 16–39. An annotated transcription of the documents relevant to the history of the cloister ('Cloître et Maisons canoniales') is found among the papers of Charles Boëll in the Library of the Société Eduenne at Autun, MS no. 53, fols 82–114.

47. This is inferred by the text of a charter of 858 that appears to speak of the construction of a cloister and associated buildings to replace or augment an existing arrangement, which would be more appropriate and better adapted to the chapter's needs. The passage reads, 'Primum enim prospiciens illorum habitum officinarum inconvenientum et pene nullum esse, comparatione aliorum, juxtamorem aliarum urbium, claustra illis consrtruere officinasque congruentiores et aptiores ad usus eorum aedificare studi' (*Cartulaire de l'Eglise*, I/II, 33). This hypothesis is strengthened by a donation of a vineyard by Modoinus to the canons for their support (ibid., p. 30).

48. For construction under Jonas, see the previous note. In a second charter, of 877, Charles the Bald gives properties (including the abbey of Flavigny) to the Church of Autun in order that bishop Adalgrius 'enlarge the number of canons' and insure that 'they eat in a refectory [*refectorio*] and sleep in a dormitory [*dormitorio*] according to the rule'

(ibid., p. 11). A further donation was made in 879 to increase the number of canons (ibid., p. 22).

49. At Autun the term *claustra* seems to denote the cloister proper with its associated buildings, while *claustrum* is used for the canonical quarter.

50. Sapin and others, *Rapport de synthèse*; N. Deflou, J.-C. Picard, and C. Sapin, 'Autun', in *Les chanoines dans la ville. Recherches sur la topographie des quartiers canoniaux en France*, ed. by J.-C. Picard (Paris, 1994), pp. 163–77; and C. Sapin, 'Les premiers bâtiments claustraux en Bourgogne (avant le XII^{e} siècle), état de la question', in *Wohn- und Wirtschaftsbauten frühmittelalterlicher Klöster*, ed. by H. Sennhauser, Internationales Symposium, 26.9.–1.10.1995 in Zurach und Müstair, im Zusammenhang mit den Untersuchungen im Kloster St Johann zu Müstair (Zürich, 1996), pp. 157–72.

51. W. Jacobsen, *Der Klosterplan von St. Gallen und die karolingische Architektur* (Berlin, 1992). A close parallel is offered by the cloister of the abbey of Reichenau-Niederzell in Baden-Württemberg (W. Jacobsen, L. Schaefer, and H. Sennhauser, *Vorromanische Kirchenbauten: Nachtragsband* (Munich, 1991), pp. 343–44).

52. Timber-framed walling was current in the region at the Roman period (e.g. Rebourg, 'L'urbanisme', p. 204) and continued in wide use until very recently (R. Bucaille and L. Lévi-Strauss, *Bourgogne*, L'architecture rurale française (Paris, 1980; repr. 1999), pp. 58–77.

53. This storage building served as wine cellar and granary for the chapter. It is first mentioned in 1178: 'celario sancti Nazarii' (*Cartulaire de l'Eglise*, I/II, 109–11). But ninth- and eleventh- or twelfth-century states of the structure have been identified archaeologically.

54. W. Berry, 'Romanesque Architecture in the Rural Autunois and the Processes of Stylistic Change' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Missouri-Columbia, 1993), pp. 182–95.

55. These appear to belong to either the piers of an arcade or possibly the jambs of a portal. A further section of likely ninth-century stonework is found farther to the south within the same wall but remains to be studied fully. Excavation of the 'Chapter Room' will be completed during the 2002 field season.

56. For instance, in the two still extant city gates (Rebourg, *Autun*, I, 45–52). This work is comparable to the mid-ninth-century(?) nave pier of the cathedral St Nazaire discovered in 1998 and also recalls the masonry of the slightly later crypt of the abbey church of St Andoche (Sapin, 'Le monastère Saint-Andoche', pp. 382–84). It likewise brings to mind seventeenth-century descriptions of the massive stonework of the abbey church of St Martin, which was partially rebuilt in the second half of the ninth century (Sapin, *Bourgogne préromane*, pp. 144–45).

57. Balcon and Berry, *Recherches préalables [...] 2001*, pp. 24–47.

58. The disordered appearance of the Carolingian masonry here is largely the result of later modifications and the fact that the lower courses follow the slope of the ground downward to the east.

59. For example, in the facing of the *cella* of the 'Temple of Janus' (Rebourg, *Autun*, I, 97–100).

60. Analogous work is found on the preserved north side of the seventh-century atrium of St Nazaire. This was revealed in 1997 in the cellar of no. 5, place du Terreau (S. Balcon and W. Berry, *Sondages dans la Cave N° 5 [...] 1997*, SRA Bourgogne (Dijon, 1997), pp. 12–13).

61. Running along the face of a Roman period terrace, the preserved sections of this structure served as a retaining wall (S. Balcon, W. Berry, and C. Sapin, *Recherches préalables dans la Cour du Chapitre [...] 2000*, SRA Bourgogne (Dijon, 2000)). A broad staircase led up to the *Cellarium*, which lay at a considerably higher level than the cloister gallery.

62. Pollen analysis by H. Richard (in Sapin and others, *Rapport de Synthèse*, p. 45) and study of the animal bone by C. Beck ('Saint-Nazaire d'Autun: ostéologie et habitat religieux', in *Archéologie, monastère et territoire en Bourgogne* (Dijon, 1993), pp. 45–48) from the West Gallery confirm the presence of kitchen activity and the stocking of grain.

63. Vitruvius, *De architectura*, ii. 5. 1, ed. and trans. by Frank Granger, Loeb Classical Library, 251 and 280, 2 vols (Cambridge and London, 1931 and 1934; repr. 1995), I, 96–99. The extant lower portions of the Carolingian walls in the south-eastern corner of the cloister were protected by a coat of plaster containing a high proportion of crushed tile, giving it a rich pinkish hue. At vii. 4. 1 (II, 97–98), Vitruvius counsels the use of a similarly prepared plaster to be used on the walls of ground floor rooms where humidity is a problem, a suggestion repeated in the *De diversis fabricis architectonicae* of the third-century writer, Faventius (H. Plommer, *Vitruvius and Later Roman Building Manuals* (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 73–75 and 103–05).

64. A major element, of course, would have been the continued presence of Roman period structures still standing in the city at that time. And to these should be added another category, late antique church buildings, such as the cathedral and the earlier suburban churches. But an important additional factor, particularly for the perpetuation of older construction practices, would have been church construction in the Merovingian period, as for example the abbey of St Martin or the atrium of St Nazaire. Questions concerning the role of the higher clergy in building programmes as well as the possible ideological function of this architecture *more romano* at Autun remain to be treated more fully (cf. Sapin, *Bourgogne préromane*, pp. 165–68 and 245–48, and Berry, 'Romanesque Architecture', p. 187, n. 65 (p. 289)). On the complicated relationship between Early Romanesque architecture and its prototypes, see J.-P. Caillet, 'Le mythe du renouveau architectural roman', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 43 (2000), 341–69.

65. Sapin and others, *Rapport de synthèse*, 'Annexe 2', p. 38, and figs 128 and 129.

66. These foundations were left in place when the gallery wall itself was robbed out in the sixteenth century.

67. Sapin and others, *Rapport de synthèse*, p. 40, and figs 24 and 109–12.

68. Where a capital of the second half of the twelfth-century remains in place. A decorated colonnette base of the same date was found in excavation (Sapin and others, *Rapport de synthèse*, figs 71 and 73). The latter rests on a socle and foundation that have proved analogous to those later found in the South Gallery.

69. S. Balcon and W. Berry, *Rapport sur les recherches effectuées dans l'ancien groupe épiscopal Saint-Nazaire d'Autun au cours de l'année 1999*, SRA Bourgogne (Dijon, 1999), pp. 18–22 and figs 6 to 14.

70. This is of the same type as that found in the East Gallery. Both are closely comparable to work in the north

porch of St Lazare, which can be dated to after 1178 (Serexhe, 'L'architecture de la cathédrale', pp. 24–29).

71. This conclusion was verified during final excavation in the South Gallery during the 2001 season. It is now clear that the twelfth-century renovation involved a partial reconstruction of the gallery wall as well as of the pilasters on that side, which explains the presence of the eleventh-century impost found in 1987. Along the Refectory, the eleventh-century socles appear to have been left in place and the new pilasters installed above them. This indicates that the arrangement of the bays was probably left unaltered. The same sequence of events seems to have occurred in the East Gallery.

72. A computer-assisted reconstruction and video presentation of this system of bays and vaults was made by J. Bermon in 1989; see C. Sapin and W. Berry, *Archéologie d'un cloître, Saint-Nazaire d'Autun: découverte du quartier des chanoines*, exhibition catalogue, Musée Rolin (Autun, 1990).

73. These seem to have been lifted and then repositioned during the twelfth-century renovation.

74. Colours include red, brown, green, and yellow, sometimes all present on the same fragment, suggesting the existence of a fairly complex decorative scheme, but the fragments are too small to determine any design. The intact lower part of the Refectory wall was covered with a coat of yellowish white plaster. For recent advances in the study of wall painting in Burgundy at this time, see V. Rossignol, 'Les débuts de la polychromie romane en Bourgogne', in *Edifices et peintures aux* IV^{e}–XI^{e} *siècles*, ed. by C. Sapin (Auxerre, 1994), pp. 125–34, and C. Sapin, ed., *Peindre à Auxerre au Moyen Age* IX^{e}–XVI^{e} *siècles. 10 ans de recherche à l'abbaye Saint-Germain d'Auxerre et à la cathédrale Saint-Etienne d'Auxerre* (Paris, 1999), pp. 225–63. Window glass from the cloister contemporary with the painted plaster is too degraded to interpret. Well-preserved pre-twelfth-century stained glass has been found recently in the excavation of the nave of the priory church of Paray-le-Monial by Gilles Rollier (S. Balcon, 'Le décor vitré des églises', in *Les prémices*, ed. by Sapin, pp. 139–41).

75. Initially, the canons were dependent on the bishop for their material support. Later, a little before 920, the chapter obtained the right to receive donations in its own name, and to administer its own goods and possessions (*Cartulaire de l'Eglise*, I/II, 78). Indicative of its institutional independence was the acquisition of the privilege to mint its own coinage, a right confirmed in 921 (ibid.). Over the course of the tenth century, the chapter became increasingly wealthy, to the point of acquiring resources nearly equal to those of the bishop (ibid., pp. xxvii–lxxx, and C. Boëll, 'Mense épiscopale et mense canoniale de l'église d'Autun', *Mémoires de la Société Eduenne*, 49 (1944), 227–41). Construction activity also extended to the adjoining buildings. Study of the extant portion of the elevation of the Refectory shows that this was renovated at the same time as the South Gallery. And there is also reason to see a restructuring of the 'Chapter Room' at this time. Interestingly, there is no such evidence for a renovation in either the utilitarian West Gallery or the *Cellarium*, which may indicate that modifications were reserved for the more prestigious eastern and southern sides of the cloister.

76. E. Armi, 'Saint-Philibert at Tournus and Wall Systems of First Romanesque Architecture' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1973), pp. 28–33; B. Saint-Jean-Vitus, 'Les bâtiments claustraux de Saint-Philibert au moyen âge', in *Saint-Philibert de Tournus, Histoire, Archéologie, Art*, Actes du Colloque du Centre International d'Etudes Romanes, Tournus, 15–19 June 1994 (Tournus, 1995), pp. 231–48; and Sapin, ed., *Les prémices*, pp. 73–74.

77. André de Fleury, *Vie de Gauzlin, abbé de Fleury*, ed. by R.-H. Bautier and G. Labory (Paris, 1969). For the date of building activity at Perrecy, see W. Berry, 'Le système de voûtement de la nef de Saint-Philibert de Tournus dans son contexte régional', in *Saint-Philibert de Tournus*, pp. 297–321 (n. 47, pp. 318–19). For the priory church, see note 101, below.

78. '[...] cauce et arena duxit ad perfectum, haud similem in totis Burgundie ductum' (*Vita Gauzlin*, pp. 90–91; translation mine). The cloister and conventual buildings were pulled down in the eighteenth century; for the cloister at Perrecy, see the notice for the priory in Berry, 'Romanesque Architecture', catalogue of monuments.

79. Sapin, *Bourgogne préromane*, p. 30. The exact form of this feature has yet to be determined. On the site of the choir of St Lazare, the large late antique building was dismantled at this period and replaced by a wooden structure.

80. This is based on a cautious reading of the plan of 1774. Alternatively, certain aspects of the building could be taken as indications of an older (early-eleventh-century?) date (Sapin, *Bourgogne préromane*, p. 31, n. 30 (p. 260), and Berry, 'Romanesque Architecture', p. 198, n. 84 (pp. 297–98)).

81. Major work appears to have been carried out in the later ninth or earlier tenth century, but of this only the crypt survived the Revolution (Sapin, *Bourgogne préromane*, pp. 37–41).

82. Vergnolle, 'Saint-Jean', pp. 95–103.

83. Only one of the future parish churches emerges in the charters of the early eleventh century, when Robert the Pious donated the church of St Jean-l'Evangéliste to the abbey of Flavigny in 1018 (C. Bouchard, *The Cartulary of Flavigny 717–1113* (Cambridge, MA, 1991), pp. 123–24). This had served previously as the *cappella* of the former residence of the count of Autun; for this, see C.-R. Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas, Studien zur Profantopographie spatantiker Civitates vom 3. bis 13. Jahrhundert*, vol. I, *Gallein* (Cologne, 1975), pp. 113–21. This was destroyed at the Revolution. For a description, see Sapin, *Bourgogne préromane*, pp. 141–42. A second church that will become parochial, that of St Pancrace, is mentioned in a document of 936 (*Cartulaire de l'Eglise*, I/II, 17), but nothing is known of its early medieval state. The extant twelfth-century hospital chapel of St Nicolas seems to preserve masonry of this period (Berry, 'Romanesque Architecture', p. 183, n. 60 (pp. 286–87), and pl. 223a).

84. *Cartulaire de l'Eglise*, I/II, 47.

85. Despite the designation as a *monasterium*, St Pierre remained an episcopal dependency and never seems to have served a monastic function. By the early twelfth century, it is found to be under the authority of one of the principal canons (Sapin, 'L'ancienne église', p. 54; also, Philibert Gagnarre, *Histoire de l'église d'Autun* (Autun, 1774), p. 400).

86. *Cartulaire de l'Eglise*, III, 193.

87. The church was altered significantly in 1750, when the west tower was taken down, the west side of the crossing dismantled, the aisles removed, and the apse transformed into a sacristy (Sapin, 'L'ancienne église', pp. 80–81).

88. Directed by C. Sapin in collaboration with J.-C. Picard, A. Bossoutrot, W. Berry, and B. and K. Young. For the results of the project, see Sapin, 'L'ancienne église', idem,

Bourgogne préromane, pp. 124–32; idem, 'Saint-Pierre-L'Estrier', in *Autun-Augustodunum*, ed. by Pinette and Rebourg, pp. 364–68 and 370–75, nos 732–42; and most recently, idem, 'Saint-Pierre', pp. 64–69. See also C. Sapin, B. Young, and W. Berry, 'Saint-Pierre-l'Estrier (Autun, France)', *Gesta*, 25 (1986), 39–46.

89. B. Young, 'La place des morts – Archéologie urbaine et nécropoles: Le site de Saint-Pierre-l'Estrier', in *Bourgogne médiévale. La mémoire du sol. 20 ans de recherches archéologiques*, exhibition catalogue (Mâcon, 1987), pp. 98–99; C. Sapin and W. Berry, 'Un sarcophage de plomb découvert sur le site de Saint-Pierre-l'Estrier à Autun', *Mémoires de la Société Eduenne*, 54.4 (1984), 285–89; and S. Balcon and W. Berry, *Les sépultures à sarcophages en plomb de la rue Saint-Etienne à Saint-Pierre-l'Estrier*, SRA Bourgogne (Dijon, 1995).

90. A comparable plan is found in the first phase of the funerary basilica of St Clément at Mâcon, Saône-et-Loire (C. Sapin, 'Mâcon, Ancienne église Saint-Clément', in *Atlas archéologique*, III, 70–74).

91. Gregory of Tours has left a brief contemporary description of the cemetery (*Confessors*, pp. 76–80). Sarcophagi and vaulted tombs, notably those of the early bishops of Autun, were still visible in the seventeenth century (Sapin, 'Les tombes des premiers évêques', and idem, 'L'ancienne église', p. 53 and fig. 2).

92. In the first of these phases, a triumphal arch was added between the second and third bays of the nave, which may indicate the addition of a transept at this point. The two western bays of the nave were rebuilt later in the ninth century, and certain alterations were made on the south side of the facade and nave arcade late in the ninth or early in the tenth century (Sapin, 'Saint-Pierre', pp. 67–69). Part of the methods employed are discussed in C. Sapin, 'L'etude des enduits sur les sites de Saint-Pierre d'Autun et Saint-Clément de Mâcon', in *Enduits et Mortiers, Archéologie médiévale et moderne*, ed. by C. Sapin, Dossier de documentation archéologique, 15 (Paris, 1991), pp. 43–50.

93. For example, in the excavated nave pier of the cathedral St Nazaire, the fragmentary elements visible in the 'Chapter Room' in the canons' cloister, and the piers of the crypt at St Andoche. It is also significant to note as well the use of *mortier de tuileau* in this phase at St Pierre, as seen in the cloister.

94. The varied and somewhat elaborate profiles of the extant nave imposts appear to derive from an attempt to copy Antique examples (Sapin, 'L'ancienne église', fig. 16). The arches themselves seem to hearken back ultimately to Roman-period sources in the city, such as the now lost amphitheatre (Rebourg, *Autun*, I, 76–78).

95. C. Sapin, ed., *Archéologie et Architecture d'un site monastique: 10 ans de recherche à l'abbaye Saint-Germain d'Auxerre* (Auxerre, 2000), pp. 237–56, 382–83 (for the imposts) and 414–18. It can be assumed that masonry of similar quality also existed in the contemporary buildings of the episcopal group. Isolated blocks of similar type have been found reused in post-Carolingian masonry in the cloister. Note, for example, several white limestone blocks re-employed in the eighteenth-century fill masonry on the north side of the Refectory, at the upper left in fig. 127. Limestone voussoirs (possibly re-employed) are present in the seventh-century atrium of St Nazaire.

96. Probably at the same time that he donated the chapel of St Jean-l'Evangéliste to the abbey of Flavigny (see note 83, above). His pledge could possibly have been made nine years later, in 1027, when he may have been at Autun a second time (Charmasse, 'Précis historique', in Fontenay, *Autun*, p. cxxxv). Thus, work on the church probably began around 1020 or, at the latest, at the end of the 1020s.

97. Helgaud of Fleury, *Epitome vitae regis Roberti Pii*, ed. and trans. by R.-H. Bautier (Paris, 1965). The text in question reads, 'Monasterium sancti Cassiani summi in Hedua civitate, [...] nimia dirutum vetustate a novo aedificavit, et in eo Dei ministros collocans, abbatiam sicut prius construxit, praebens sumptus his qui ibidem Deo deservirent et sancto.'

98. With the permission of bishop Modoinus, these had been translated to the abbey of St Quentin in 840 (*Acta Sanctorum (opere Bollandistarum)*, 67 vols (Antwerp and Brussels, 1643–1940), II, Aug., p. 68). It seems unlikely that Robert planned to retrieve the relics and reinstall them in the rebuilt church.

99. Gregory of Tours (*Confessors*, p. 77) describes the cult attached to the tomb in the sixth century. A sarcophagus thought to be that of Cassian is known to have been located in the apse in the eighteenth century. This may be identical with a sarcophagus now in the Musée Lapidaire at Autun (C. Sapin, 'Les sarcophages', in *Autun-Augustodunum*, ed. by Pinette and Rebourg, pp. 368–70). Interestingly, excavation has shown that as part of the renovation of the 1020s, two Merovingian period stone sarcophagi were introduced into the area north of the crossing, the lids of which would have been exposed at floor level. It is not known if these were transferred from within another part of the church or transported from the surrounding cemetery. The identity (or supposed identity in the eleventh century) of the occupants of the sarcophagi is open to question. The discovery of associated colonnette bases shows that an architectural space was created around them. Exactly how this arrangement would have functioned is not clear, but the significance of the visible incorporation of sarcophagi within the building itself is evident. On the exposition of sarcophagi in the Middle Ages, see M. Greenhalgh, *The Survival of Roman Antiquities in the Middle Ages* (London, 1989), pp. 194–96.

100. Later in the eleventh century, aisles were built eastward over the emplacement of the intended transept, the upper part of the facade was reworked, and a detached bell tower was added at the west.

101. E. Vergnolle, *L'art roman en France. Architecture – sculpture – peinture* (Paris, 1994), pp. 55–56 and 64–67; M. Tokita-Darling, 'The Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture of Perrecy-les-Forges' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1994); and Berry, 'Romanesque Architecture', catalogue of monuments, notice for Perrecy-les-Forges.

102. E. Vergnolle, 'L'église Saint-Nazaire de Bourbon-Lancy', in *Congrès archéologique de France: Bourbonnais* (Paris, 1988), pp. 83–96.

103. G. Rollier, 'Premiers résultats des fouilles archéologiques sur la basilique de Paray-le-Monial: les deux priorales', and C. Sapin, 'Le nouveau plan de Paray-le-Monial et l'architecture du XI^{e} siècle en Bourgogne', both in *Paray-le-Monial, Brionnais-Charolais. Le renouveau des études romanes, II^{e} colloque scientifique international de Paray-le-Monial (2–3–4 octobre 1998)* (Paray-le-Monial, 2000), pp. 53–78 and 79–90. For results of the most recent excavation in the nave, see Sapin, ed., *Les prémices*, p. 105 and fig. 90.

104. Lacking these additional secondary apses, the plan would have been comparable to that of the abbey church

of Romainmôtier (Canton Waadt, Switzerland); see Sapin, 'Le nouveau plan', pp. 85–87 and pl. 4.

105. Vergnolle, *L'art roman*, figs 43 and 60. As in the case of certain features of contemporary carving at Autun, discussed below, there appears to be a strong link with the Loire Valley. For developments there around the year 1000, see J. Ottaway and others, 'Centre', in *Le Paysage monumental de la France autour de l'an mil*, ed. by Xavier Barral i Altet (Paris, 1987), pp. 253–95, and E. Vergnolle, 'Les débuts de l'art roman dans le royaume franc (*ca.* 980–*ca.* 1020)', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 43 (2000), 161–94. Such a relationship is inherent in P. de Truchis, 'L'architecture de la Bourgogne française sous Robert le Pieux', *Bulletin monumental*, 80 (1921), 5–37; see also the comments of Armi, 'Saint-Philibert at Tournus', pp. 34–56.

106. Of these, only the western arch on the south survives intact; most of the corresponding arch on the north was destroyed when the church was transformed into a barn in the nineteenth century. The eastern openings were blocked in 1750 when the aisles were removed.

107. Much as at Perrecy-les-Forges, where the column shafts may also be of Gallo-Roman date and capitals from an earlier, apparently Carolingian building (see Vergnolle, *L'art roman*, figs 59 and 60). On the renewed use of columns in the architecture of this period, see E. Vergnolle, 'La colonne à époque romane. Réminiscences et nouveautés', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 41 (1998), 141–74 (esp. pp. 142–45).

108. Vergnolle, *L'art roman*, fig. 59.

109. Rather than being re-employed, these would appear to be of eleventh-century date. One notes that the alternation of these elements is not regular (fig. 13). This and the sometimes haphazard arrangement of the voussoirs (at least one of which appears to be re-employed) suggests a later repair of the arcade.

110. As in the so-called Gallo-Roman 'Temple d'Apollon' (Rebourg, *Autun*, I, 81–83) or in the seventh-century atrium of St Nazaire.

111. For instance, in the east end exterior of St Médard-de-Doulon at Nantes (Loire-Atlantique; J. Hubert and others, 'Le chevet de l'ancienne église de Doulon à Nantes', *Bulletin monumental*, 129 (1971), 65–74). In the well-known example of the abbey church of St Philibert at Tournus, the same effect is produced in the transverse arches in the western part of the nave using reddish brown stone in place of brick (J. Henriet, 'Saint-Philibert de Tournus. L'oeuvre du second Maître: la galilée et la nef', *Bulletin monumental*, 150 (1992), 101–64 (pp. 154–55), and P. Rat, 'Les pierres de l'abbatiale de Tournus, la géologie et l'homme', *Centre international d'études romanes*, 95 (1995), 169–204).

112. As in the case of St Agnan-sur-Loire (Saône-et-Loire; see W. Berry, 'L'architecture romane dans le Val de Loire autunois', in *Paray-le-Monial, Brionnais-Charolais*, pp. 285–308 (pp. 292–93)).

113. The sheets of lead were probably introduced to assure stability as well as to inhibit the movement of humidity.

114. This ashlar recalls masonry described as 'ex quadris lapidibus' at this period in the crypt of Auxerre cathedral and the porch of the abbey church of St Benoît-sur-Loire (E. Vergnolle, 'La pierre de taille dans l'architecture religiouese de la première moitié du XI^{e} siècle', *Bulletin monumental*, 154 (1996), 229–34 (p. 229)). In this context, it should be remembered that the priory of Perrecy-les-Forges was dependant on the abbey of St Benoît. One must note, however, that other walling at Perrecy, for example in the exterior of the south aisle of the nave, continued to look back to Carolingian practice (Sapin, ed., *Les prémices*, p. 98 and fig. 79). This masonry in small blocks (*petit appareil*) is directly comparable to the imitation *opus vittatum* on the south side of the canons' Refectory in the cloister of St Nazaire.

115. In addition, a cream-colored sandy lime mortar is employed here in place of the pinkish *mortier de tuileau* of the Carolingian period.

116. Similar doubled arches are found in early-eleventh-century buildings in the Loire Valley, as, for example, on the north side of the transept at the cathedral of Nevers (C. Sapin, 'La cathédrale romane (XI^{e} siècle)', in *La cathédrale de Nevers, du baptistère paléochrétien au chevet roman*, ed. by C. Sapin (Paris, 1995), pp. 59–93 (figs 38 and 44)).

117. C. Sapin, 'Auxerre (Yonne), Cathédrale Saint-Etienne. Crypte', in *Le Paysage monumental*, ed. by Barral i Altet, pp. 208–09. Work analogous to that at St Pierre is also found in the first quarter of the century not far from Autun at the priory of St Martin at Mesvres (Berry, 'Romanesque Architecture', catalogue of monuments, notice for the priory of Mesvres, and Sapin, *Bourgogne préromane*, pp. 115–18), then, after 1030, in the renovation of the priory church of St Georges at Couches-les-Mines (ibid., pp. 70–75). Both are in Saône-et-Loire.

118. For an overview of Burgundian architecture at this time, see C. Sapin, 'Bourgogne', in *Le Paysage monumental*, ed. by Barral i Altet, pp. 197–223; idem, ed., *Les prémices*, pp. 49–108; idem, 'La technique de construction en pierre autour de l'an mil, contribution à une réflexion et perspectives de recherches', in *La construction en Anjou au Moyen Age, Actes de la table ronde d'Angers des 29 et 30 mars 1996*, ed. by D. Prignet and N. Y. Tonnerre (Angers, 1998), pp. 13–31; idem, 'La pierre et le voûtement, innovations dans les techniques de construction des églises en Bourgogne au XI^{e} siècle', in *L'innovation technique au Moyen Age, Actes du VIe Congrès International d'archéologie médiévale*, ed. by P. Beck (Paris, 1998), pp. 179–85; and idem, 'Architecture et décor', pp. 54–61.

119. Physical evidence of the Roman past was visible daily in the town, and memory of it is manifest in the anachronistic use of the older title, *episcopus Eduorum*, into the central Middle Ages (A. de Charmasse, *Cartulaire de l'evêché d'Autun* (Autun, 1880), p. xxxvi). But overlaying this may have been reminders of the city's early Christian history embedded in the local liturgy: see Sapin, *Bourgogne préromane*, pp. 165–68, and Berry, 'Romanesque Architecture', p. 187, and n. 65 (pp. 289–90). The frequent re-use of certain Roman-period building materials does not always seem to be the product of economizing on the part of the builders; instead, in some cases it seems to be the result of conscious choice. If true, it would be likely that these details of masonry also played an active iconographic role in their own right, but one that, in the absence of textual information, is difficult to decipher. Nonetheless, the appropriation of Antique models so eloquently demonstrated at St Lazare in the 1120s and 1130s already seems to have been well-established in religious architecture at Autun a century earlier.

120. Olivier, 'Les éléments d'architecture d'Autun', pp. 62–73.

121. C. Sapin, 'Notes à propos de quelques chapiteaux inédits du Haut Moyen Age en Bourgogne', *Bulletin monumental*, 136 (1978), 49–53, and idem, 'Le matériel lapidaire du haut Moyen-Age au Musée Rolin', *Mémoires de la Société Eduenne*, 54 (1979–87), 103–22.

122. E. Vergnolle, 'La première sculpture romane de la France moyenne (1010–1050)', *Quaderni del Seminario di Storia dell'Arte*, 2 (1996), 1–42. For Burgundy, M. Baylé, 'Les sculptures de la rotonde de Dijon', in *Guillaume de Volpiano et l'architecture des rotondes*, ed. by M. Jannet and C. Sapin, Actes du colloque de Dijon, Musée Archéologique, 23–25 September 1993 (Dijon, 1996), pp. 59–72; C. Sapin, 'Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, Saint-Pierre de Flavigny et les ateliers de sculpture de la première moitié du XI^{e} siècle', *Mémoires de la Commission des Antiquités de la Côte-d'Or*, 35 (1987–89), 215–42; and idem, ed., *Les prémices*, pp. 109–26.

123. To these can be added a smaller number of bases and imposts, some still *in situ*. One does not encounter carved panels or bas-reliefs, as found in the Loire Valley (e.g. E. Vergnolle, 'L'Art des frises dans la vallée de la Loire', in *The Romanesque Frieze and Its Spectator*, ed. by D. Kahn (London, 1992), pp. 97–120) or elsewhere in Burgundy, as at St Bénigne at Dijon or St Pierre at Flavigny (Côte-d'Or), or the abbey church of St Germain at Auxerre (Sapin, ed., *Les prémices*, pp. 125–26, and idem, ed., *Archéologie et Architecture*, p. 107).

124. A petrologic analysis of the St Pierre-l'Estrier material has been carried out by A. Blanc and C. Lorenz and will appear as part of the final publication of the site.

125. All are of white limestone. The columns measure 2.50 m in height and 32 cm in diameter. The colonnette shafts, which exhibit a pronounced entasis, average 0.90 m in height, and their diameters vary from 12 to 16 cm.

126. The bases of the columns of the triumphal arch appear to be re-employed and recut. The imposts above the capitals of these columns, as well as the bases and the two southern imposts of the colonnettes are of eleventh-century date. The pair of decorated imposts above the capitals of the two northern colonnettes appear to be re-used from an earlier building of uncertain period (Sapin, 'L'ancienne église', p. 66). The four colonnette bases are of simple double torus type. Similar bases were found in place associated with the sarcophagi in the north aisle; see note 99, above.

127. In the case of the capitals of the lower arch, astragals are present on the re-used columns (fig. 12). The colonnettes in the upper arcade lack necking structures altogether.

128. These measure 48 cm in height and 32 and 33.5 cm in width at the impost. The diameter at the base is 26 cm in both cases. Interestingly, they are carved only on the sides facing inward and toward the nave. On both, the side facing toward the choir is merely blocked out and left blank. The imposts are carved with a simple large *cavet*. These apparently continued to the east but are now broken off on that side (fig. 134).

129. 25 to 28 cm in height and 28 to 30 cm in width.

130. Fragmentary medallions from similar capitals, probably those of the lost western face of the crossing bay, were found during the excavations (Pinette and Rebourg, eds, *Autun-Augustodunum*, p. 374, no. 737).

131. Numerous examples of mostly Gallo-Roman sculpture recovered prior to 1848 are exposed in its walls (Fontenay, *Autun*, p. 188, and Rebourg, *Autun*, I, 162–65).

132. These range between 23 and 31 cm in height, 23 to 30 cm wide at the abacus, and 15 to 22 cm in diameter at the base.

133. Sapin, ed., *Les prémices*, fig. 118.

134. For example, in the north-west (stucco) capital of the *confessio* of the crypt of the abbey church of St Germain at Auxerre; Sapin, ed., *Archéologie et architecture*, pp. 237–38 and 271, and fig. 320.

135. Bibliothèque nationale de France MS. NV. Acqu. Lat. 1203, fol. 3^{v}; see Sapin, *Bourgogne préromane*, pp. 239–41 and fig. 152.

136. Sapin, ed., *Les prémices*, p. 123, fig. 114.

137. E. Vergnolle, *Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire et la sculpture du XI^{e} siècle* (Paris, 1985).

138. J. Martin-Demézil, 'Saint-Martin d'Angers', in *Congrès archéologique de France: Anjou* (Paris, 1964), pp. 49–61.

139. This can be compared to work in the crypt of the cathedral of Aoste, before 1026; see C. Bonnet and R. Perinetti, 'Remarques sur la crypte de la cathédrale d'Aoste', *Quaderno n°1 de la Sovrintendenza ai beni culturali della Valle d'Aosta*, 1 (1977), 1–32.

140. Hans Rudolf Sennhauser, *Romainmôtier und Payerne. Studien zur Cluniazenserarchitektur des 11. Jahrhunderts in der Westschweiz* (Basel, 1970).

141. Inv. 88.3S.52. It is 22.5 cm in height and 25 to 26 cm in width.

142. The capital was found in 1983 at 11, rue de Châtelet, see *Bourgogne médiévale*, notices pp. 87–88 and fig. 11. It measures 18.5 cm in height, 14.5 cm in width, and 12.5 cm in depth.

143. The deep carving of the foliage is somewhat comparable to early medieval work, for example in the crypt of St Laurent at Grenoble (Isère); Heitz, *La France Pré-Romane*, pp. 36–40. But the character of the palmettes and the stems below the central flower recall certain developments of the first half of the eleventh century at Romainmôtier (see note 140, above).

144. These are found today atop tall narrow columns (of uncertain date) in the refectory and kitchen of the *collège* installed in this part of the former monastic complex. The first capital is 32 cm in height and 25 cm wide at the abacus, with a diameter of 22 cm at the base. The second is of the same height but wider (measuring 35 cm at the abacus).

145. Cf., for example, the capitals of Germigny-des-Prés (Loiret); see Sapin, *Bourgogne préromane*, pp. 225–26.

146. J. Cabanot, 'Aux origines de la sculpture romane, contribution à l'étude d'un type de chapiteau du XI^{e} siècle', in *Romanico padano, romanico europeo, Actes du colloque Parme-Modène 1977* (Parma, 1982), pp. 351–62.

147. J. Hubert, 'La crypte de la cathédrale de Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne', in *Nouveau recueil d'études d'archéologie et d'histoire. De la fin du monde antique au Moyen Age*, Mémoires et documents de la Société de l'Ecole des Chartes, 29 (Paris, 1985), pp. 474–86.

148. C. Sapin, 'La crypte de Saints-Geosmes (Haute-Marne) et son décor', in *Xeme siècle, Recherches nouvelles*, ed. by Pierre Riché, Carol Heitz, and François Héber-Suffrin, Centre de recherche sur l'Antiquité Tardive et le Haut Moyen Age, Université Paris X Nanterre, Cahier 6 (Paris, 1987), pp. 77–98 (p. 84 and fig. 14).

149. Inventory numbers 879 and 656. The latter has the same type of palmette. In the museum reserve, there are a half-dozen other capitals that present characteristics in the treatment of their foliage close to sculpture of the first half of the eleventh century and require further detailed study.

150. See note 96, above.

151. One can attribute to him among others the production and acquisition of liturgical books for the cathedral library, already even then of considerable size. See G. Lanoë, 'La production manuscrite en Bourgogne avant l'An Mil', in *Charlemagne*, ed. by Maurice-Chabard, pp. 33–52, and compare in particular the *Tropaire* manuscript of the Church of Autun, datable between 1005 and 1024 (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 1169). It should be noted that the successor of Walterius, Helmuin (bishop 1025–55), held the office of *archidiaconus* for the *Grand Archidiaconé*, which included the Autunois (Gagnarre, *Histoire de l'église d'Autun*, p. 93 and 398–89), and would thus probably have been involved in the project at St Pierre from its inception.

152. See note 122, above.

153. Sapin, 'Saint-Benigne de Dijon', pp. 215–42.

154. E. Vergnolle, 'Recherches sur quelques séries de chapiteaux romans bourguignons', *L'information d'Histoire de l'Art*, 2 (March–April 1975), 55–79, and idem, 'Saint-Jean', pp. 102–03. Two important treatments of the problem are M. Hamann, *Die burgundischen Prioratskirche von Anzy-le-Duc und die romanischen Plastik im Brionnais*, 2 vols (Würzburg, 2000), i, 279–88, and J. Reiche, 'Architectur und Bauplastik in Burgund um 1100, Die Kirchen von Gourdon und Mont-Saint-Vincent' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Bonn, 1998), pp. 352–55.

12. Church Building in Northern Italy around the Year 1000: A Reappraisal

CHARLES B. McCLENDON

In his famous remark about 'the white mantle of churches' Rodulf Glaber states that the burst of church building in western Europe shortly after the turn of the new millennium took place 'especially in Italy and Gaul'.[1] As a monk who spent much of his life in Burgundy, we can perhaps understand why Glaber stresses construction in Gaul, but why Italy? Was something special happening there? Or is this just a figure of speech that need not be taken seriously? How, in the end, should one evaluate the nature of church building in Italy around the year 1000? These are some of the questions I will try to address, if not necessarily answer. Although I cannot adequately survey church building in Italy as a whole in the few pages that follow, I will try to point out areas that deserve more detailed attention than they have received thus far.

First of all, Glaber's reference to Italy must be understood in the broader context surrounding his writing of the *Historiarum* in the third decade of the eleventh century. Glaber claims that he had been inspired to write his history by the great monastic reformer William of Volpiano while Glaber resided for a time at St Bénigne in Dijon.[2] William, in fact, was Glaber's hero and he wrote a separate *Vita* of the great abbot.[3] Moreover, Glaber's only documented journey outside Burgundy took place in the late 1020s when he travelled with William to north Italy to attend the consecration of the abbey church of S. Giusto at Susa, a structure about which we unfortunately know very little with certainty during this initial period.[4] Glaber's direct knowledge was therefore limited to regions we would refer to as Burgundy and the Piedmont, although he follows the common practice of his day by using the more general names of the ancient Roman provinces *Gallia* and *Italia*.[5] It is also worth noting that in the *Historiarum*, Glaber first introduces William as a patron involved in the building of the abbey church in Dijon.[6] Thus, given Glaber's personal experience and his admiration for William of Volpiano as a church leader and builder, it is not surprising that he should have emphasized building activities in Gaul and Italy, even though he also exhibits in the *Historiarum* considerable knowledge about events in other parts of Christendom, especially the Germanic lands of the Holy Roman Empire.[7] Indeed, several essays in this volume clearly demonstrate the ambitious nature of church architecture outside Gaul and Italy around the turn of the millennium.

It also seems apparent that, as already discussed in Carolyn Malone's contribution to this volume, the 'whiteness' of his famous 'mantle of churches' should be taken as largely metaphorical. Stephen Nichols proposed some years ago that Glaber appropriated the image of white garments from biblical accounts of Christ's Transfiguration in order to complement his own account of the 'reconstruction' of the faith in the early eleventh century.[8] More recently, C. Edson Armi has also argued that early Romanesque churches were not covered on the exterior by white plaster, as previously supposed, which means that the colour of Glaber's mantle has no basis in fact.[9] Thus, if Glaber's comments seem to have little direct relevance for the specific nature of church building around

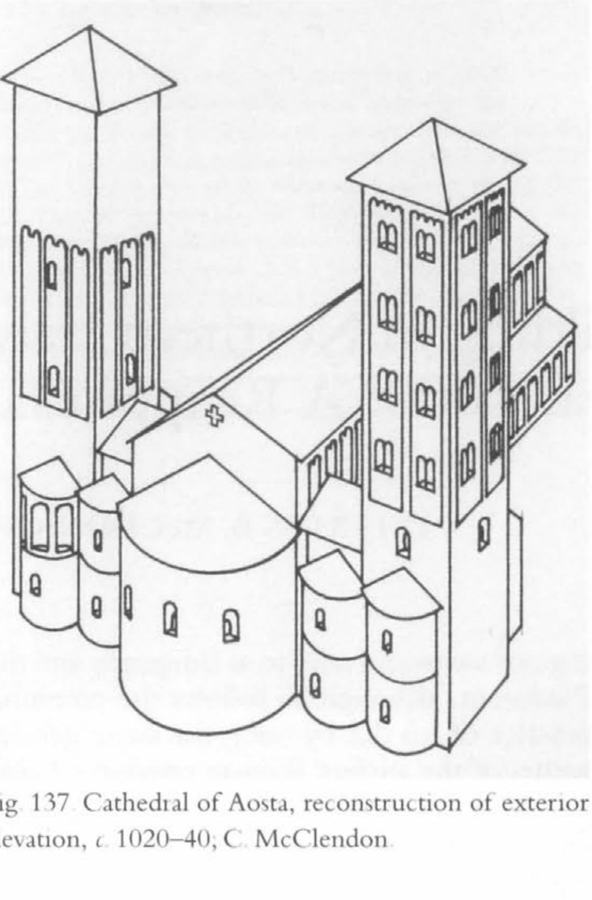


Fig. 137. Cathedral of Aosta, reconstruction of exterior elevation, c. 1020–40; C. McClendon.

the year 1000, how then should one assess the significance of what was actually happening in Italy at the time?

Elements of Early Romanesque Architecture in Northern Italy

Early medieval architecture in Italy is usually viewed in terms of the concept of the First Romanesque, as defined by J. Puig y Cadafalch in the 1920s and 1930s.[10] This approach tends to focus on wall articulation and the prominence of pilaster strips, blind arcading, and arched corbel tables or so-called Lombard bands. These wall systems have long been considered as having emerged from the use of pilaster strips and blind arches to buttress vast expanses of otherwise flat walls in late antique structures and early Christian churches, especially in north Italy. The development and significance of the corbel table, however, has recently been reexamined by Armi and there is no need to repeat his findings in detail here.[11] Suffice it to point out that Armi disagrees with the notion of Puig y Cadafalch and others that the arched corbel table was primarily decorative; instead, he persuasively shows that it played a major role in the process of experimentation with the stabilization of the wall and accompanying vaulting. While I readily acknowledge the importance of this position, I prefer to pursue a somewhat different line of inquiry. The First Romanesque, after all, was a building phenomenon that took place simultaneously across the face of southern Europe from Lombardy to Catalonia. Instead, I seek aspects of architecture around the year 1000 that may be characterized as having been primarily restricted to Italy, even though they may, on occasion, have been inspired by outside influences. Moreover, in a manner similar to Marcel Durliat's article on 'Catalonia et "le premier art roman"' in the *Bulletin monumental* ten years ago, I would stress that architectural developments in Italy were far from uniform and did not always fit the criteria of a single 'primitive' or First Romanesque style.[12]

To illustrate the broad range of architectural diversity in Italy, one need only compare two churches from around the turn of the millennium, S. Pietro in Otranto from the tip of the heel of the boot of the Italian peninsula in the south to S. Maria Assunta in Aosta in the far north and west in the foothills of the Alps. Although roughly contemporary these churches vary so much in design because they are products of totally different cultural and political milieux. The church at Otranto represents the small-scale domed cross-in-square design pervasive in Middle Byzantine churches and it was built to serve a Greek Orthodox community which dominated the region before the conquest of the city by the Normans in 1064.[13] It is unlikely, by the way, that Glaber would have acknowledged Otranto as part of Italy at all because it was clearly within the Byzantine political and religious sphere of influence and not part of the western *regnum Italiae* as defined since the reign of Charlemagne.[14] The cathedral of Aosta, on the other hand, is within an area and a tradition Glaber knew well, even though he may never have visited the town itself; the most direct route from Burgundy to Susa would have been through the Mont Cenis Pass, whereas Aosta is situated to the north on the Italian side of the Great and Little St Bernard Passes. The church at Aosta was, in its original state, a massive basilica (some 55 m long and over 25 m wide) with a projecting transept from the end of which rose two prominent bell towers, both of which are still preserved today (fig. 137).[15] The scheme of the T-shaped basilica is, of course, ultimately derived from Old St Peter's in Rome, a design which also inspired the contemporary early-eleventh-century church of S. Maria at Ripoll in Catalonia. But the twin towers at Aosta are most likely influenced by earlier northern models such as St Maximin in Trier, which, although no longer extant, is reflected in the mid-eleventh-century rebuilding of St Lucius at Werden.[16]

Similar twin towers were also used about the same time at the west end of the cathedral at Ivrea, just a few miles south of Aosta (fig. 138).[17] Both Ivrea and Aosta were important strategic centres between Italy and Northern Europe as guardians of the Alpine passes. The bishop of Aosta, Anselm (994–1026), was a Burgundian, and the bishop of Ivrea, Warmandus, was a close ally of the emperor Otto III, in opposition to the pretensions of Count Arduin.[18] In fact, on a dedicatory page of the well-known sacramentary of Warmandus the emperor is represented being crowned by the Virgin Mary with a framing inscription that refers to 'Caesar Otto' as the 'defender of Bishop Warmandus'.[19] A prominent use of twin towers appeared about the same time in central Italy at the abbey church of S. Salvatore on Monte Amiata. This site, too, held in a strategic position atop the highest mountain in Tuscany along the Via Cassia, a prime route linking Rome and north Italy (fig. 139). Monte Amiata was also an imperial abbey whose privileges were renewed by Otto III and again by Conrad II in 1027. The church was built under abbot Winizo who was elected to his office in 1004 and the church was consecrated in 1035.[20] The presence of these towers, I suspect, was meant in part to signify allegiance with the imperial north. But they were pragmatic as well to provide a prominent space for the hanging of bells, which were becoming increasingly essential liturgical instruments. As Sible de Blaauw has shown, the first documented use of bronze bells in Rome comes in the mid-eighth century during the pontificate of Stephen II, when it is stated that their primary function was to 'invite the clergy and people to the divine offices'.[21]

More specifically, bells and their accompanying towers, as instruments for signalling the hours of the divine office, became in the tenth century expressions of monastic and canonical reform. The mid-tenth-century customary associated with St Maximin at Trier, for example, devotes the first third of its text to instructions for the appropriate times to ring bells.[22] Similarly, the tenth-century Romano-German pontifical contains for the first time in such a work several prayers for the blessing of bells and their locations.[23] It is also during this same period that we have the first archaeological evidence for the casting of large bells, which in turn would have required the development of structures to support them.[24] Not surprising, therefore, the most prominent remnant of William of Volpiano's monastery at Fruttuaria, founded in 1003, is a monumental bell tower. Although it is usually assigned to the middle of the eleventh century or slightly later, a similar campanile next to S. Giusto at Susa should probably be linked to developments at Fruttuaria.[25] Earlier single towers associated with monastic communities appeared in Milan at S. Ambrogio, perhaps as early as the ninth century—hence no wall articulation—and somewhat later at S. Satiro, with characteristic Lombard banding.[26] It is also around the year 1000 that individual bell towers were built alongside the early Christian basilicas of Ravenna and neighbouring Classe, which had both become important monastic centres (fig. 140). It is no coincidence, I suggest, that this took place during a time of monastic reform and revival exemplified by Saint Romualdus, who was a friend of Otto III and for a time the abbot of S. Apollinare in Classe.[27] At Classe, the tower is cylindrical and, instead of Lombard bands, one sees at its base the beginning of the decorative use of brick to form a broad horizontal band with a checkerboard pattern. This motif would prominently appear again in a more sophisticated manner a generation later in the nearby imperial abbey of Pomposa on the facade of the church, dedicated in 1026; the adjacent bell tower however dates from 1063.[28]

Another feature related to northern European developments was the appearance of the hall crypt: at Aosta, Ivrea, and Monte Amiata. In contrast to the confines of the narrow annular crypt, as found in Rome at St Peter's, the greater spaciousness of hall crypts afforded opportunity for additional burials and for more elaborate liturgical expressions as recently investigated by Thomas Dale in his book on the cathedral at Aquiliea.[29] One is also reminded of Abbot Hilduin's description of services performed in the hall crypt added to the apse of St Denis in the ninth century:

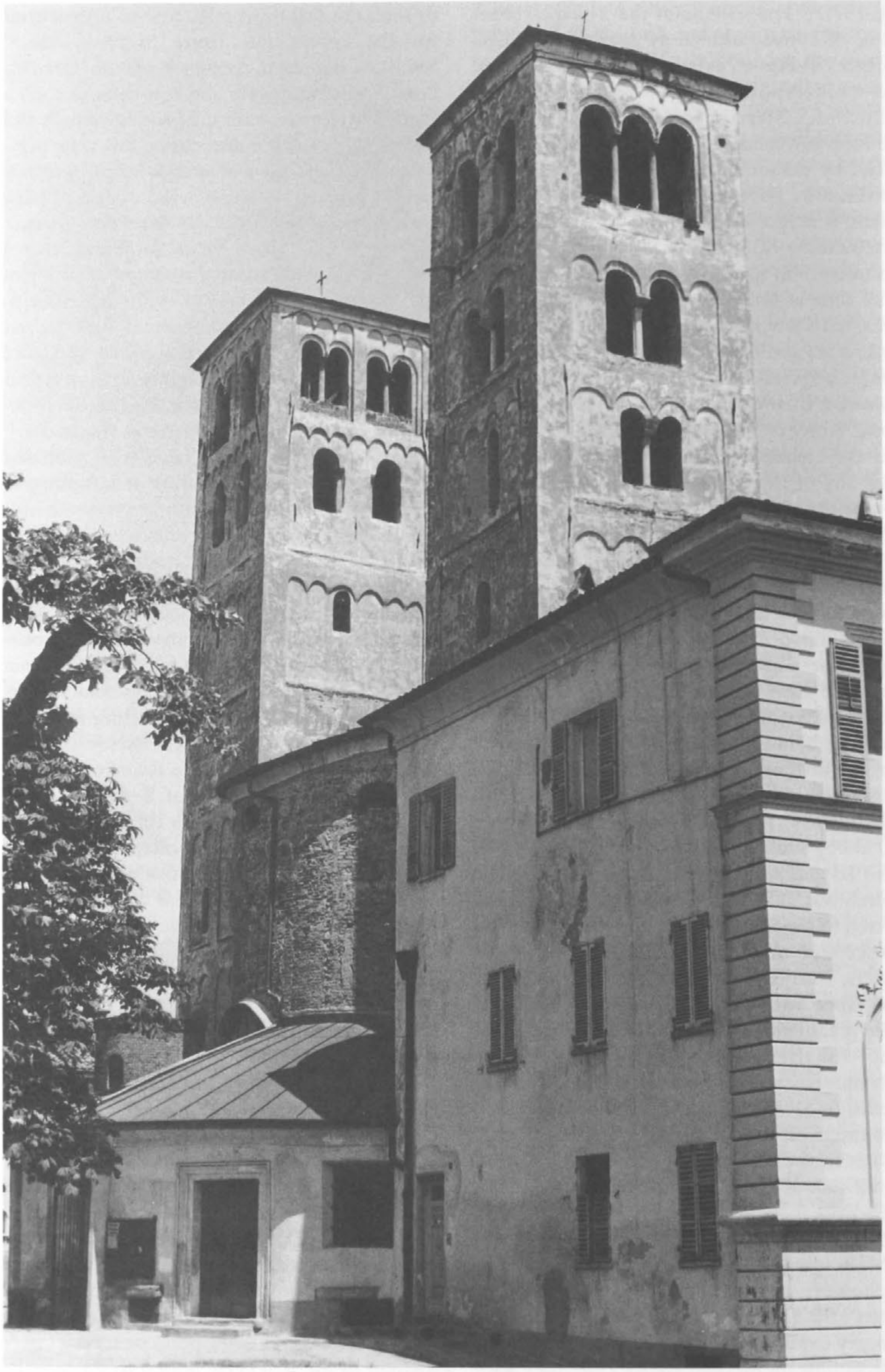


Fig. 138. Cathedral of Ivrea, exterior, early eleventh century; photo C. McClendon.

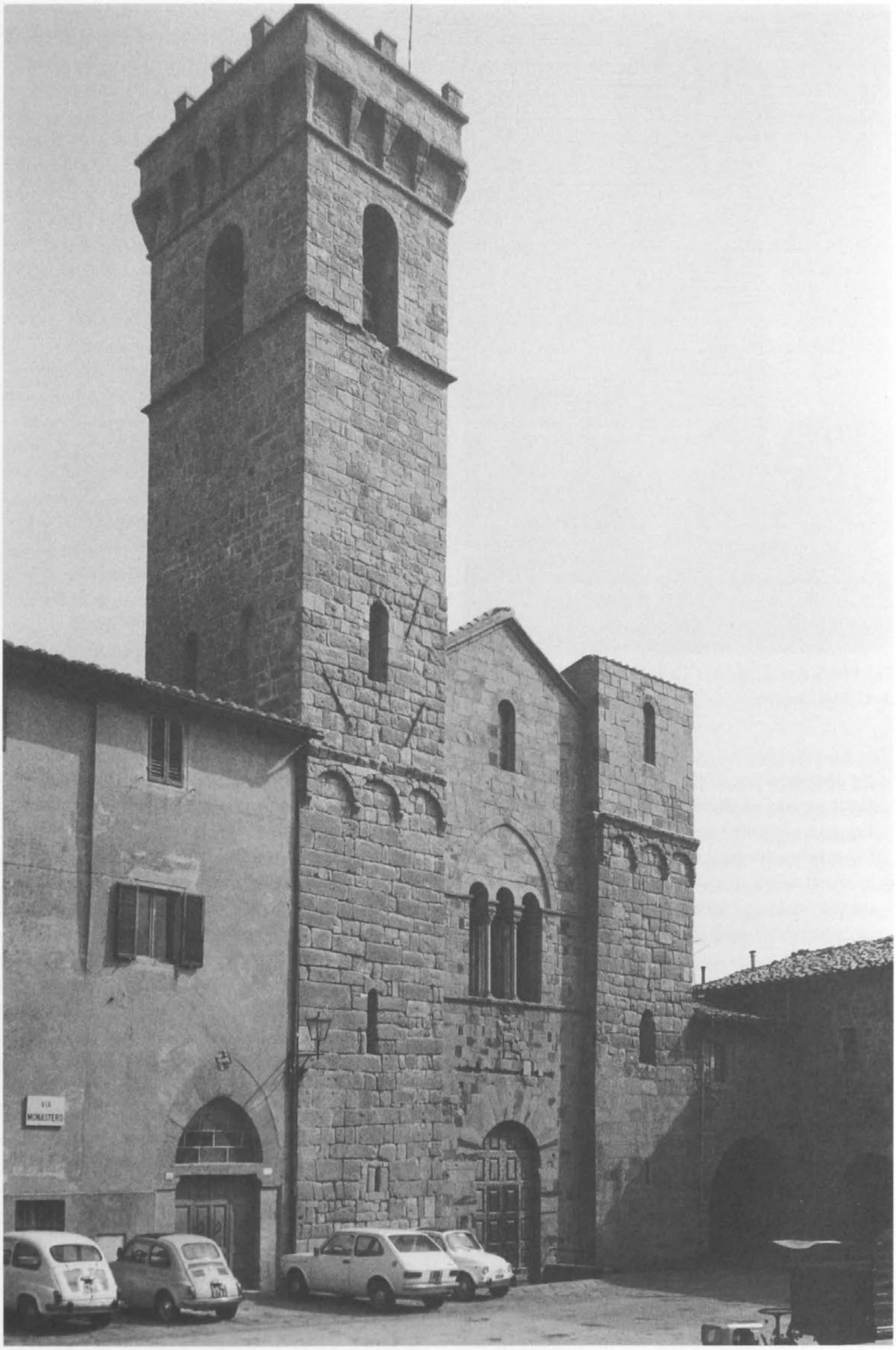


Fig. 139. S. Salvatore at Monte Amiata, west facade, c. 1036; photo C. McClendon

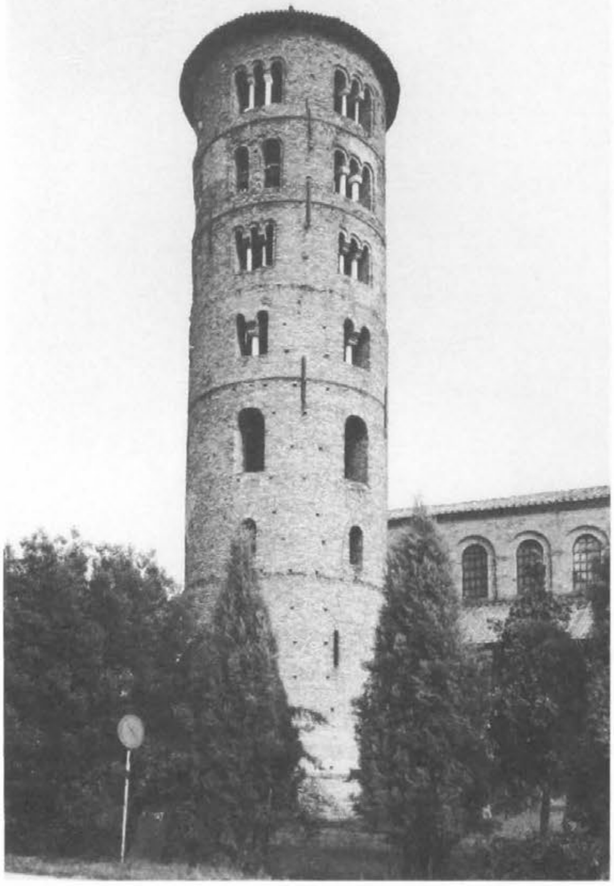


Fig. 140. S. Apollinare in Classe, bell tower, c. 1000; photo C. McClendon.

> By common consent, we have established that eight monks of this holy community, following one another by turns, should execute all the time in this [space] the day and night office in the Roman manner, and that they [lacuna] should celebrate together the prescribed Offices and antiphons with daily diligence.[30]

Crypts at Aosta, Ivrea, and especially Monte Amiata seem to anticipate grand crypts of northern Europe such as Speyer Cathedral from 1030–60.[31] A contemporary influence may have been the great hall crypt at William of Volpiano's church St Bénigne in Dijon, as discussed elsewhere in this volume.

Glaber states in his famous passage about the 'white mantle' that many churches were rebuilt at the beginning of the new millennium 'even though the existing ones were well built'. With this in mind, it is intriguing to note that important architectural experiments were going on in Italy within old shells around the year 1000. At the cathedral at Ivrea, for example, it has recently been confirmed that a curved wall circumscribing the main apse—in the manner of early Christian churches in Rome, including several funerary basilicas and S. Maria Maggiore—was refurbished to receive new groin vaults sustained on inserted stubby columns, thereby creating a crypt below ground and an ambulatory directly above.[32] A similar arrangement at about the same time was also installed within the early Christian apse of S. Stefano in Verona.[33] These arrangements may have been attempts to emulate the two-storeyed crypts first formulated in the later ninth century in the Carolingian north like that at the cathedral of Hildesheim, among others.[34] In Italy there seems to have been a desire to preserve the older outer walls; thus notably absent are protruding chapels as found in early-eleventh-century crypt and ambulatory combinations in Gaul such as St Philibert in Tournus and Chartres Cathedral.[35] Instead, at Verona only shallow curved niches are permitted within the confines of the older apse walls. These arrangements in Italy, unlike their French or Gallican counterparts, represent a dead end rather than a new beginning.

A similar and contemporary, but in the long run far more important, process involved the refurbishing of freestanding baptisteries. Indeed, several early Christian baptisteries in North Italy are known to have been significantly restored or remodelled in the late tenth century: Riva S. Vitale received a new apse, bearing the characteristic blind arcading; the grand baptistery at Novara received a new drum and interior vault, which also provided the setting for an elaborate fresco cycle of scenes from the Apocalypse (fig. 141); similarly the baptistery at Lomello and the Orthodox Baptistery in Ravenna were heightened, as evidenced in part by their exterior wall articulation.[36] These remodelling campaigns indicate the continued use of independent structures for baptism, even though such a practice had largely fallen out of use in the rest of western Europe.[37] This further suggests, at least to some extent, a continued allegiance to the baptismal symbolism and traditions of early Christian Milan. It was the great Archbishop Ambrose, after all, who was credited with having composed the famous inscription for the baptistery in Milan, as recorded in the early Middle Ages, that read, in part: 'RIGHT IT IS TO BUILD THIS BAPTISMAL HALL ABOUT THE SACRED NUMBER EIGHT / FOR HERE THE PEOPLE ARE

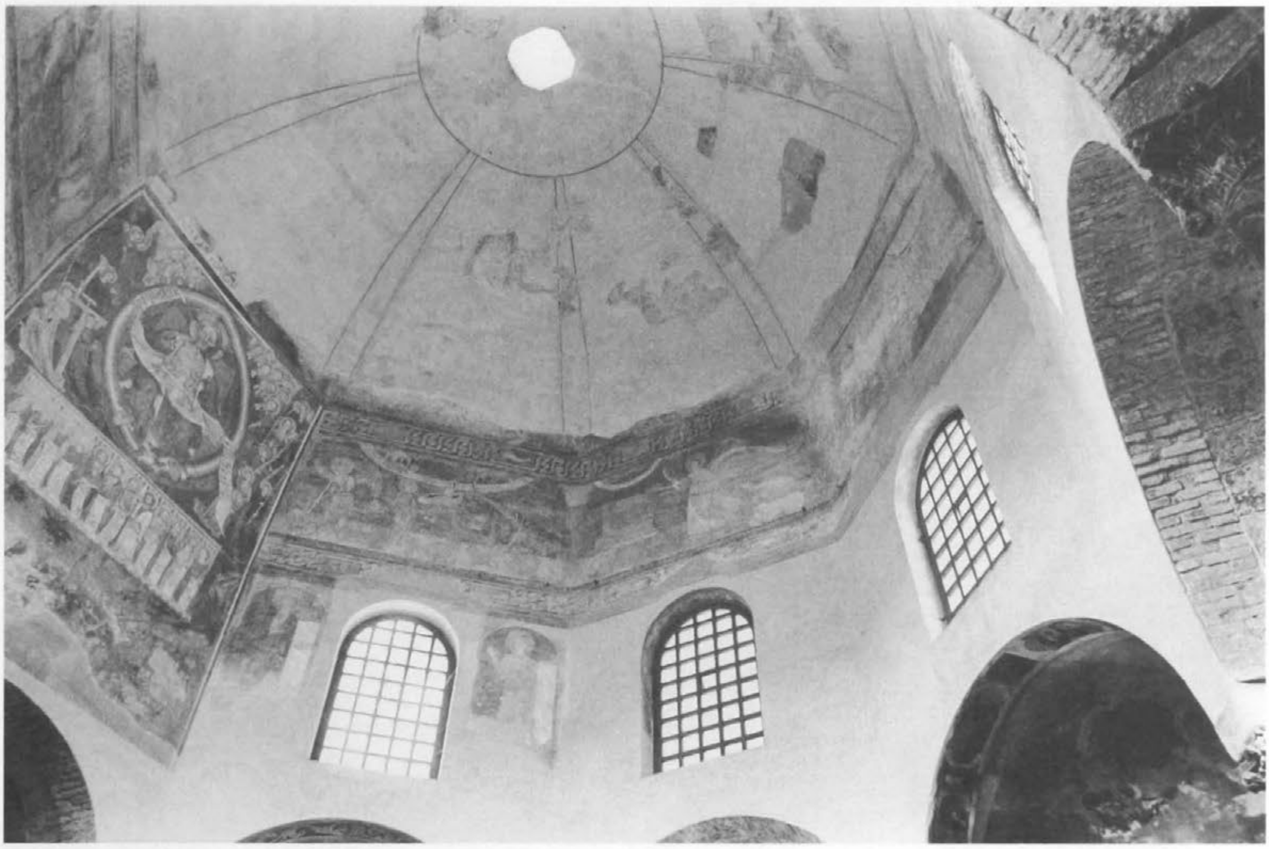


Fig. 141 Baptistery of Novara, interior view of vault, late tenth century; photo C. McClendon.

REBORN.'[38] But this also indicates a practical use. In northern Europe the baptism of infants was carried out soon after birth at a font within a church, often found toward the west end as shown and labelled (*fons*) on the early-ninth-century Plan of St Gall.[39] Peter Cramer, in his recent study on baptism in the early Middle Ages, has pointed out that in northern Italy and Provence the baptism of children was still carried out seasonally, especially on Easter Eve and Pentecost, and eleventh-century texts for such rites are still preserved.[40] Indeed, already in the later tenth century, Bishop Rather of Verona is known to have called a synod to address his clergy in order to remind them, among other things, of the two proper days for baptism.[41] Thus these baptisteries in north Italy represent an adherence to an ancient rite and to its accompanying architectural form. Those in cities also symbolized the authority of the episcopal office and may well have been related to the Ottonian policy of bolstering the political power of bishops in the area.[42]

Agliate and Galliano

In order to gauge the status of church building in Italy around the year 1000 it is useful to look in greater detail at two of the most complete ensembles: both are in Lombardy just north of Milan, one at Agliate and the other at Galliano.[43] Their plans are similar: timber-roofed nave and aisles, with a triple-apse scheme derived presumably from nearby Milan, following the late-tenth-century rebuilding of the east end of S. Ambrogio. The masonry technique of rubble core walls faced with unhewn and roughly hewn stone in abundant mortar is also the same, although exterior wall articulation varies slightly in each. Regular blind arcading covers the exterior of the apse at Galliano, while the apse at Agliate displays pilaster strips and eave niches again similar to those of S. Ambrogio in Milan. Each interior is dominated by a broad apse and raised presbytery platform above an ample hall crypt. Both churches were also lavishly decorated with frescoes. At Agliate the faded frescoes of the nave, recently restored, depict New Testament scenes broadly similar in style and composition to the Ottonian frescoes of St Georg at Oberzell at

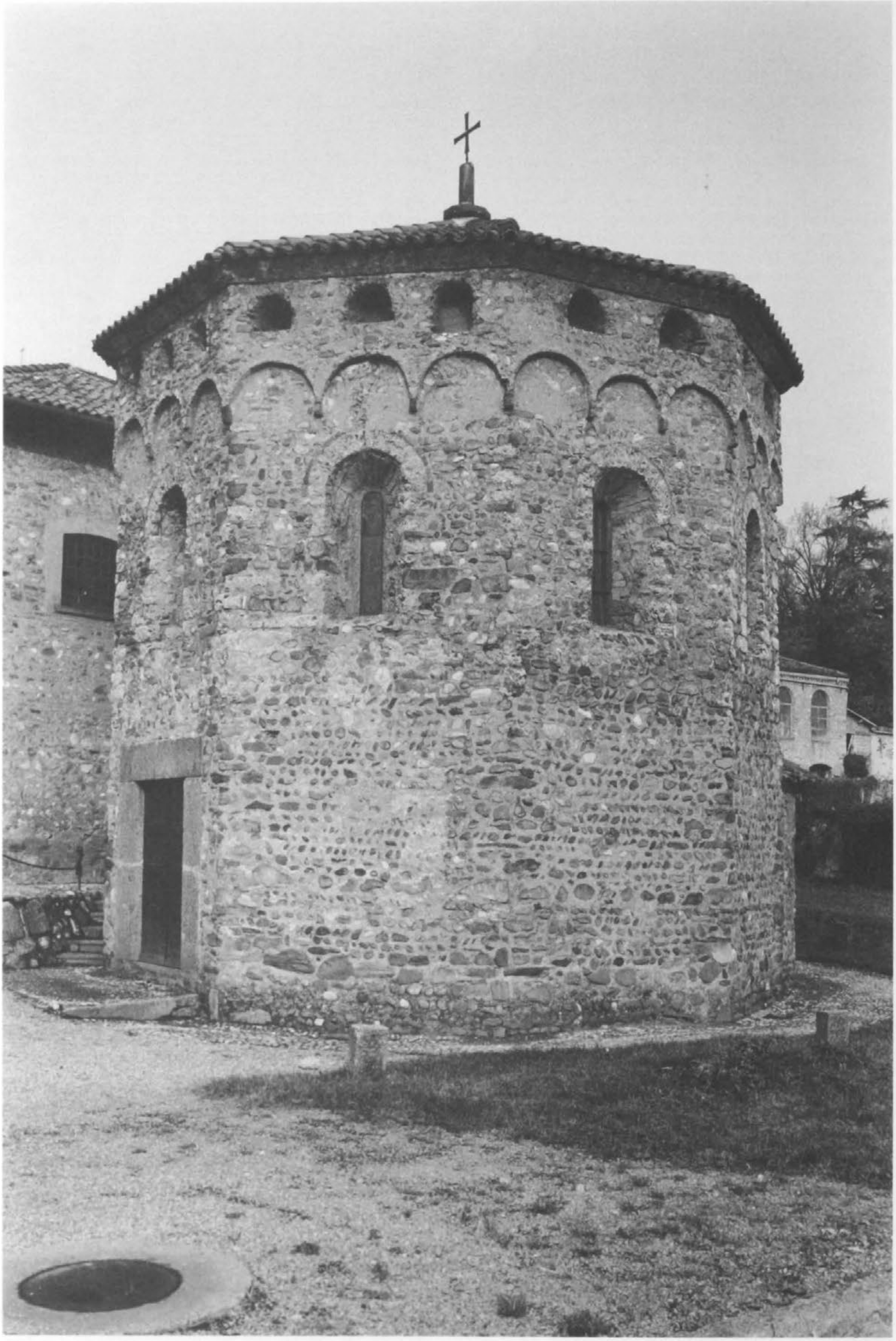


Fig. 142. Baptistery at Agliate, exterior view, early eleventh century; photo C. McClendon.

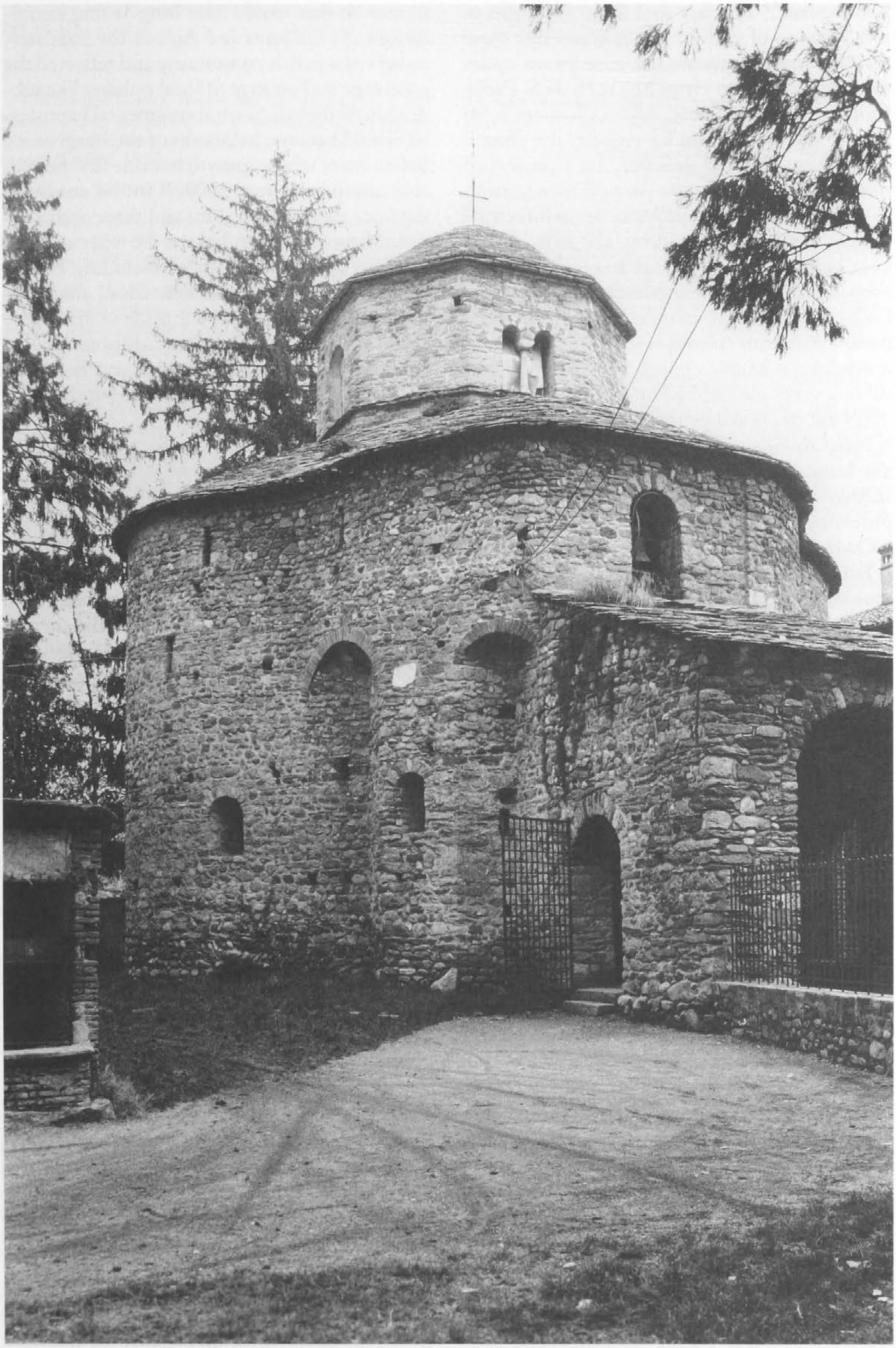


Fig. 143. Baptistery at Galliano, exterior view, early eleventh century, photo C. McClendon.

Reichenau.[44] The fact that there are traces of two registers of such scenes indicates that there was the desire to imitate the great fresco cycles of early Christian churches such as S. Paolo fuori le mura of Rome. Although there is no precise documentation for Agliate, the church at Galliano is dated precisely by a preserved inscription providing the date of consecration as 1007.[45] The close similarity in architectural design, masonry construction, and style of frescoes between the two churches indicates that they are roughly contemporary. The frescoes at Galliano, moreover, include the portrait of the patron Aribertus Intimianus, who in 1007 was a subdeacon of the church in Milan and was subsequently elected bishop of Milan in 1018. Thus the close connection with Milan in architectural design and decoration expresses both the largess and the ambition of the patron. Indeed, the accompanying inscription proudly proclaims: 'I, ARIBERTUS SUBDEACON, COMMISSIONED THESE PAINTINGS.'[46]

Equally important, both churches possess freestanding baptisteries (figs 142, 143). However, unlike the aforementioned remodelling at Novara, Riva S. Vitale, Ravenna, and Lomello, at Agliate and Galliano the ancient baptistery form is created anew. This fact is exemplified by their somewhat irregular design and rustic character. Although eight-sided, the walls at Agliate are uneven and capped by irregular Lombard bands, while the brightly frescoed interior was no doubt meant to rival the sumptuous interiors of early Christian baptisteries as can be seen today in Ravenna. At Galliano, irregularity and undulation are even more pronounced, combining cross and circle in plan, placing the dome on squinches, and inserting openings for a gallery, perhaps for viewing by attendant laity. Seemingly novel, both the plan and interior elevation find precedents in Milan. The cross-in-square plan is strikingly similar in scale and design to the late-ninth-century chapel of S. Satiro, while interior openings and a passageway through the thickness of the upper wall can be seen in the enigmatic octagonal building mausoleum *cum* baptistery, known as S. Aquilino adjoining S. Lorenzo.[47]

Although modest in scale, these two baptisteries along with their remodelled predecessors provide an important link between the early Christian past and one of the most prominent features in mature Italian Romanesque architecture. They are part of a uniquely Italian phenomenon that would have long-lasting ramifications. At Galliano and Agliate the baptisteries served a parish community and reflected the patronage and prestige of local nobility like subdeacon Aribertus. Soon monumental baptisteries would become hallmarks of the burgeoning Italian cities whose growth became first noticeable around the year 1000.[48] In the course of the later eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, baptisteries would be at the heart of many of Italy's great urban centres, including Parma, Pisa, and Florence. By this time, they had become monuments of civic pride so that Dante could refer to the Florence baptistery as 'my beautiful San Giovanni', and it was here that every Florentine infant had to be baptized.[49]

Conclusion

If we return to the questions posed at the beginning of this essay, we can say that Rodulf Glaber's direct knowledge of Italy was extremely limited and that his emphasis on it and Gaul as centres of church building after the turn of the new millennium was meant to underscore the focus of his narrative in the *Historiarum*. Certainly important construction was taking place elsewhere in Western Europe, as this volume amply demonstrates. Even the 'whiteness' of his famous 'mantle of churches' should be taken as more symbolic than real. Nevertheless, as I have tried to show, major developments did in fact take place in Italy at the time that would have a lasting impact. Indeed, two of Italy's most famous architectural ensembles, the cathedral complexes at Florence and Pisa, bring together magnificently, in their freestanding baptisteries and freestanding bell towers, two features the origins of which should be considered to be among the most significant contributions of church building in Italy around the year 1000. The formalism inherent in the precepts of the First Romanesque offers little assistance in understanding the reasons for the appearance or, in the case of freestanding baptisteries, the reappearance of these prominent building types. Instead, I suggest that answers may be found by paying closer attention to historical and, especially, liturgical developments. Such a multifaceted approach, I believe, would lead to a greater appreciation of the many creative forces at work in Italian architecture at the turn of the new millennium.[50]

NOTES

1. Rodulfus Glaber, *Historiarum libri quinque*, 3.4.13. For an English translation and commentary see Rodulfus Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories*, ed. and trans. by John France (Oxford, 1989).

2. Glaber, *The Five Books*, pp. lxx–lxxi.

3. Glaber, *The Five Books*, pp. lxxi–lxxii. The same publication, pp. 254–99, contains the Latin text and English translation of *The Life of St William*, ed. by Neithard Bulst.

4. Glaber, *The Five Books*, pp. 183–85; *Historiarum*, 4.3.7. The present church, now the cathedral of Susa, is the result of many different building campaigns. It was largely rebuilt in the fourteenth century, but a stretch of arched corbel tables along the exterior nave clerestory indicates that portions of the early-eleventh-century church were retained. The adjoining bell tower is usually assigned to the second half of the eleventh century. Little else is certain. Daria de Bernardi Ferrero, 'Saint-Juste de Suse', *Congrès archéologique de France*, 129 (1971), 553–64, and Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, 4 vols (New Haven, 1915–17), III, 436–38.

5. Glaber, *The Five Books*, pp. xxviii and lxx; *Historiarum*, 3.5.16 and 4.3.7. For the use of the names of ancient Roman provinces in church documents around the year 1000 see Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: An Historical Study*, 2 vols (London, 1991), I, 159, and II, 64.

6. Glaber, *The Five Books*, pp. xix–xxi.

7. Glaber, *The Five Books*, pp. lxxiii–lxxiv.

8. Stephen G. Nichols, Jr., *Romanesque Signs, Early Medieval Narrative and Iconography* (New Haven, 1983), pp. 15–17 and 30.

9. C. Edson Armi, 'Report on the Destruction of Romanesque Architecture in Burgundy', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 55 (1996), 308–14.

10. J. Puig y Cadafalch, *Le premier art roman, l'architecture en Catalogne et dans l'Occident mediterrané aux X^e et XI^e siècles* (Paris, 1928), and idem, *La géographie et les origins du premier art roman* (Paris, 1935).

11. C. Edson Armi, 'The Corbel Table', *Gesta*, 39 (2000), 89–116. See also idem, 'Orders and Continuous Orders in Romanesque Architecture', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 34 (1975), 173–88.

12. Marcel Durliat, 'La catalonia et le "premier art roman"', *Bulletin monumental*, 147 (1989), 204–38.

13. Linda Safran, *S. Pietro at Otranto: Byzantine Art in South Italy* (Rome, 1992), pp. 15–23.

14. For a definition and history of the *regnum Italiae* during this period see Giuseppe Sergi, 'The Kingdom of Italy', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. III, *c. 900–1024*, ed. by Timothy Reuter (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 346–71.

15. Mariaclotilde Magni, *Architettura religiosa e scultura romanica nella valle d'Aosta* (Aosta, 1974), pp. 22–34.

16. Magni, *Architettura*, p. 33, and Charles B. McClendon, *The Imperial Abbey of Farfa: Architectural Currents in the Early Middle Ages* (New Haven, CT, 1987), pp. 86–87.

17. Daria de Bernardi Ferrero, 'La cattedrale di Ivrea', *Saggi in onore di Guglielmo de Angelis d'Ossat*, Quaderni dell'istituto di storia dell'architettura, n.s., Fasc. 1–10, 1983–1987 (Rome, 1987), pp. 123–28.

18. For Anselm see Mariaclothilde Magni, 'Alcuni considerazioni sull'architettura romanica valdostana', in *Atti del congresso sul bimillenario della città di Aosta 1975* (Bordighera, 1982), p. 417, and Amato P. Frutaz, *Le fonti per la storia della valle d'Aosta*, Thesaurus ecclesiarum Italiae, I.1 (Rome, 1966), pp. 7–8, 14–15. For Warmandus see Adriano Peroni, 'Il ruolo della committenza vescovile alle soglie del mille: Il caso di Warmondo di Ivrea', *Committenti e produzione artistico-letteraria nell'alto medioevo occidentale*, Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 39 (1992), 243–71.

19. Peroni, 'Il ruolo della committenza', pp. 247–48, fig. 1.

20. Franz J. Much, 'Baubeobachtungen an der Abteikirche von Abbadia San Salvatore (Siena)', in *Baukunst des Mittelalters in Europa. Hans Erich Kubach zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. by F.J. Much (Stuttgart, 1988), pp. 445–78, and idem, 'L'abbazia di San Salvatore: storia e archeologia dell'architettura', in *L'Amiata nel Medioevo*, ed. by Mario Ascher and Wilhelm Kurze (Rome, 1989), pp. 323–60.

21. '[...] qui clero et populum ad officium Dei invitarent': *Liber Pontificalis* 94 c. 47; see Sible de Blaauw, '"Campane supra Urbem": Sull'uso delle campane nella Roma medievale', *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia*, 47 (1993), 369 n. 3.

22. McClendon, *The Imperial Abbey*, p. 101 n. 139. *Consuetudines monasticae*, ed. by Bruno Albers, 5 vols (Stuttgart, 1900), V, 73–77. For a general discussion of reforms in the tenth and eleventh centuries of both the *vita monastica* and the *vita canonica* see *The Handbook of Church History*, ed. by Hubert Jedin, 10 vols (New York, 1965–80), III, 320–32.

23. Étienne Delaruelle, 'Le probléme du clocher au haut moyen age et la religion populaire', in *Études ligériennes d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales* (Auxerre, 1975), pp. 125–31.

24. For a summary of the issue see Hans Drescher, 'Die Glocken der karolingerzeit Stiftskirche in Vreden, Kreis Ahaus', in *799 Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit: Karl der Große und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn*, ed. by Christoph Stiegemann and Matthias Wemhoff, Beiträge zum Katalog der Ausstellung Paderborn 1999 (Mainz, 1999), pp. 356–73.

25. Luisella Pejrani-Baricco, 'L'église abbatiale de Fruttuaria à la lumière des dernières fouilles archéologiques', in *Guillaume de Volpiano et l'architecture des rotondes*, ed. by M. Jannet and C. Sapin, Actes du colloque de Dijon, Musée Archéologique, 23–25 September 1993 (Dijon, 1996), pp. 75–108.

26. Eduardo Arslan, 'L'architettura dal 568 al mille', in *Storia di Milano*, 16 vols (Milan, 1953–62), II, 570–79, 587–95.

27. For a discussion of the towers and their chronology see Clementina Rizzardi, 'Rinnovamento architettonico a Ravenna durante l'impero degli Ottoni: Problemi ed aspetti', *Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, 37 (1990), 393–415, and idem, 'Il romanico monumentale e decorativo a Ravenna e nel suo territorio', in *Storia di Ravenna*, 5 vols (Venice, 1990–96), III, 453–56, 477–78, with previous bibliography. The first documented reference to a cylindrical bell tower in Ravenna dates to 1037 and the most recent

reused architectural sculpture in the towers dates to the ninth century: see Rita Zanotto Galli, 'I reimpieghi di scultura architettonica nei campanili ravennati', *Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, 41 (1994), 573–602.

28. Mario Salmi, *L'abbazia di Pomposa* (Rome, 1936), p. 61 and pp. 250–51, fig. 210.

29. Thomas E. A. Dale, *Relics, Prayer, and Politics in Medieval Venetia: Romanesque Painting in the Crypt of Aquileia Cathedral* (Princeton, 1996), passim, esp. pp. 12–20.

30. 'Communi etiam voto statuimus ut octo ex monachis huius sanctae congregationis succedentes sibi per vices, omni tempore in ea tam diurnum quam nocturnum more Romano officium faciant et constituta officia vel antiph [lacuna] cotidiana assiduitate concelebrent'. See Anne Walters Robertson, *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis* (Oxford, 1991), p. 224 for English translation and analysis.

31. Hans Erich Kubach and Walter Haas, *Der Dom zu Speyer*, Kunstdenkmäler von Rheinland-Pfalz, 3 vols (Munich, 1972), I, 255–305.

32. For reference to recent archaeological work at Ivrea see Werner Jacobsen's report of the conference 'Avant-nefs et espaces d'accueil dans l'église entre le IV^{e} et le XII^{e} siècle. Colloque international, Auxerre, Abbaye de St. Germain, 17–20 June 1999', published in *Kunstchronik*, 52 (1999), p. 564. For S. Maria Maggiore in Rome see Sible de Blaauw, *Cultus et Decor: Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale*, 2 vols (Città del Vaticano, 1994), I, 350–55.

33. For crypts and ambulatories at both Verona and Ivrea see Paolo Verzone, *L'architettura religiosa dell'alto medioevo nell'Italia settentrionale* (Milan, 1942), pp. 136–50. For Ivrea see de Bernardi Ferrero, 'La cattedrale', pp. 125–27, and Peroni, 'Il ruolo della committenza', pp. 265–68.

34. Werner Jacobsen, Uwe Lobbedey, and Andrea Kleine-Tebbe, 'Der Hildesheimer Dom zur Zeit Bernwards', in *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen*, ed. by Michael Brandt and Arne Eggebrecht, 2 vols (Hildesheim, 1993), I, 299–311, and Werner Jacobsen and Uwe Lobbeday, 'Der Hildesheimer Dom um 1000 – Modell', in *Bernward*, ed. by Brandt and Eggebrecht, II, 464–66. See also Hilde Claussen, 'Spätkarolingische Umgangskrypten im Sächsischen Gebiet', in *Karolingische und Ottonische Kunst: Werden, Wesen, Wirkung*, Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und Christlichen Archäologie, 3 (Wiesbaden, 1957), pp. 118–40. For a discussion of the two-storeyed crypt as a building type see the classic article by Jean Hubert, '"Cryptae inferiores" et "cryptae superiores" dans l'architecture religieuse de l'epoque carolingienne', in *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen age dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), pp. 351–57.

35. Jacques Henriet, 'Saint-Philibert de Tournus: Histoire – Critique d'authenticité – Étude archéologique du chevet (1009–1019)', *Bulletin monumental*, 148 (1990), 229–316, and for Chartres, Xavier Barral i Altet, 'Chartres: Cathédrale', in *Les premiers monuments chrétiens de la France*, vol. II, *Sud-Ouest et Centre* (Paris, 1996), p. 92 with additional bibliography.

36. Riva San Vitale: *Vorromanische Kirchenbauten: Katalog der Denkmäler bis zum Ausgang der Ottonen*, ed. by Friedrich Oswald, L. Schaefer, and H. Sennhauser (Munich, 1966–71), pp. 284–85; Novara: Patrizia Chierici Furno, 'Baptistère de Novare', *Congrès archéologique de France*, 129 (1971), 245–52; Lomello: Sandro Chierici, *La Lombardia*, Italia romanica (Milan, 1978), pp. 258–63; Ravenna: Spiro Kostof, *The Orthodox Baptistery of Ravenna* (New Haven, CT, 1965), pp. 43–44.

37. Peter Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages, c. 200 – c. 1150* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 267–68.

38. 'Octachorum sanctos templum surrexit in usus [...] Hoc numero decuit sacri baptismatis aulam surgere, quo populis vera salus rediit [...]'. The English translation comes from Kostof, *The Orthodox Baptistery*, p. 50. The inscription appears and is attributed to Ambrose in the eighth-century *Sylloge Laureshamensis* III, Vatican Cod. Palat. 833. The classic study of this inscription remains F. Dölger, 'Zur Symbolik des altchristlichen Taufhauses I: Das Oktogon und die Symbolik des Achtzahl. Die Inschrift des hl. Ambrosius im Baptisterium der Theklakirche von Mailand', in *Antike und Christentum*, vol. IV.3 (Munster, 1934), pp. 153–89.

39. Walter Horn and Ernest Born, *The Plan of St. Gall: A Study of the Architecture and Economy of, and Life in, a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery*, 3 vols (Berkeley, 1979), I, 135.

40. Cramer, *Baptism*, p. 282. See also *North Italian Services of the Eleventh Century*, ed. by C. Lambot (London, 1931), pp. xxxiv–xxxix and 30–35.

41. Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Church', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, III, 152, and *The Complete Works of Rather of Verona*, trans. by Peter I. D. Reid (Binghamton, NY, 1991), p. 449.

42. Sergi, 'The Kingdom of Italy', pp. 369–70.

43. Chierici, *La Lombardia*, pp. 239–46, 253–58. See also *Galliano: 1000 anni di storia* (Cantù, 1995).

44. For the rebuilding of S. Ambrogio see Arslan, 'L'architettura romanica milanese', in *Storia di Milano*, III, 397–417. For the frescoes at Agliate see Oleg Zastrow, *Gli affreschi della basilica e del battistero di Agliate* (Missaglia, 1991).

45. Chierici, *La Lombardia*, p. 239, and *Galliano*, fig. 5.

46. 'EGO ARIBERTUS SUBDEACONUS PINGERE FECI'. *Galliano*, fig. 1; Beat Brenk, 'La committenza di Ariberto d'Intimiano', in *Il millennio ambrosiano. La città del vescovo dai Carolingi al Barbarossa*, ed. by Carlo Bertelli (Milan, 1988), pp. 124–55; *La pittura in Italia: L'altomedioevo*, ed. by Carlo Bertelli (Milan, 1994), pp. 60–61.

47. For S. Satiro see Gino Chierici, *La chiesa di S. Satiro a Milano* (Milan, 1942). For S. Aquilino see Dale Kinney, '"Capella Regina": S. Aquilino in Milan', *Marsyas*, 15 (1970–71), 13–35.

48. Enrico Cattaneo, 'Il battistero in Italia dopo il mille', in *Miscellanea Gilles Gerard Meerseman*, 2 vols (Padua, 1970), I, 171–95; Cramer, *Baptism*, pp. 267–90, and Annabel Jane Wharton, *Refiguring the Post Classical City: Dura Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 136–39.

49. Cattaneo, 'Il battistero', p. 189; Inferno 19. 17 (my translation); Wharton, *Refiguring*, p. 138.

50. De Blaauw's two-volume *Cultus and Decor*, which focuses on the architecture and liturgy of early Christian and medieval Rome, offers an outstanding model for the study of other centres in Italy. See also his useful overview and guidelines in idem, 'Architecture and Liturgy in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Traditions and Trends in Modern Scholarship', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 33 (1991), 1–34.

13. A New Architecture for a New Order: The Building Projects of Sancho el Mayor (1004–1035)

JANICE MANN

For many historians of medieval architecture the year 1000 is not an ordinary year like any other. Although they may debate whether or not the year had eschatological significance for medieval Christians, most architectural historians since Robert de Lasteyrie published *L'architecture religieuse en France à l'époque romane* in 1912 have imagined the turn of the second Christian millennium as a kind of artistic watershed.[1] After 1000, as Henri Focillon puts it, 'All things are changed, all things improve—first of all religious architecture.'[2]

On the Iberian Peninsula decisive political events serendipitously aligned themselves with the passing of the millennium, making it seem as if the future was indeed breaking free from the past. At this crucial moment, the fortunes of the Moslems of al-Andalus, who had dominated the peninsula with little challenge since the early eighth century, began to diminish while those of different groups practising the Christian faith living in the north commenced their ascent. This critical shift in the balance of power had profound consequences for the churches built early in the second Christian millennium.

Much evidence suggests that in the time approaching the year 1000 many Christians throughout the medieval West believed they were experiencing the final unravelling of human existence.[3] While there might have been terror caused by the expectation of apocalyptic tragedy, there was also the joyous expectation that human suffering would soon end, peace would triumph, and the meek would inherit the earth.[4]

For many practitioners of Christianity who lived beyond the northern borders of al-Andalus, devastation and rebirth were not just part of the millenarian mentality Richard Landes has called the 'Janus-faced cosmology of destruction and renewal'.[5] For these Christians, death and destruction took palpable form in the figure of al-Mansūr, the powerful ruler of al-Andalus, and renewal came with Sancho el Mayor (1004–35), the first Christian monarch to unite the Christian territories of the Iberian Peninsula.

The Ummayad Caliphate of al-Andalus

In the second half of the tenth century, the Ummayad caliphate of al-Andalus was one of the largest and most powerful realms of the Mediterranean world. Its caliphs ruled most of the Iberian Peninsula and parts of North Africa. Cordoba, their capital, rivalled Constantinople in its sophistication and beauty.[6] The death of the Caliph al-Hakam in 976 (b. 915, r. 961) and the succession of his adolescent son, Hishām, initiated a series of events that would lead to the disintegration of the united Islamic state on the Iberian Peninsula. Young Hishām's authority was quickly usurped by his *hajib* or chamberlain, Muhammad ibn Abī-Amír (938–1002). Although he never called himself caliph, he adopted the title al-Mansūr—the Victorious—an honorific once used by Abu Ja'far al-Mansūr, one of the greatest Abbasid caliphs.[7] Al-Mansūr effectively ruled al-Andalus from 981 to 1002, during which time he systematically pursued a campaign of terror against the Christians of the

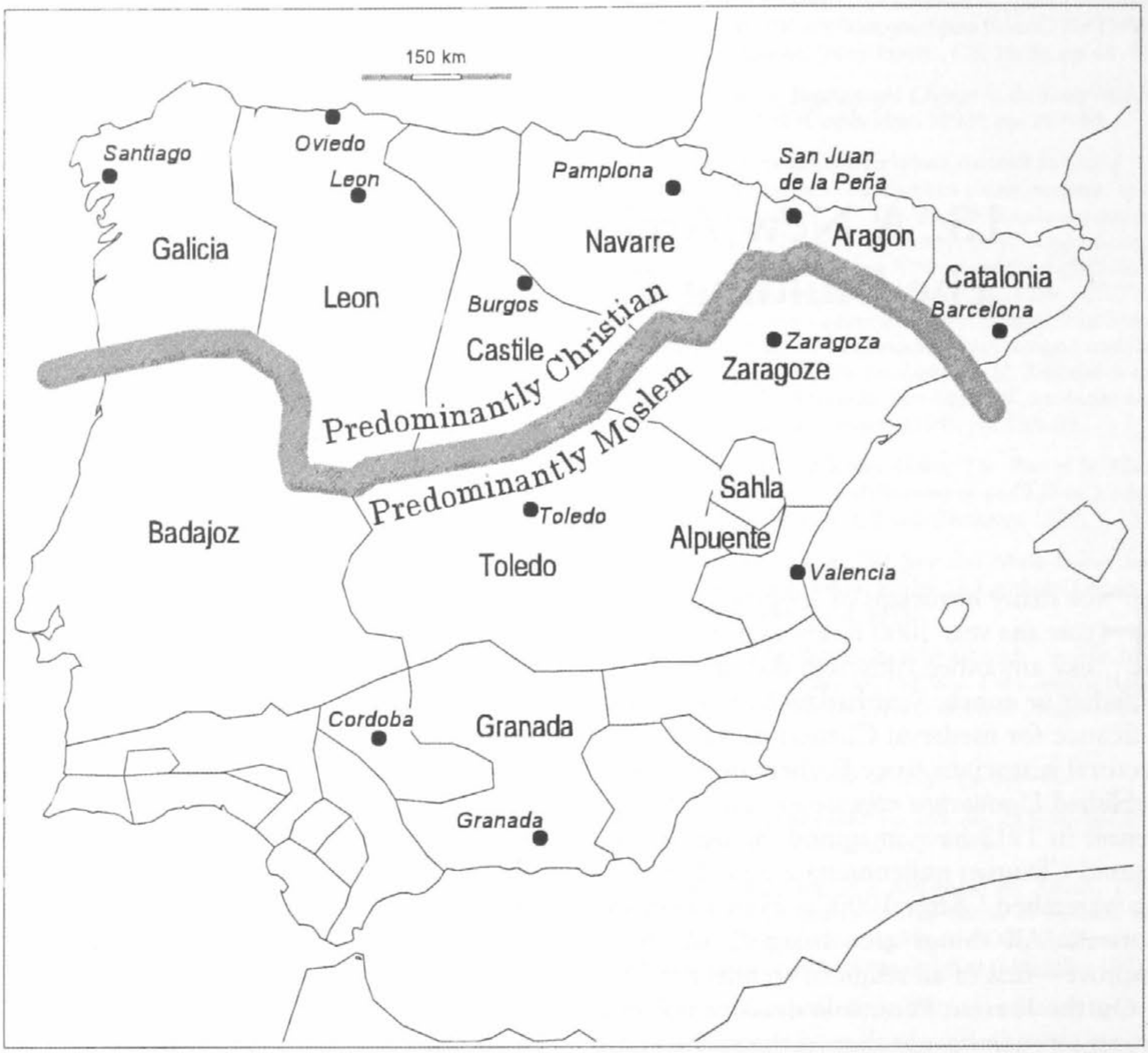


Fig. 144. Map of the Iberian Peninsula showing political divisions, *c.* 1035; drawn B. Marsh.

northern Iberian Peninsula. In the last decades of the tenth century he conducted a series of devastating raids on the Christian settlements—fifty-two according to Moslem sources.[8] He burned Barcelona in 985 and sacked the monastery of San Cugat del Vallés. León, Zamora, Coimbra, and the monasteries of Sahagún and San Pedro de Eslonza received the same treatment in 987. In 989 he destroyed Osma and in 1000 he ravaged Burgos and the surrounding lands of Castile. Al-Mansūr struck a deadlier blow in 997 when he pillaged the site most sacred to Spanish Christians—the shrine of Saint James at Santiago de Compostela. Although he left the actual tomb of the saint intact, he destroyed the rest of the church and had its bells carried back to Cordoba where legend has it they were upturned and used as braziers in the Great Mosque.[9] In 1002 he burned the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla and was in the process of plundering the Rioja when he fell ill and died at Medinaceli.

Intimidation more than expansion of territory motivated al-Mansūr's campaigns against Christians.[10] His raids were quick and deadly but they were not followed by Moslem settlement in the Christian areas he pillaged. He followed the Islamic custom of destroying the churches in the cities he attacked in order to make clear both the military and religious superiority of Islam. Baser motives, however, were also in play. Churches and monasteries were rich in precious objects, coin, livestock, and retainers who could be sold as slaves.[11] The raids were also a shrewd political tactic that served to insure al-Mansūr's popularity at home in al-Andalus. They justified both his usurpation of power from a caliph too weak to challenge the

Christians and the taxation needed to maintain the troops that guaranteed his authority over his own people.

Al-Mansūr's son, Abd al-Malik al-Muzaffar, who ruled al-Andalus from 1002 to 1008, followed the policies put in place by his father. He allowed Hishām to remain as a puppet ruler, and he continued the holy war against the Christians but with somewhat less success than al-Mansūr. The fragile system collapsed after Abd al-Malik's death in 1008 under the rule of his brother Abd al-Rahmān, called Sanchol, or Little Sancho, and the period which Islamic sources refer to as the *fitna*, tribulation, began.[12] Violence and political confusion reigned in al-Andalus until 1031 when attempts to re-establish central authority were finally abandoned and thirty-six small kingdoms called *taifas* emerged from the chaos.[13] These small powers were incapable of forming a united front against Christian hegemony.[14]

Sancho el Mayor

If the Moslems brought destruction to the Christians, the rise of a strong Christian leader, Sancho Garcés III, born Count of Navarra, delivered revival. Born around 992, Sancho began his rule when still a child in 1004. By the end of his reign in 1035 he exercised authority either directly or indirectly over territory across northern Spain from the lands of León to Ribagorza and from Zamora to Gascony (fig. 144). Better known in history as Sancho el Mayor or Sancho the Great, he rekindled the faith and rebuilt the shattered communities of Christian Spain.

Sancho extended his dominance from his hereditary territory in Navarra across much of northern Spain. With the exception of driving the Moslems out of Ribagorza, he extended his realm at the expense of his Christian neighbours. He moved first to the east exerting his hegemony over Ribagorza around 1018 although not officially claiming control until 1025.[15] By the early 1030s Sancho had extended his authority to the north across the Pyrenees, taking Bayonne and the Basque lands south of the Adour.[16] After the death of Sancho García, in 1028 Sancho claimed that territory. The Navarese count had married Sancho García's sister, referred to in documents as Munia, Mumadona, or Mayor, in 1010.[17] This marital alliance allowed Sancho el Mayor to assume the governance of Castile. Subsequently, Sancho gained the support of the aristocratic families in the lands between the Cea and Pisuerga Rivers, becoming their overlord and using this area as a base of operations against the Leonese.[18] In 1032 he occupied the Leonese cities of Zamora and Astorga. The weak Leonese king Vermudo III continued to rule, but under Sancho's protection. Documents from the early 1030s refer to Sancho el Mayor as reigning in Pamplona, Aragon, Sobrarbe, Ribagorza, Gascony, and Castile and as protector in León and Astorga.[19]

To mend the destruction wrought by the raids of al-Mansūr and to stabilize his frontier kingdom, Sancho embarked upon a campaign of reform and reconstruction. The Church was at the centre of his improvements. He created a new bishopric at Palencia and encouraged monastic reform including the substitution of the Roman for the Mozarabic rite. He founded new monasteries such as San Juan de Ruesta and repaired those, such as San Millán de la Cogolla, that had been abandoned or damaged by the Moslem raids. He encouraged monasteries to adopt the Benedictine rule. Sancho made his territory less vulnerable to attack by building fortresses. He secured its southern frontier with the Moslems of the Marca Superior by establishing strongholds at Uncastillo, Luesia, Biel, Agüero, Murillo, Cacabiello, Marcuello, Loarre, Buil, Boltaña, Morillo de Monclús, and Abizanda.[20] The protection afforded Sancho's lands by these fortresses provided the security necessary for the creation and revival of monastic institutions.[21] By altering the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela so that it passed further south through Nájera rather than through Alava and the Asturias, he encouraged the economic development of the territories at the core of his realm. He fostered the start of a money economy by minting coins.[22] While repairing the damage left in the wake of Moslem raids, Sancho's reforms also strengthened his realm in the face of Christian competition for lands now habitable thanks to the Moslem decline in strength.

Sancho's Progressive Patronage

Until recently historians frequently understood the Christians living in the Christian kingdoms of the Iberian peninsula just prior to Sancho's reign as being cut off and virtually innocent of

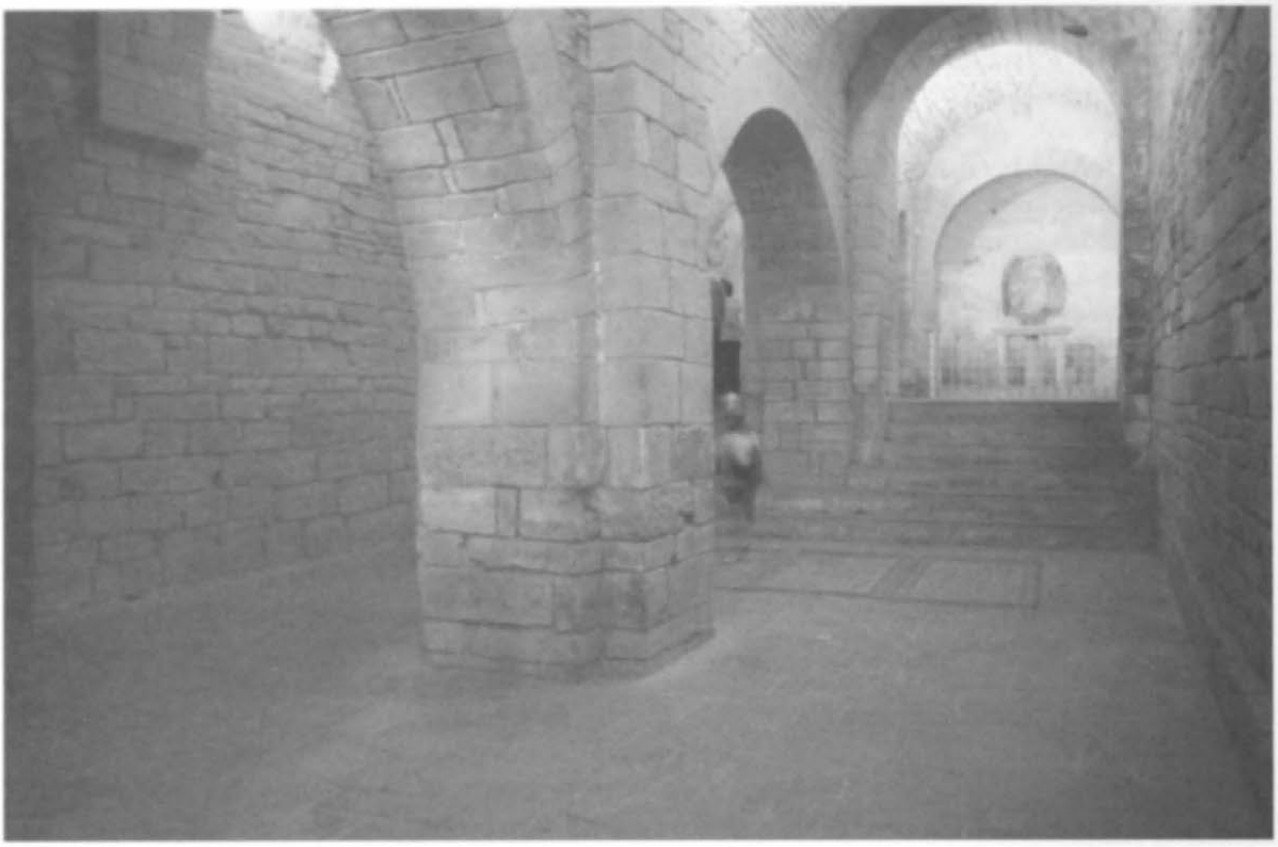


Fig. 145. Lower church, San Juan de la Peña, looking east; photo J. Mann.

trans-Pyrenean influences, an opinion that perhaps reflects more about modern Spain's isolation from Europe under Franco's fascist regime than about the tenth century. Against this backdrop of supposed cultural isolation, Sancho el Mayor was construed as Christian Spain's Europeanizer who began to internationalize his kingdom primarily with the help of the monks from the Burgundian abbey of Cluny.[23] This so-called move toward Europeanization was tacitly understood as a sign of progress, although the culture of Islamic al-Andalus from which the northern Christians were seen as moving away was far more economically developed, technologically advanced, and artistically sophisticated than any part of Europe at this date.

Current historical accounts, however, contest the older notion of an isolated and backward Christian Spain opened to a more advanced Europe by the pioneering efforts of Sancho el Mayor with the help of Cluniac monks. Peter Linehan, for instance, has successfully challenged the isolation of the Iberian Peninsula prior to the year 1000.[24] Bishko, Lapeña Paúl, and Orcástegui Gros and Sarasa Sánchez have convincingly demonstrated that Cluny had only minimal influence on monastic culture during Sancho's reign.[25] Although Sancho el Mayor gave donations to the Burgundian abbey, was prayed for by its monks, and exchanged letters with its Abbot Odilo, he did not place any monasteries in his territory under Cluny's control.[26]

The understanding of Sancho el Mayor as a trail-blazing Europeanizer has tended to shape the way scholars have framed the architecture of Christian Spain just after the year 1000. Walter Muir Whitehill, for instance, claimed that 'Sancho el Mayor began the internationalization of Spain. He turned the eyes of his people from Córdoba towards France; he introduced the Cluniac order to the peninsula'.[27] Georges Gaillard called Sancho, 'the first of the Spanish kings to orient his politics toward Europe'.[28] Isidro Bango Torviso, following the esteemed historian José María Lacarra, calls Sancho 'the pioneer of Europeanization' who 'was going to open up his borders to the French',[29] an opinion with which Georges Gaillard, Joaquín Yarza, and John Williams all agree.[30]

Further evidence of Sancho's Europeanizing tendencies was observed in the standing churches connected with his patronage. Scholars saw

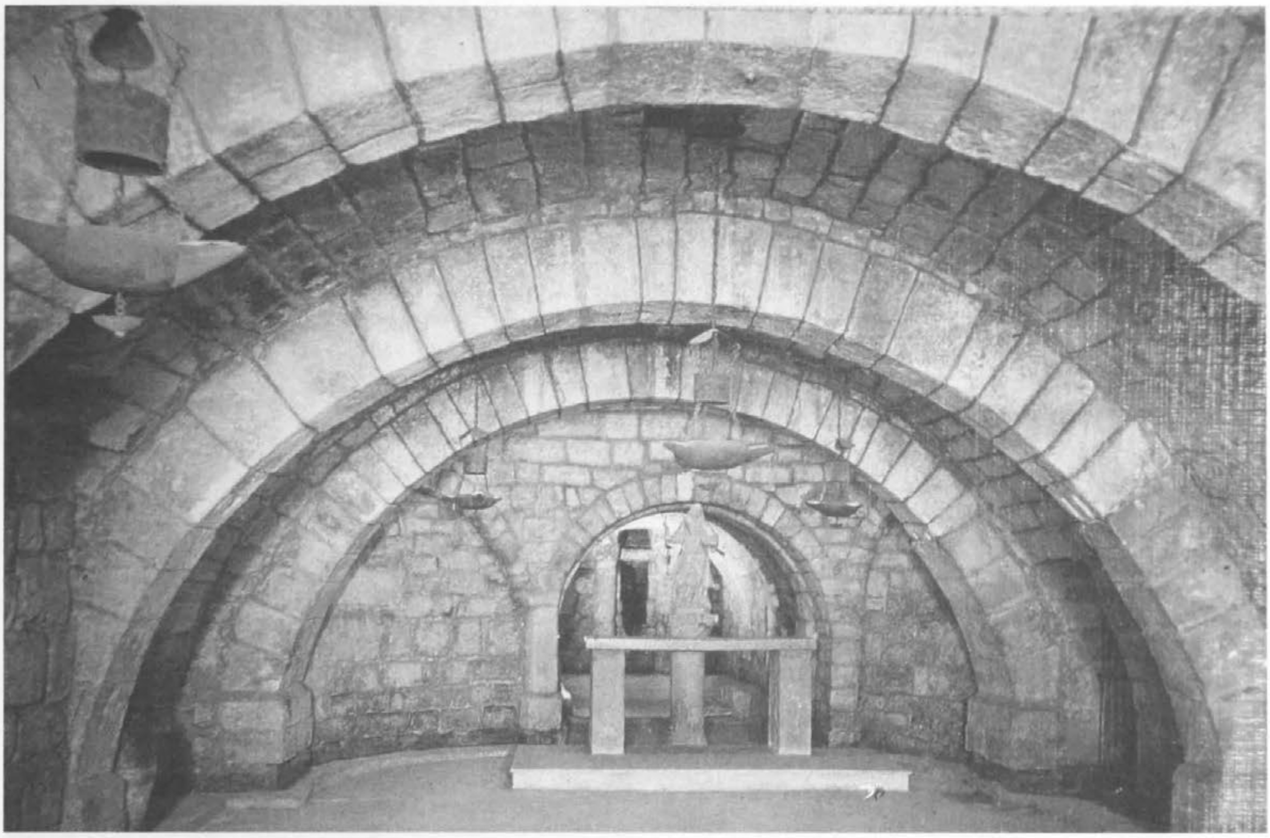


Fig. 146. Crypt of San Antolín, Cathedral of Palencia, looking east; photo J. Mann.

that the masons of Sancho's building projects rejected the Islamicizing horseshoe arch, a ubiquitous feature of tenth-century churches built on the Iberian Peninsula. They replaced it with the 'innovative' and more European semicircular arch and added stone vaulting, features associated with the Romanesque style and automatically tagged French by most architectural historians.

Misled by inexact historical accounts and a narrow focus on stylistic innovation, and before post-colonial theory in its broadest sense challenged the notion that Europeaness was always aligned with the progressive, these scholars ignored several factors. They failed to see that in shunning the models offered by Islamic or Islamicizing architecture, Sancho was rejecting the long-standing sophisticated artistic tradition at hand in order to draw from both older models and from an artistic current in its modest initial stages. While they noticed a change in Sancho's architecture they neglected to explore the motivation and reception of this transformation. They also failed to consider how this architecture might have acted as part of a nationalist discourse that looked to both the past and present to affirm the providential destiny of the future for the frontier Christian kingdom that Sancho had just consolidated. His architecture, I would contend, had much more to do with the relationship between past and future than with the alignment of Christian Spain with the rest of Europe.

Most accounts link the expansion of the churches at the monasteries of San Juan de la Peña and San Millán de la Cogolla de Suso and the construction of a new cathedral in Palencia, of which only the crypt survives, to Sancho el Mayor's patronage.[31] Yet no single coherent formal language unites these monuments. They can look as different as the lower church of San Juan de la Peña (fig.145) with its two narrow barrel-vaulted aisles, and the low broad crypt of San Antolín (fig. 146). However, although they may not look alike, the Navarese king's churches hold several features in common.[32] They are built on a more ambitious scale than previous monuments, they employ vaults, and they make systematic use of lintels topped by relieving arches. More significant than their common characteristics, however, is the feature their masons chose to abandon—the horseshoe arch. The most characteristic element of Visigothic, Islamic, and Mozarabic architecture,

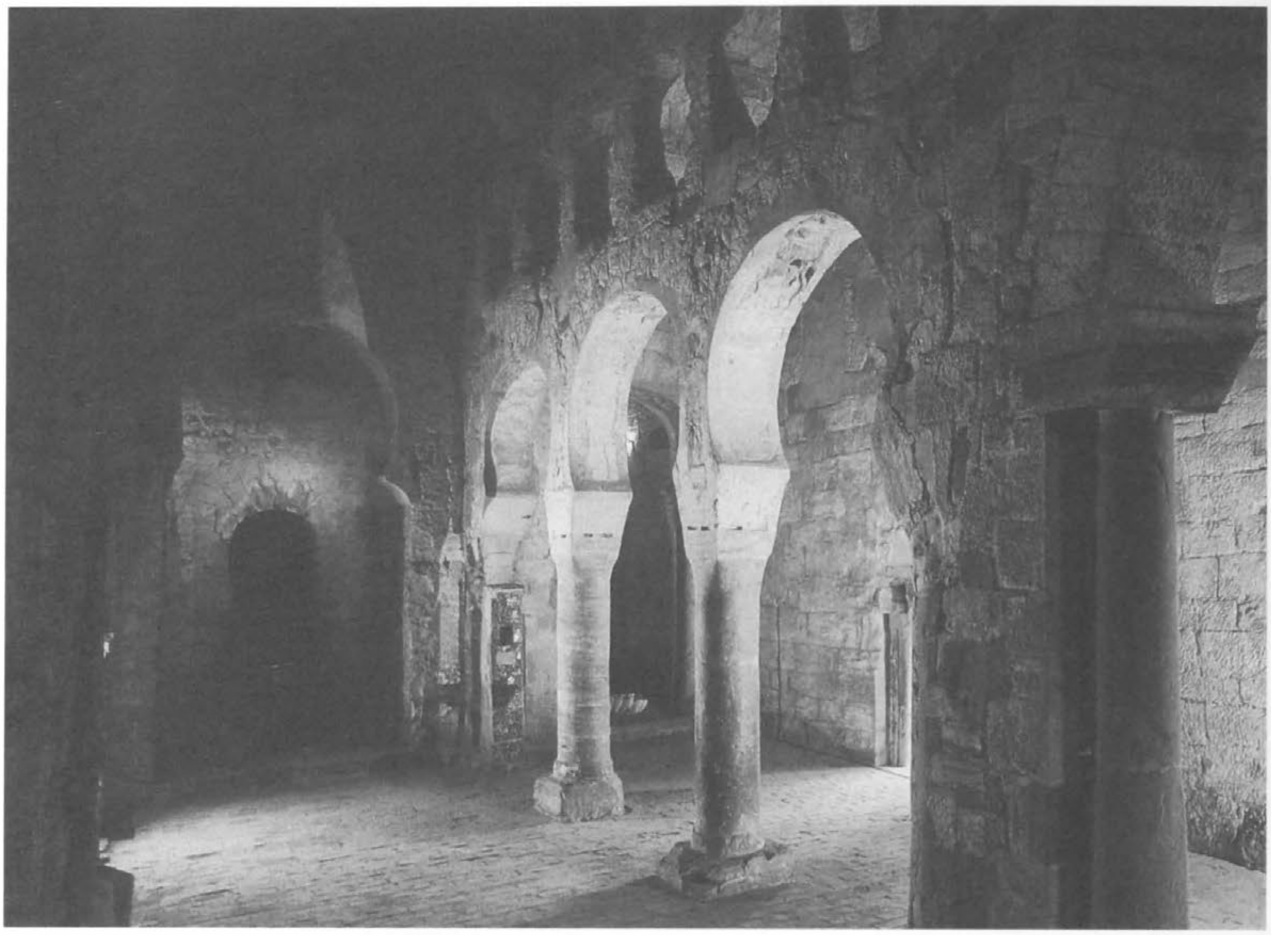


Fig. 147. San Millán de la Cogolla, nave, looking east; photo J. Mann.

the horseshoe arch was prevalent in many of the significant structures built on the Iberian Peninsula between the seventh century and the eleventh.

The existing churches built by Sancho el Mayor all break with this long-standing Iberian building tradition. The extent to which this rupture with the architecture of the recent past was simply chance, or calculated by Sancho or his architects, will to some extent remain conjectural. Accidents of survival shape the understanding of this period as much as the evidence offered by the few extant buildings. So little of the architecture of this period exists on the Iberian Peninsula that it is difficult to reconstruct a context for Sancho's churches and it is impossible to say from where the masons who built them might have come. The buildings themselves are of such rough construction that it is possible to conjecture that they were built by inexperienced local craftsmen with perhaps the help of one or two experienced masons. Neither Sancho nor his masons thought to express their motivations in written records, so their buildings alone must tell the story of what happened.

San Millán de la Cogolla and San Juan de la Peña

The renovation of San Millán de la Cogolla de Suso presents the clear rejection of the architecture of earlier generations. Located about fifteen kilometres from Nájera (Logroño), San Millán was situated in an unstable border district where political domination shifted for decades between Castile and Navarra.[33] The Moslems of the Ebro valley and those of the realm of Zaragoza were also in close proximity, making the monastery's location even more insecure.[34]

The incoherent appearance of San Millán's nave jolts the modern eye. Today's visitor steps from a modern porch built in the 1930s through a horseshoe-arched portal directly into the nave of the church, which is divided by an arcade into two aisles of similar but unequal width. The three easternmost arches of the arcade, like those that open onto the square chapels to the east, are horseshoe-shaped while the two westernmost are semicircular (figs 147, 148). As if to emphasize this readily apparent difference

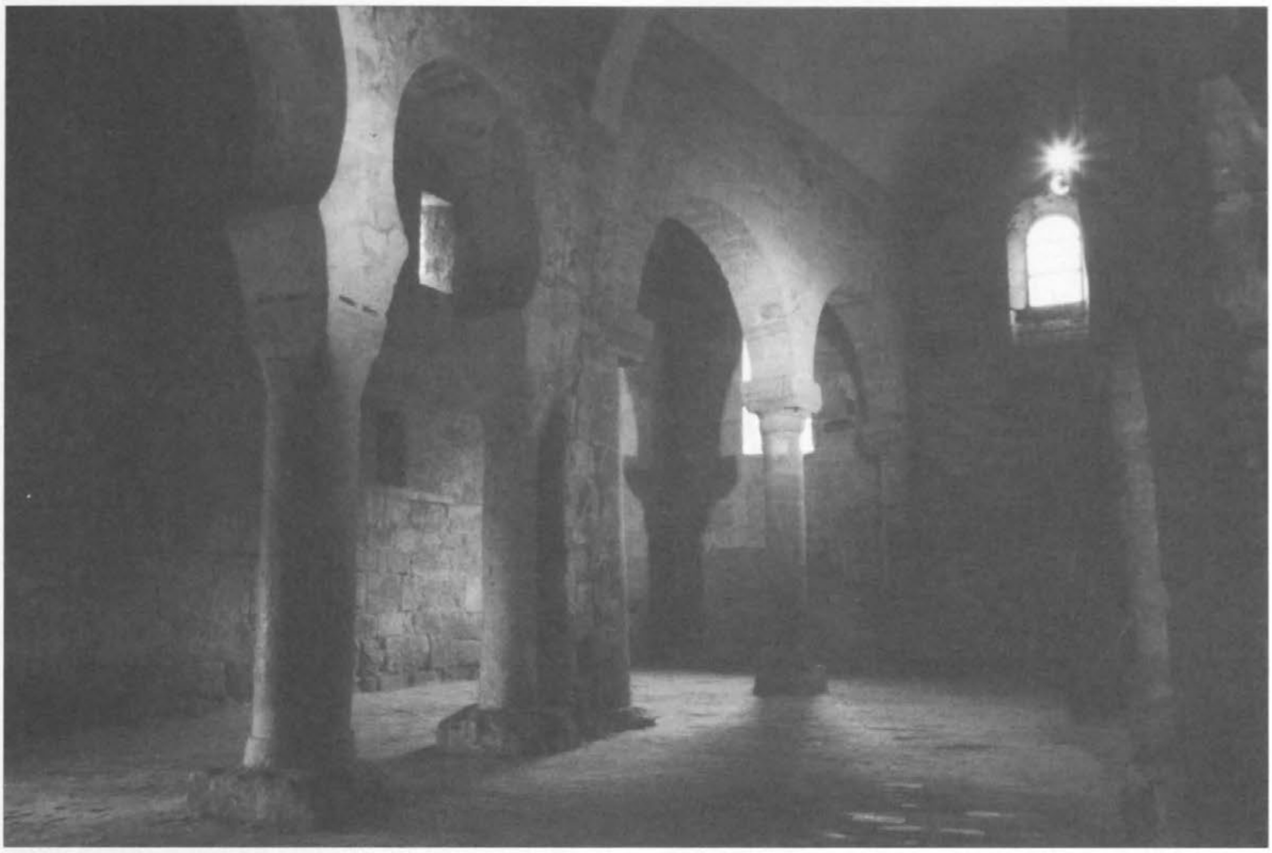


Fig. 148. San Millán de la Cogolla, nave, looking west; photo J. Mann.

further, a rectangular pier is placed where the horseshoe and the semicircular arches meet. Beyond the pier, the western bays of the nave curve to the north, misaligning with the eastern portions of the church so that they can hug the lower part of the hill against which the church is constructed (fig. 149). Barrel vaults top this rear portion of the church. A modern wooden roof, presumably replacing a similar original, covers the eastern bays. The easily discernible differences between the eastern and western parts of San Millán indicate that they were built at different times and, needless to say, little effort was made to make them harmonize.[35]

Medieval belief held that the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla was built on the site of the hermitage of Aemilianus or Millán (d. 574), a shepherd whose piety and healing powers gained him sainthood. Three caves still accessible through the north wall of the current church are believed to have provided a home and burial place for the hermit saint. By the seventh century there was already a cenobitic community at the site and by the tenth century the eastern portions of the current church were built against the face of the cliff pierced with the anchorite's caves.

Sancho's reconstruction of the west end of San Millán was necessitated by damage caused when al-Mansūr sacked the monastery in 1002.[36] The monarch's interest in San Millán, however, went well beyond repairing the church of the monastery. In 1028 he combined the bishoprics of Nájera and Pamplona and transferred them to Sancho, abbot of the monastery. This consolidation of religious power, subsequent donations, the restoration of the church, and the guarantee of royal protection served to ensure San Millán's loyalty to Navarra rather than Castile.[37] The loyalty of the monastery virtually guaranteed Sancho the allegiance of the whole region as well as the divine support of its saint. Maintaining consistency and harmony in appearance between the old and new portions of the church was not a priority in the rebuilding of San Millán. Differentiating new fabric from old through the display of unaccustomed forms took precedence.

A similar choice to move away from familiar forms to something new took place around the same time and far away in Aragon in the lower church of San Juan de la Peña. At this

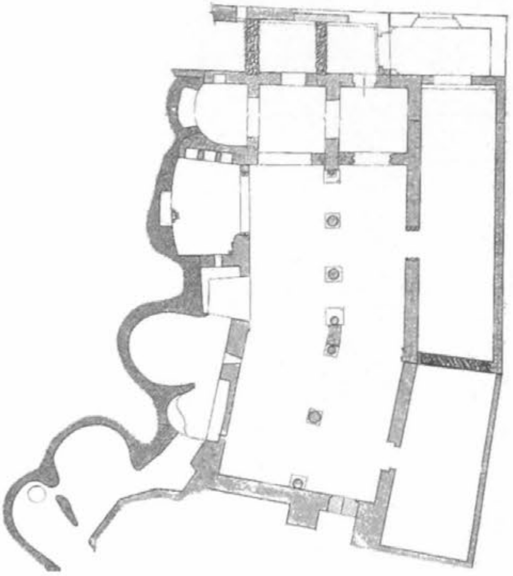


Fig. 149. San Millán de la Cogolla, plan, after Esteban Uranga Galdiano and Iñiguez Almech.

monastery, located in the foothills of the Pyrenees, Sancho el Mayor again added two bays to the west end of a Mozarabic church built at the site of an earlier Visigothic shrine (fig. 150). Here, once more, horseshoe arches support the older part of the church while a semicircular arcade characterizes the Navarese king's new bays. The occurrence of the same disjuncture in two examples separated by so formidable a distance and constructed by different masons suggests that their shared appearance is the result of choice not chance.

Like San Millán de la Cogolla, San Juan de la Peña is built against a rock escarpment. The earliest surviving part of the monastery is the south-east portion of the lower church that now composes part of the crypt under the later Romanesque building.[38] Most scholars date this original church to the tenth century.[39] The arcade arches, the apse openings, and the top of a window piercing the wall between the apses are all slightly horseshoe-shaped (fig. 151).[40] The two western bays added to this church by Sancho look noticeably different (fig. 152). As at San Millán wider, semicircular arches replace the horseshoes of the older church and a massive pier emphasizes the juncture of old and new fabric. Tall, broad transverse ribs springing from this pier create a bold division between the parts. To the west, the floor level of the new bays is about a metre and a half lower than that to the east. Consistency is maintained throughout the church in the height of the vaults and arcades, however, suggesting that when it was desired, uniformity could be achieved. In the lower church of San Juan de la Peña, just as in San Millán de la Cogolla difference prevailed over uniformity.

San Juan's foundation legend, like that of San Millán, includes an anchorite living in a cave. According to tradition, in the eighth century a Christian hunter from Zaragoza named Voto was in hot pursuit of a stag when it disappeared over the cliff into which the church is now built. Certain that only spiritual aid could save him, Voto prayed to Saint John the Baptist who interceded and miraculously stopped him from tumbling over the edge. Voto walked down to the base of the cliff where he discovered a spring and a cave with a chapel. In the chapel he found a dead anchorite lying beside a stone inscribed with his name, Juan de Atarés. Voto buried the holy man, went back to Zaragoza, and returned with his brother Felix, and they continued in the hermetic life of the saint.[41]

The later history of the monastic community of San Juan de la Peña likewise offers some parallels to that of San Millán de la Cogolla.[42] The primitive enclave was harassed if not destroyed during the Moslem raids in 998, 999, and 1006.[43] At San Juan de la Peña, just as at San Millán de la Cogolla, the physical renovation of the church was linked to the spiritual reform of the monastery through the institution of the Benedictine rule at Sancho's urging around 1030.

Both San Millán de la Cogolla and San Juan de la Peña were located at frontier sites where Sancho el Mayor's claim to the land was tenuous because of rival Christian or Moslem claims. Their high sites allowed them a strategic view of the land below and guaranteed that they could serve as a last bulwark of defence in case of attack. Restored as they were hard on the heels of the enemy's destruction, the new bays added to the monastic churches stood as signs of renewed well-being thanks to the king's military prowess, sound leadership, and pious generosity. Their newness made more obvious by their dissimilar forms declared a turning point in their affairs and those of the kingdom. Order was restored, the damage inflicted by the enemy was repaired, and stability was reinstated.

Their venerability as holy places connected with miraculous occurrences and Christian holy life before the Moslem presence on the Iberian

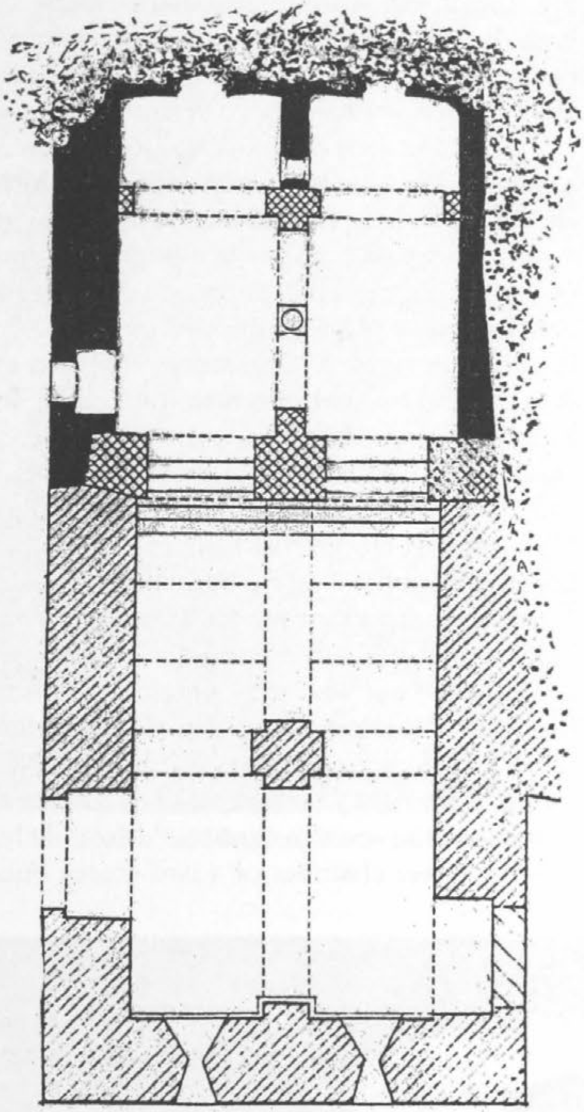


Fig. 150. San Juan de la Peña, lower church, plan, after Esteban Uranga Galdiano and Iñiguez Almech.

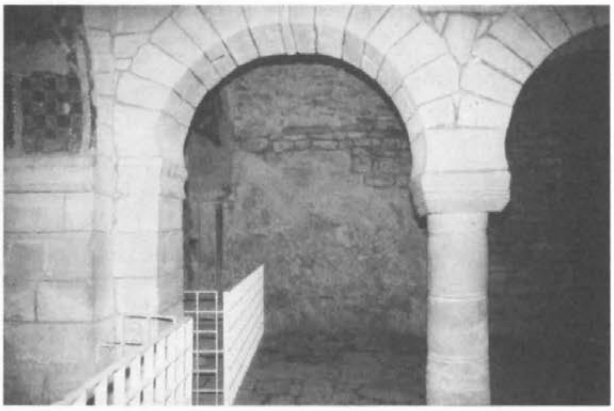


Fig. 151. San Juan de la Peña, lower church, nave arcade in east; photo J. Mann.

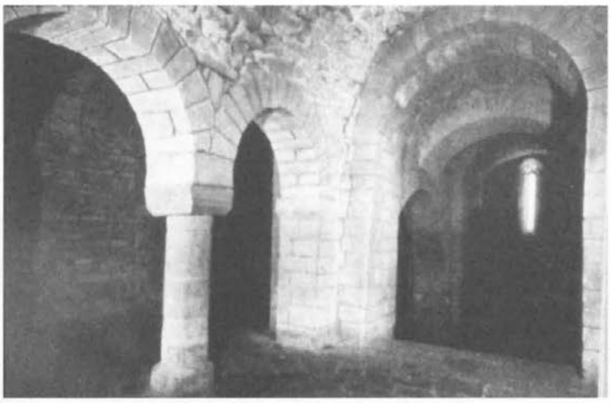


Fig. 152. San Juan de la Peña, lower church, nave, looking west; photo J. Mann.

Peninsula rendered San Millán and San Juan as spiritually potent as they were militarily strategic. Their presence staked a claim not just to a new political frontier but to a geography made sacred for Christians by holy events that occurred in the past in the same way that early Christian churches built in the Holy Land expressed the Christian possession of the *loca sancta* of Christ's life. The physical appearance of both monasteries establishes their spiritual antiquity. The changes in their fabric constitute a veritable record of their steadfast existence through the passage of time, from the caves associated with pre-Islamic Christian anchorites, through the horseshoe architecture linked with the monks at the sites before al-Mansūr's raids around the year 1000, to additions that expressed an age of revival under the rule of Sancho el Mayor. Their architecture charts a course of survival through perilous times. Built with different elements, most notably the semicircular arch, the king's additions were literally linked to the old while at the same time making evident the new and pointing the way toward the future.

Palencia Cathedral and Architectural Precedents

Only the crypt of San Antolín remains of the cathedral that Sancho el Mayor instigated at Palencia (fig. 153). Here, a low, broad barrel vault supported by four transverse arches springing from just above the floor covers an undivided rectangular space. Although formal similarity with his constructions at San Juan de la Peña and San Millán de la Cogolla is negligi-

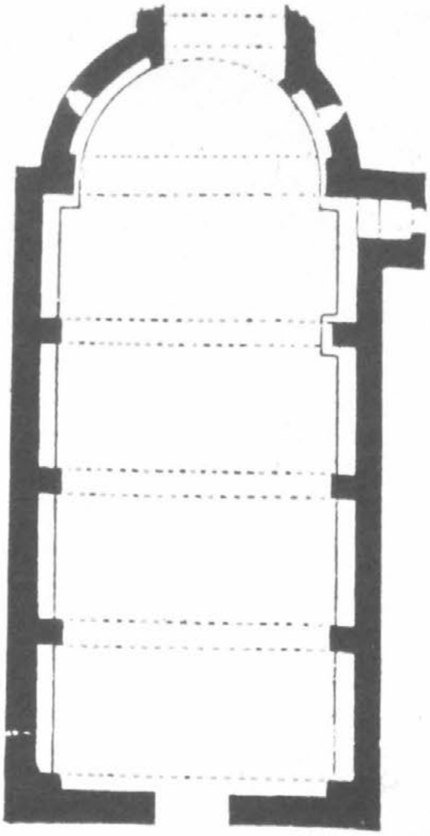


Fig. 153. Crypt of San Antolín, Cathedral of Palencia, plan; after Gómez Moreno.

ble, the three monuments share conceptual links. In Palencia, as at the other two sites, new material is linked to old with no attempt to create a unified, stylistically coherent whole.

The central arch of San Antolín's apse arcade opens to allow access to an older Visigothic shrine, known as 'the cave of San Antolín' (fig 154).[44] Today, the visitor leaves the eleventh-century portion of the crypt and enters a narrower, gloomy space partitioned into three bays of different sizes. At the badly preserved east end of this chamber two robust columns, surmounted by capitals and stout impost blocks carved with abstract decoration, support an arcade of three diminutive horseshoe arches.[45] The small horseshoe arches prolong the circumference of the circle by only one quarter its radius indicating they are Visigothic rather than later Islamic horseshoe arches.[46] The shape of the arches and the two-dimensional, abstract decoration of the capitals, similar to Visigothic sculptural decoration from Cordoba, Mérida, and Toledo, have led most scholars to date the remains to the seventh century.[47] Most likely, it was the lower chamber of a two-storey build-

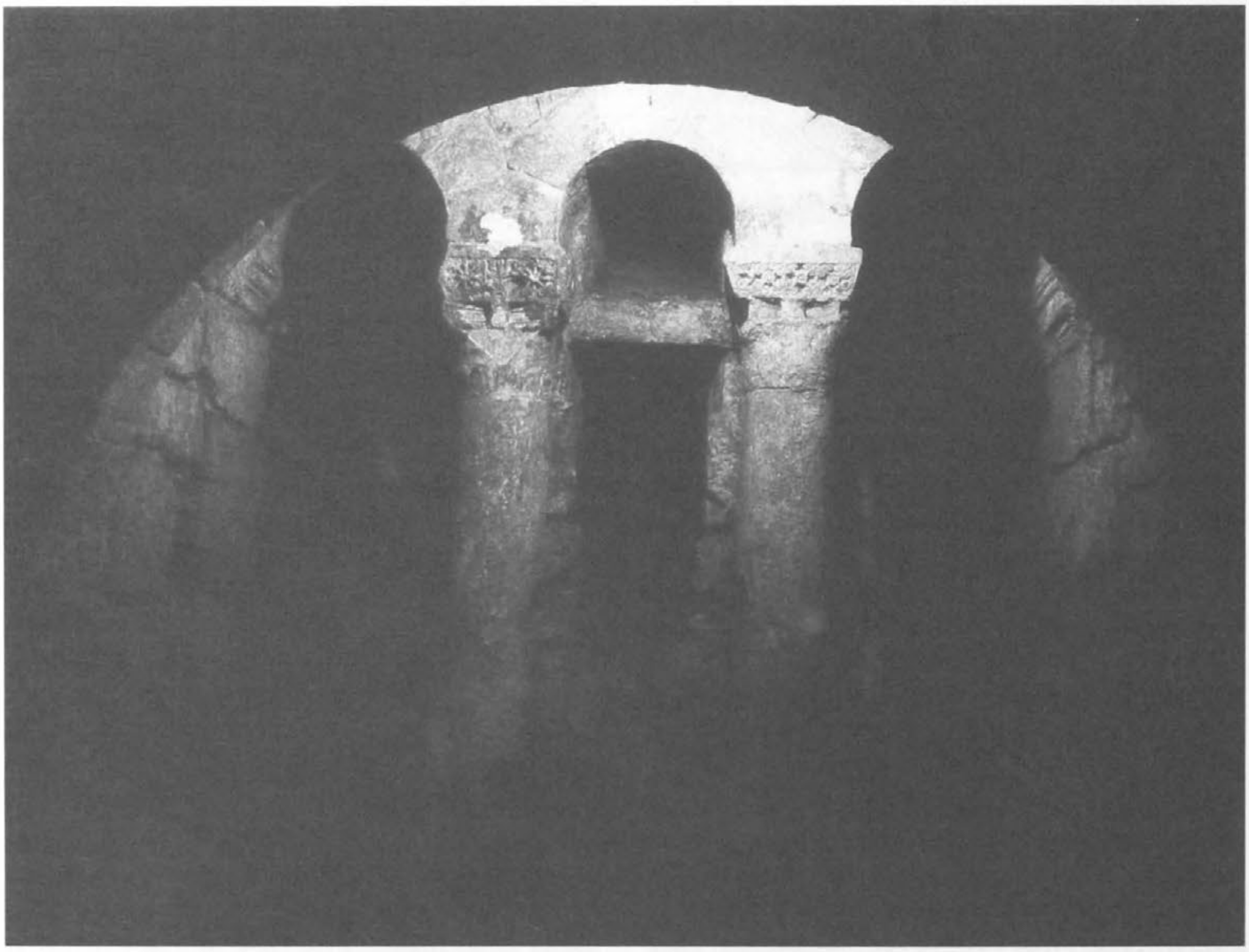


Fig. 154. Crypt of San Antolín, Cathedral of Palencia, Visigothic shrine; photo J. Mann.

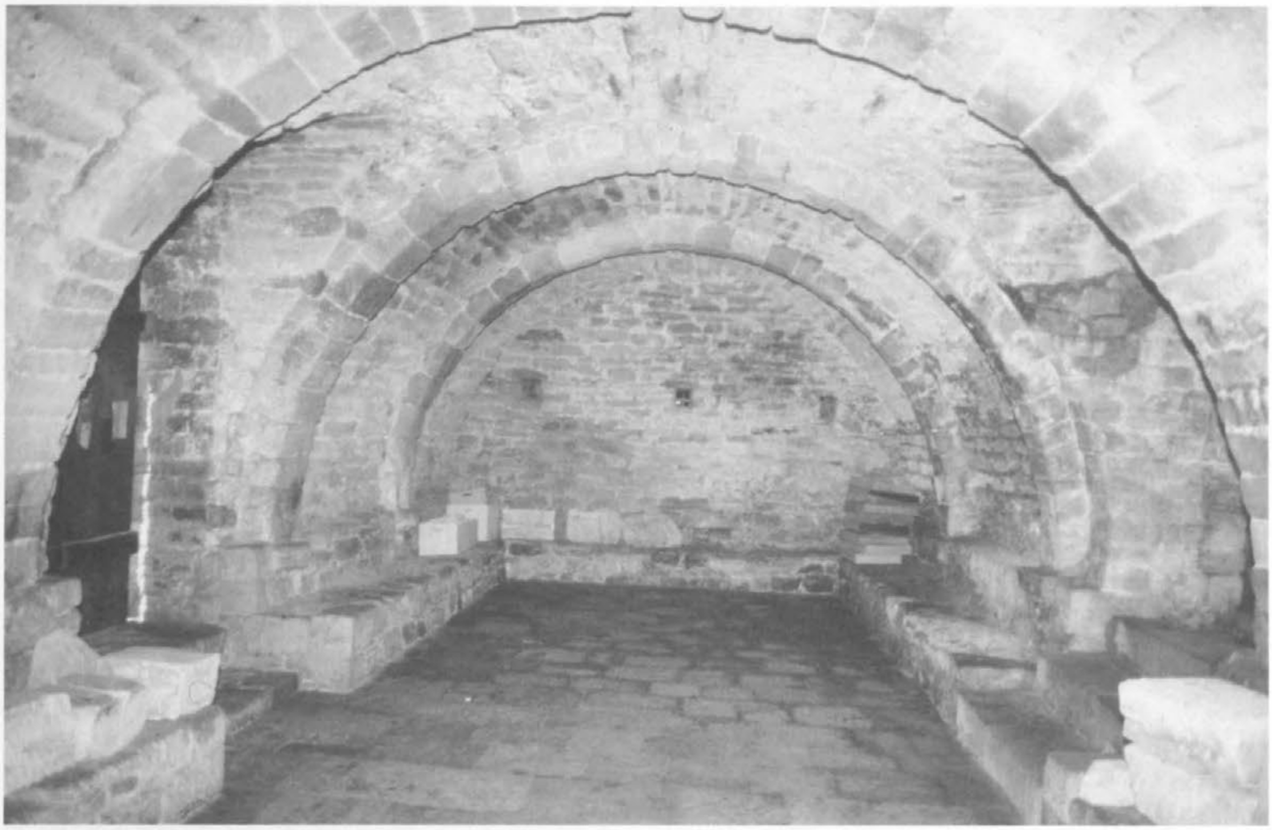


Fig. 155 S. María del Naranco, lower chamber; photo J. Mann.

ing that either was razed or fell into neglect after the Moslem invasion and depopulation of Palencia.[48]

The Visigothic chamber is clearly differentiated from the eleventh-century portion of the crypt by both its smaller scale and its horseshoe arches.[49] Again, the venerable is preserved alongside the new, making visible the link between the pre-Islamic past and the victorious Christian present thanks to Sancho's hand.

Although there is now some discrepancy about Sancho el Mayor's actual role in the construction of the cathedral, he was understood as fully responsible for it in the medieval period. Again a miraculous event involving hunting, a saint, and a cave explained the discovery of the shrine of San Antolín and the new construction added to it by Sancho. According to medieval tradition, the king chased a wild boar into a cave. When he had the animal cornered, and was about to cast his spear, paralysis froze his arm. The monarch prayed for an explanation of his mysterious malady and a supernatural figure appeared who informed him that he was in a sacred place that should not be profaned by the spilling of blood. The figure revealed that he was Saint Antonino whose holy remains were present in the cave. Sancho begged the saint for forgiveness and promised to build a church dedicated to him on the site.[50]

The new cathedral of Palencia marked the revival of a bishopric at Sancho's instigation. The new work made clear that the see had been restored while the Visigothic portion of the crypt stood as a relic of the see's venerable origin in pre-Islamic times.

Although new in construction, the eleventh-century church of San Antolín made visual reference to the past but to a more recent time than the Visigothic era. The striking similarity between the crypt of San Antolín and the lower level of the Asturian building known today as Santa María del Naranco was first noted by Helmut Schlunk. Built not far from Oviedo as the belvedere of a country residence by the Asturian king Ramiro I (r. 842–50), Santa María del Naranco is a small two-storey structure, originally secular but converted into a church in the twelfth century.[51] As in the crypt of San Antolín, its lower main chamber is covered by a low, stone barrel vault supported by five transverse arches springing from just above floor level (fig. 155). Smaller, wood-roofed compartments flank either end of this larger space.

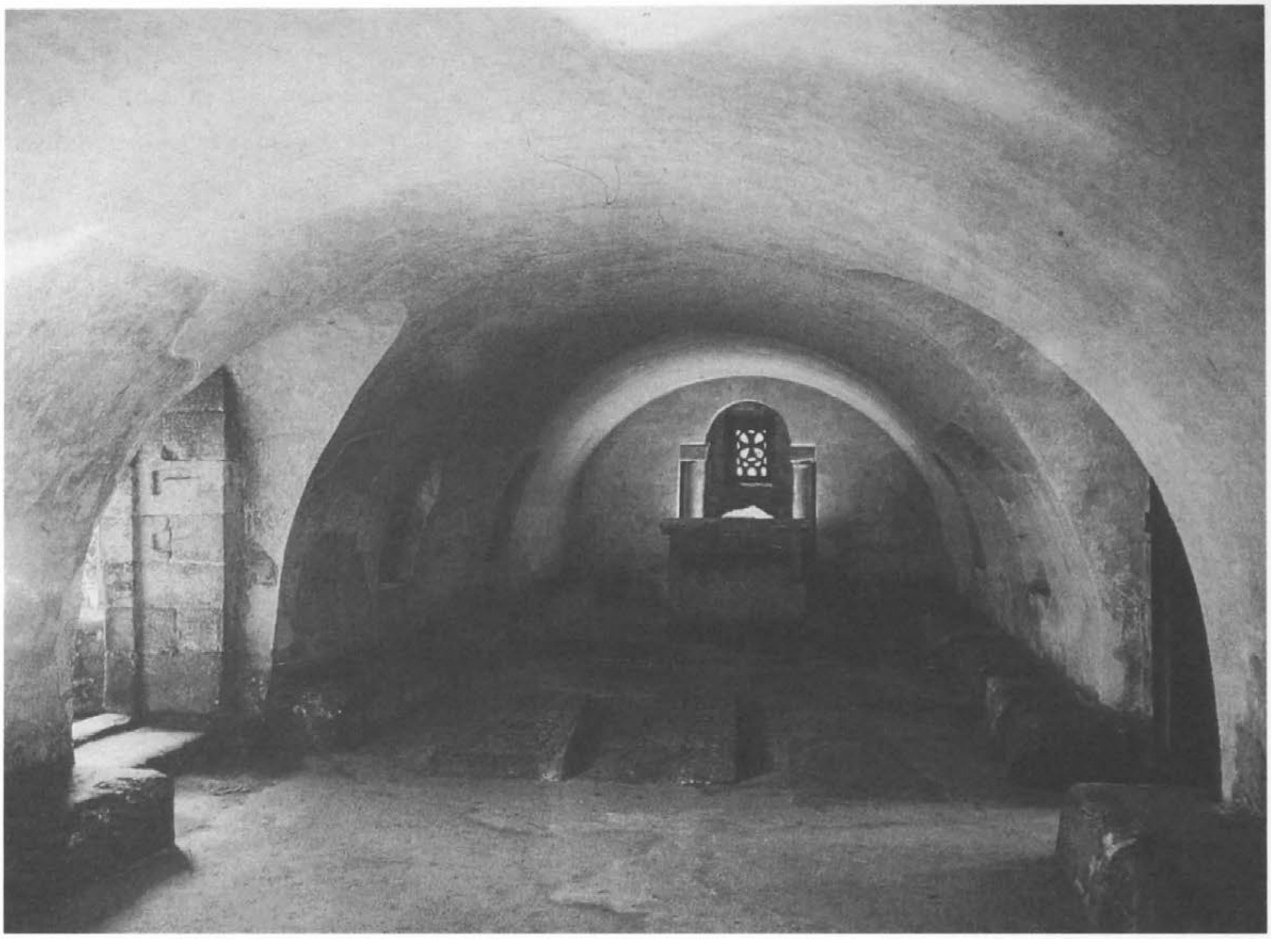


Fig. 156. Oviedo, Cámara Santa, lower chamber, photo J. Mann.

This palace on the slopes of Monte Naranco harks back to an even earlier Asturian building, the Cámara Santa in Oviedo. Alfonso II (r. 791–845), who ruled the Asturias prior to Ramiro, constructed this two-storey structure as part of his palatine complex in the heart of the new Asturian capital in the mid-eighth century. The Cámara Santa is not mentioned in the chronicles recording Alfonso's patronage. But it shares with his other buildings so many similarities in materials and techniques that it can be assigned to his patronage with little doubt.[52]

The original appearance of Cámara Santa's upper chapel, dedicated to San Miguel, is obscured by a twelfth-century renovation and an extensive modern restoration executed to repair the severe damage the building suffered during the Spanish Civil War.[53] The lower chapel, however, dedicated to the Toledean martyr, Santa Leocadia, retains most of its original appearance (fig. 156). Although not supported by transverse arches, the low, wide brick barrel vault covering Santa Leocadia recalls those over the lower chamber of Santa María del Naranco and the crypt of San Antolín.

According to Helmut Schlunk, early Christian *martyria* in which the lower level served as the burial chamber for a saint and the upper as a chapel for worship served as the prototype for the two Asturian structures that bear such a strong resemblance to the new cathedral of Palencia.[54] Typical examples survive at Pecs in Hungary, San Anastasio at Marusinac near Salona, and, more pertinently, on the Iberian Peninsula in the fourth-century martyrial church of La Alberca near Murcia.[55] The bottom chamber of this last small, two-level structure is covered with a low vault and the upper with a wooden roof. Its simple, single-aisle, rectangular plan terminates at one end with a semicircular apse. La Alberca or a similar building served not only as the model for the Cámara Santa and Santa María del Naranco, Schlunk suggests, but also for the ruined Visigothic church, the remains of which form the eastern portion of the crypt of San Antolín.[56]

The eleventh-century cathedral of Palencia, then, seems to have been an echo of the very Visigothic church that once stood to its east, of which the crypt still remained as an incomplete memory. The new church was modified according to intervening Asturian models that carried the clear signature of royal patronage and authority. As at San Juan de la Peña and San Millán de la Cogolla, the new cathedral follows a strategy of grafting new work onto old. Inherent in its fabric was the venerable lineage of the recently revived see.

Conclusion

There is no denying that the churches built and repaired by Sancho el Mayor break with the Christian architecture of immediately preceding generations in their substitution of the semicircular for the horseshoe arch. Focusing narrowly on this innovative motif alone, scholars have failed to see that Sancho's churches as a whole were really a pastiche of old and new. They sought to bring the Navarese king's buildings into alignment with the early-eleventh-century architecture beyond the Pyrenees by labelling them Romanesque. Misled by Sancho's reputation as a Europeanizer, they neglected to consider how these buildings were the product of the local needs of a burgeoning kingdom rather than the provincial by-product of an international aesthetic movement. Sancho's buildings are a response to a particular moment in time when the very survival of the king's territory demanded the reconstruction of the religious infrastructure both spiritual and architectural.

By repairing and extending venerable holy sites the king linked a somewhat unstable Christian present to the firm foundation of an older Christian past thus healing and transcending the injuries inflicted by Islamic aggression and other Christian challenges to his rule. This was made all the more poignant by the presence of anchorites' caves at San Juan de la Peña and San Millán de la Cogolla, and the Visigothic crypt at Palencia. By juxtaposing new elements with old, Sancho's buildings linked the vital new order of his kingdom with the venerable past, thus creating a longer, deeper sense of history.

NOTES

1. For early-twentieth-century scholarship that promotes the idea that the turn of the millennium affected architecture see Henri Focillon, *The Art of the West in the Middle Ages*, vol. I, *Romanesque*, trans. by P. Kidson (Ithaca, 1980), p. 25 n. 1. More recent scholars who address the issue include Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *El Arte Románico Español: Esquema de un Libro* (Madrid, 1934), p. 5; *Le Paysage monumental de la France autour de l'an mil*, ed. by Xavier Barral i Altet (Paris, 1987); Isidro G. Bango Torviso, *Alta Edad Media del tradición hispanogoda al románico* (Madrid, 1989), p. 85; Jerrilynn D. Dodds, 'Terror of the Year 1000: Architectural Historians Face the Millennium', *Design Book Review*, 20 (1991), 34–38.

2. Henri Focillon, *The Year 1000*, trans. by Fred D. Wieck (from *L'An mil*) (New York, 1969), p. 40. Focillon is reserved when it comes to the matter of the terrors that may have been experienced before the year 1000. He asserts that some people in Europe believed that the world would end in the year 1000. He points out that while there is evidence for this in documents coming from chanceries and in 'the consciousness of the people' it does not exist in documents written for secular leaders. For Focillon, the year 1000 is crucial for the history of the West but its significance lies in its current events rather than a spiritual crisis evoked by millenarian beliefs. It is these political changes which he believes encourage church building. Focillon, *The Year 1000*, pp. 36, 57. He repeats the same ideas with greater clarity in *The Art of the West*, p. 25.

3. For a brief historiography of the views of modern historians on the year 1000, see Richard Landes, 'The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Millennial Fever and the Origins of the Modern West', in *The Year 2000: Essays on the End*, ed. by Charles Strozier and Michael Flynn (New York, 2000), pp. 13–29. See also the following chapter of this volume by the same author.

4. Landes, 'The Apocalyptic Year 1000', p. 17.

5. Ibid., p. 25.

6. David Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party Kings* (Princeton, 1985), pp. 3–4.

7. Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus* (London, 1996), p. 115.

8. Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, 1975), p. 127.

9. Américo Castro, *The Spaniards: An Introduction to Their History*, trans. by Willard F. King and Selma Margaretten (Berkeley, 1971; repr. 1985), p. 418.

10. Wasserstein, *Rise and Fall*, p. 41.

11. Richard Fletcher, *Moorish Spain* (Berkeley, 1992), p. 76.

12. According to Peter Scales, The word *fitna* meant more than just a time of strife. Within its Qu'aranic context it meant a period of test or trial brought upon the faithful by God. At the same time, it meant a chastisement of the impious. Peter C. Scales, *The Fall of the Caliphate of Córdoba: Berbers and Andalusis in Conflict* (Leiden, 1994), p. 2.

13. The word *taifa* comes from the Arabic *muluk al-tawa'if* or kings of factions or parties. *Ta'ifa* is the singular of *tawa'if*. Kennedy, *Muslim Spain*, p. 130.

14. Frequently, Christian kings became involved in the affairs of rival Islamic factions for financial gain and to thwart the hegemonic goals of other Christians. Scales, *The Fall of the Caliphate*, p. 40.

15. Carmen Orcástegui Gros and Esteban Sarasa Sanchez, *Sancho Garces III el Mayor (1004–1035): Rey de Navarra* (Iruña, 1991), p. 31.

16. Roger Collins claims that Sancho occupied these lands in the 1020s while Orcastegui Gros and Sarasa Sanchez date Sancho's first dominance of the area to the early 1030s. Roger Collins, *The Basques* (Oxford, 1986), p. 181; Orcástegui Gros and Sarasa Sánchez, *Sancho Garces III*, p. 139.

17. Antonio Duran Gudiol, *Ramiro I de Aragon* (Zaragoza, 1993), p. 14.

18. Orcástegui Gros and Sarasa Sánchez, *Sancho Garces III*, p. 20.

19. Justo Pérez de Urbel, *Sancho el Mayor de Navarra* (Madrid, 1950), p. 388; Orcástegui Gros and Sarasa Sánchez, *Sancho Garces III*, p. 33.

20. Orcástegui Gros and Sarasa Sánchez, *Sancho Garces III*, pp. 75–76.

21. Ana Isabel Lapeña Paúl, *El Monasterio de San Juan de la Peña en la Edad Media desde sus origines hasta 1410* (Zaragoza, 1989), p. 46.

22. Sancho el Mayor was the first monarch of the Iberian Christian kingdoms to mint coins. These *sueldos* were minted in Nájera. M. A. Zamanillo, 'Circulación monetaria y sistemas de pago en Navarra en los siglos X a XIII', in *Primer Congreso General de Historia de Navarra* (Pamplona, 1988), pp. 239–45, cited in Orcástegui Gros and Sarasa Sánchez, *Sancho Garces III*, pp. 116–17.

23. For instance, Américo Castro claims that he initiated an international policy designed to end Spain's isolation from Europe by forging a close relationship with the monks of Cluny. Castro, *The Spaniards*, p. 424. See also José María Lacarra, *Historia política del reino de Navarra desde sus orígenes hasta su incorporación a Castilla*, vol. I (Pamplona, 1972), pp. 218–26. Peter Linehan points out that this role was seldom viewed in a positive light by Spanish historians because their accounts were adulterated by Francophobia. Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford, 1993), p. 169. It was incorrect to understand Cluny as French because the Cluniacs were a supranational institution more interested in committing themselves to Rome than to any local political group.

24. Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, pp. 169–70.

25. Bishko convincingly points out that earlier historians' views of the impact of Cluny on the reign of Sancho el Mayor are grossly exaggerated and sometimes based on documentation now believed to be false. He asserts that San Juan de la Peña seems to have been the home to some Spanish monks trained at Cluny but neither this monastic house nor any other was given over to Cluny during Sancho's reign. Charles Julian Bishko, 'Fernando I and the Origins of the Leonese-Castilian Alliance with Cluny', in *Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History* (London, 1980),

pp. 3–4. Orcástegui Gros and Sarasa Sánchez follow his opinion. These authors and Lapeña Paúl also indicated that Sancho often tied bishoprics to abbacies, as was the case when the abbot of Leyre also served as bishop of Pamplona. This contradicts the Cluniac practice of total independence from the secular clergy. Orcástegui Gros and Sarasa Sánchez, *Sancho Garces III*, p. 139; Lapeña Paúl, *El Monasterio de San Juan de la Peña*, pp. 46–49.

26. Luis Javier Fortún Pérez de Ciriza, *Leire, un señorío en Navarra (siglos IX–XIX)* (Pamplona, 1993), p. 95.

27. Walter Muir Whitehill, *Spanish Romanesque Architecture of the Eleventh Century* (Oxford, 1941; repr. 1968), p. 142.

28. 'Le premier des souverains espagnols à orienter sa politiques vers l'Europe': Georges Gaillard, 'La pénétration clunisienne en espagne pendant la premier moitie du XI siècle', in *Etudes d'art Roman* (Paris, 1972), p. 86 (translation mine).

29. 'pionero de la europización [. . .] va a abrir sus fronteras a los francés': Bango Torviso, *Alta Edad Media*, p. 90 (translation mine).

30. Georges Gaillard, 'Introduction', in *Navarre Romane* (Sainte-Marie de la Pierre-qui-vire, 1967), p. 28; Joaquín Yarza, *Arte y arquitectura en España 500–1250* (Madrid, 1985), pp. 159–60; John Williams, 'León and the Beginnings of the Spanish Romanesque', in *The Art of Medieval Spain A.D. 500–1200* (New York, 1993), p. 167.

31. Gómez-Moreno, *El arte Románico español*, pp. 50, 53, and idem, *Iglesias mozárabes: Arte Español de los siglos IX a XI* (Madrid, 1919), p. 294; Bango Torviso, *Alta Edad Media*, p. 92.

32. José Esteban Uranga Galdiano and Francisco Iñiquez Almech, *Arte medieval Navarro*, vol. I, *Arte prerománico* (Pamplona, 1971), pp. 235–36.

33. Charles Julian Bishko, 'Salvus of Albelda and Frontier Monasticism in Tenth-Century Navarre', in *Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History*, p. 566. For a detailed explanation see José Angel Garcia de Cortázar y Ruiz de Aguirre, *El dominio del Monasterio de San Millán de la Cogolla (siglos X a XIII)* (Salamanca, 1969), pp. 119–52.

34. Jacques Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, vol. II, *L'art mozarabe* (L'Abbaye Sainte-Marie de le-pierre-que-vire, 1977), p. 218.

35. Breaks in the irregular masonry of both the north and south walls near the point where the horseshoe and the semicircular arches meet provide additional evidence of two different building campaigns.

36. In the twelfth century a monk named Fernando recorded that during the rule of Abbot Ferrucius (993–1014) the church was burnt up to the altars. On the basis of his document and the archaeological evidence, and following Dozy's conviction that San Millán was the *al-dayr* or large monastery reported destroyed in the Moslem chronicle written by Ibn al-Jatib, Gómez-Moreno concludes that indeed the Moslems pillaged San Millán. Most architectural historians follow his opinion although a few scholars doubt the actuality of the raid because there is no contemporary written record. For instance, the historian Ubieto Arteta questions the assumption that the *al-dayr* mentioned in Moslem sources was San Millán. He finds it curious that there was no mention of the attack in a donation given to the monastery in 1003 by Count Sancho of Castile or in subsequent documents. The survival of many manuscripts produced in San Millán's *scriptorium* in the tenth century might support Ubieto Arteta's scepticism, although the portability of manuscripts makes them relatively easy to protect. On the other hand, the break in the monastery's diplomatic collection definitely suggests disruption. The still visible fire damage in the tenth-century portion of the church likewise gives convincing testimony that the monastery was indeed sacked. Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, pp. 292, 294, 296; Esteban Uranga Galdiano and Iñiguez Almech, *Arte medieval Navarro*, p. 186; Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, p. 220; Bango Torviso, *Alta Edad Media*, p. 92; Antonio Ubieto Arteta, 'Los primeros años del monasterio de San Millán', *Príncipe de Viana*, 34 (1973), 194.

37. Bishko, 'Salvas of Albelda', p. 566. García de Cortázar y Ruiz de Aguirre, *El Dominio del monasterio de San Millán*, pp. 140–42.

38. Because the location of the church is determined by the cliff, it is not oriented exactly.

39. Scholars disagree over its specific date. Gómez-Moreno dates the church to the mid-ninth century on the basis of a document dated to 858 that records a donation from García Jiménez, king of Pamplona and Galindo, count of Aragon. Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, pp. 31, 39. Whitehill, Canellas-Lopez, and San Vicente follow his opinion. Whitehill, *Spanish Romanesque Architecture*, p. 252; Angel Canellas-López and Angel San Vicente, *Aragon Roman* (La-Pierre-Qui-Vire, 1971), p. 75. More recent scholarship disclaims the authenticity of this document. Ubieto Arteta and Lapeña Paúl claim that the document of 858 is false and that the earliest authentic documentation from San Juan dates to the tenth century. Lapeña Paúl finds the tenth-century documents problematic because they refer only generally to a monastery of San Juan. The designation San Juan de la Peña did not exist before 1025. Lapeña Paúl, *El Monasterio de San Juan de la Peña*, p. 39; A. Ubieto Arteta, *Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña* (Valencia, 1962), vol. I, doc. 3. Ricardo del Arco claims the oldest part of the lower church dates to the time of Sancho Garcés I who reigned in Pamplona from 905 to 925 and that it was consecrated in 922. Ricardo del Arco, *El Real Monasterio de San Juan de la Peña* (Jaca, 1919), p. 39. His dating is based on a document recording the consecration. Other scholars dating the church to the tenth century include F. Oliván Baile, *Los monasterios de San Juan de la Peña y Santa Cruz de la Serós* (Zaragoza, 1969), p. 27; Yarza, *Arte y arquitectura en España 500–1250*, p. 106; Ana Isabel Lapeña Paúl, *San Juan de la Peña* (Zaragoza, 1986), p. 19.

40. The horseshoe-shaped portal which now opens from the upper church into the cloister also came from this church. Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, p. 38.

41. Although the date of the first telling of the story of the miraculous rescue of Voto is unknown, the legend was already prevalent in the Middle Ages. Versions of it appear in both the mid-twelfth-century *Libro de San Voto* and the fourteenth-century *Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña*; Lapeña Paúl, *El Monasterio de San Juan de la Peña*, p. 52. *The Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña*, trans. and intro. by Lynn H. Nelson (Philadelphia, 1991), p. 6. Another legend had it that a group of Christians built a fortress here in the eighth century as a base of resistance against the invading Moslems but their cause was not successful. Lapeña Paúl, *San Juan de la Peña*, p. 7.

42. Written history of the monastery does not begin until the eleventh century, although the oldest parts of the monastery suggest an earlier date. Lapeña Paúl, *El Monasterio de San Juan de la Peña*, p. 50.

43. In 998 and 999 the Moslems under al-Mansūr attacked Pamplona and the area as far east as Pallars. In 1006 Abd al-Malik attacked Sobrarbe and Ribagorza. The paucity of documents surviving from the first quarter of the eleventh century has led Lapeña Paúl to surmise that all Aragonese monasteries were devastated by these raids. Lapeña Paúl, *El Monasterio de San Juan de la Peña*, p. 46. Some scholars suggest that fleeing Pyrenean monks who sought refuge at the Burgundian abbey of Cluny bear witness to these attacks. Luis Javier Fortún Pérez de Ciriza and Carmen Jusué Simonena, *Historia de Navarra*, vol. I, *Antigudad y Alta Edad Media*, Colección temas de Navarra, 7 (Pamplona, 1993), p. 67.

44. Jaime-Federico Rollan Oritz, *La cripta de Sancho el Mayor. San Antolín de Palencia* (Palencia, 1970), p. 1.

45. The disruption of the masonry here indicates clearly that something beyond the columns has been lost. The masonry in this area has clearly been disturbed a number of times making its original configuration difficult to reconstruct.

46. Analogous arches exist at the Visigothic churches of San Fructuoso and Santa Combe de Bande.

47. Helmut Schlunk, *Arte Visigodo. Arte Asturiano*, Ars Hispaniae, 2 (Madrid, 1947), p. 284.

48. Simón y Nieto advanced the theory that the easternmost section of the crypt was part of a Roman church built some time before 459 when Palencia was destroyed by Theodoric. He believed that it was expanded in 672 when the Visigothic king Wamba supposedly brought the relics of San Antolin from Narbonne. Franciso Simón y Nieto, 'Descubrimientos acqueológicos en la Catedral de Palencia', *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, 14 (1906), pp. 71–79. The majority of scholars date this part of the crypt to the seventh century. Helmut Schlunk believed it is the *confessio* of a two-level *martyrium* built for the relics of San Antolín in 672. Schlunk, *Arte Visigodo*, pp. 283–85. His opinion is followed by Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, I, 197; Rafael Martínez, *La catedral de Palencia. Historia y Arquitectura* (Palencia, 1988), pp. 30–31, and Rollan Ortiz, *La cripta*, p. 20.

49. Cayetano Enriques de Salamanca claims that the transverse arches were once horseshoe shaped and they have been scraped down to their current semicircular shape. Cayetano Enriquez de Salamanca, *Rutas del románico en la provincia de Palencia* (Madrid, 1991), p. 37.

50. This legend probably existed in the eleventh century before Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada wrote down a version in the thirteenth but the exact date and place of its origin remain obscure. Although impossible to take seriously today, it was undoubtedly believed during the Middle Ages. Ximénez de Rada, *De Rebus Hispaniae*, lib. VI, cap. VI cited in Orástegui Gros and Sarasa Sánchez, *Sancho Garces III*, p. 48; González claims the legend was in circulation by the late eleventh century. Julio González, 'Siglos de Reconquista', in *Historia de Palencia*, vol. I, *Edades AntiugaY Media*, ed. by Julio González, 3rd edn (Palencia, 1995), p. 182.

51. Carlos Cid Priego, *Arte prerománico de la monarquía asturiana* (Oviedo, 1995), pp. 169–91.

52. For a thorough state of the question on this monument, see Priego, *Arte prerománico*, pp. 80–91.

53. Manuel Gómez-Moreno, 'La destrucción de la Cámara Santa', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 105 (1934), 605–10.

54. Schlunk, *Arte Visigodo*, pp. 335, 339, 351–52.

55. Priego, *Arte prerománico*, p. 89.

56. Schlunk, *Arte Visigodo*, p. 284.

14. The White Mantle of Churches: Millennial Dynamics and the Written and Architectural Record

RICHARD LANDES

Rodulf Glaber's eloquent passage on church building in the wake of the year 1000, which appears in the third book of his *Five Books of History* (composed c. 1025–44), has captured the imagination of historians since the early years of the profession in the nineteenth century.[1] Symbol of a renewal of Christendom at the turn of the millennium, it inspired the Romantic reading of an apocalyptic year 1000: preceded by paralyzing terrors, followed by the joyous creativity of those whom God had spared, the year 1000 in their reading marked the dawn of European culture. And given how creative and energetic the tradition of architecture would become in the following centuries—that extraordinary period of artistic and technological innovation that produced both Romanesque and Gothic—the text seemed to have a prophetic sense.

But the Romantic notion of a vast renewal at the millesimal cusp underwent a radical revision with the advent of the positivist school of historians at the end of the nineteenth century, producing what one might, for shorthand, entitle the 'anti-terrors' school. This school, pointing to the paucity of documents indicating apocalyptic expectations for the year 1000, insists that that year was passed unnoticed by all but the strange and unstable monk Glaber, and by the mid-twentieth century believed that the 'romantic' fantasy of Michelet had been 'effectively banished from serious medieval historical writing'.[2] For them, the turn of the millennium meant little, a 'middle age' between the Carolingian and twelfth-century renaissances, 'a year like any other'.

The anti-terrors school's insistence on a banal year 1000 which no contemporary noticed obviously ran into trouble with Glaber's *Historiarum*, whose attention to 1000 neither begins nor ends with this striking text. These historians, therefore, challenged Glaber's factual accuracy, claiming, for example, that when we look at the figures for building around 1000, or 1003, these dates mark no noticeable increase in church-building activity.[3] More recently, confronted with the extensive evidence of sustained and intense religious activity in the period around 1000, other historians have emphasized the continuity of these efforts both before and after 1000, considering their occurrence around 1000 as a coincidence.[4] In any case, the lack of noticeable change at this time has often served historians as a way to attack Glaber's credibility and, particularly, his bizarre and obscure specificity about a particular year in which all this supposedly happened. This, too, participates in the argumentation of the anti-terrors school, for which Glaber is something of a whipping boy.[5] Characteristically, these attacks have taken the text at its simplest level, looking to refute his claims by enumerating large churches whose building campaigns had left a documentary trail historians could follow and seizing upon Glaber's specific dating to limit the inquiry.[6]

This passage, as with all 'millennial' evidence from the Middle Ages,[7] is subject broadly speaking to two mutually exclusive readings or interpretations, neither of which can be proven, and each of which historians need to entertain as working hypotheses. Essentially, the reading of documentary traces of millennial belief and activity—a tiny fraction of the surviving written record—has two mutually exclusive implications. On the one hand, many take the virtually total silence on the subject as a sign of indifference. 'Few texts, few beliefs.'[8] In this reading, the few mentions of such apocalyptic beliefs—that is, the sense that one lived at the time of the *Parousia*—are like the flotsam and jetsam of a belief that Augustine had sunk beneath the waves of his theologically rigorous doctrine of the Two Cities in the early fifth century, and thus they played insignificant roles in the events of the period between Augustine's ban and Joachim's daring new historical exegesis in the late twelfth century.[9] On the other, one may read these brief mentions or traces of apocalyptic thinking as the tips of icebergs, as the brief and rare occasions when a momentarily powerful oral discourse—which time's passage has, until now, always proven wrong—managed to push up into a more enduring literary medium that was formally and intrinsically hostile to such—mistaken—sentiments.[10] In this latter reading, silence meant not indifference but denial, denial of beliefs that mattered too much.

Now not every silence means denial, indeed the vast majority probably do mean indifference. But in the case of apocalyptic beliefs, there is ample evidence—both psychological and empirical—to suggest that denial often played a significant role.[11] If we are to be fair to our texts and to the people we study, historians must work with both possibilities as unproven, and perhaps unprovable, working hypotheses. Thus we conceive of both as possible and read the rest of our evidence looking for which hypothesis provides the more likely reading, which resonates more thoroughly with other evidence. And since there is no lack of historians who read the silence as indifference and anything exceptional that occurs around the time of apocalyptic stirrings as coincidence,[12] let me present the alternative reading. I offer the following, then, not as Ranke put it, 'how it actually happened' but as what could have happened, as an exploration of a working hypothesis according to the iceberg school.

William of Volpiano and the Millennium: An Hypothesis

We can read this text as a clue to what some person(s) or group(s) thought was happening in the aftermath of 1000. Whose thoughts do Glaber's comments represent? His alone? Those of his abbot, William of Volpiano, at whose command he started the history?[13] The Cluniac monks? Commoners whom he met in his not infrequent fugues from the monasteries where he resided? The anti-terrors school often assumes that this text springs from the undisciplined mind of Glaber and has no connection to his vastly more sober contemporaries who, they believe, inhabited the turn of the last millennium.[14] And yet Glaber may not even have composed this particular text on the 'white mantle', and if he did, he did so at the bidding of William of Volpiano. Glaber tells us himself that William conceived of the *Historiarum*, chose Glaber as his *amanuensis*, and set the programme as 'the story of the events and prodigies which happened around and after the millesimal year of the Incarnation of the Saviour'.[15]

Glaber elaborated on the theme of 1000 in almost the exact same terms in a preface written after William's death (*c.* 1040). In explaining why he wrote this continuation of his history, Glaber invoked neither William's command nor any from his current abbot, Odilo, to whom he dedicated the history. Rather he claims that the (Cluniac) brothers encouraged him to record 'the many events which occurred with unusual frequency about the millennium of the Incarnation of Christ our Saviour'.[16] It seems clear that, for an audience that included at least the monks of Cluny and probably the larger world of religious revival they describe, the prodigious activity of the millennium served both William of Volpiano and Rodulf Glaber as the dominating symbol of their age.[17] According to this reading, William (d. 1031) conceived a grand narrative focused on the extraordinary events of the millennium of the Incarnation (1000), Rodulf (d. 1045), on those of the millennium of the Passion (1033).[18]

In the passage cited from the *Vita Guillelmi* (after 1031), Glaber recalled how he had written 'the greater part' (*maxima ex parte*) of the events and prodigies surrounding 1000 for William at the time the two men had a dispute and Glaber ran away to another monastery. William implored him to return and finish the job.[19] Many historians have taken this passage to argue that Glaber did not finish most of book 3 until the second draft (1040s), an hypothesis confirmed by the fact that book 3 was written in the same hand as book 4 in Glaber's autograph manuscript.[20] The paleographical evidence does not demand such a conclusion, however. Glaber may have written a nearly complete draft of book 3 under Volpiano's tutelage and then recopied a revised draft later on. I take the expression 'maxima ex parte' to mean that he had written most of the work, conceived in three books, and intended to reach the present by the time he fell out with William in the later 1020s.[21] He could, therefore, have returned in time to complete most of that book before William's death, at which point he might have turned aside to fulfil posthumously William's request that Rodulf write his saint's life.[22] Certainly the contents of book 3 show the strong influence of William; indeed one might call it a panegyric to him.[23] Given how obviously Glaber distanced himself from his former superior after William's death,[24] such laudatory passages as 3. 5. 16 might even suggest that William supervised this section of the work.[25]

If these suppositions are sustainable, our passage on church building, which appears in book 3, falls not only within William's period of dominance but still more within his purview. Indeed, the close connection between William's construction of the wondrous basilica at St Bénigne and the 'white mantle' might lead a cynical historian to dismiss the image and its claims as nothing more than self-aggrandizing exaggeration. The question is not whether the passage is self-aggrandizing—who would deny that, including Glaber?[26]—but what else might it be? Does William live in a fantasy world, or merely one in which his personal exaggerations articulate a much wider world of such activity.[27]

In any case, one can reasonably conjecture that this passage not only passed William's muster, but articulated his vision. Indeed, when one considers how vital a role this passage plays in presenting and promoting William's work only two chapters later, one might even suspect that its splendid intonations and audacious scope come from the dictation of the great abbot himself, rather than from the initiative of his obstreperous assistant. It may even be that William dictated a phrase like 'as if the very world itself were shaking itself free, shrugging off the burden of the past, and cladding itself with a white mantle of churches', using images that he had already made current in the oral discourse of his circle of disciples although, it should be stressed, there is no independent evidence that William did so.[28]

What did William of Volpiano have in mind with this historiographical agenda? What is this millesimal framework Glaber mentions on two occasions, and why would William have chosen to communicate it, not through a work of theology such as his successor John of Fécamp would pen,[29] but through a work of history?[30] Rather than address the timeless verities, William sought to record the great deeds and events of a generation at the same time as he gave us the hermeneutical key to his own behaviour among the great men of the age. It will take quite a while for modern historians to mine this particular vein of meaning which this one major player in the events of the day managed to articulate.[31] But it seems to fit into the framework of a 'millennial generation',[32] and reflects a vision in which, at this time, a new and intense commitment to Christianity had made Europe—after all, Glaber speaks of the *Christicolae*, not *Christiani* innovating these churches.

First, let us note the exceptional imagery of the passage, this sense of renewal, of the dawning of a new day, springtime for the Church and Europe. The metaphor of 'shrugging off the burden of the past' has an unusual ring when considered against the backdrop of a tenaciously conservative elite culture with a rhetorical attachment to the 'old' as good and the 'new' as bad,[33] with a deeply pessimistic discourse about the course of human history running down towards its eschatological finale. Until this millennial generation, no historian openly challenged the paradigmatic vision of a *senectus mundi* (old age of the world), winding down into chaos and collapse.[34] And yet both Rodulf Glaber and Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg, within a decade of each other, coin striking expressions of a new beginning.[35] And twenty years later, in a preface probably written around 1040, Glaber gave expression to a theology of the Holy Trinity promising '*nova*' (new things) until the very last day, a conception of history with no counterpart until the millennial exegeses of Joachim of Fiore.[36] Like his passage on the churches, this notion has a prophetically 'true' sense. European culture has undergone constant transformation from Glaber's day to ours, with more novelty every passing year.[37]

I have already laid out what I think are the major lines of William's 'millennial' programme in an earlier article.[38] Let me review them briefly here. William wanted to present the advent of the millennium as a dramatic turning point in both Church history and, accordingly, the history of mankind. Already in trouble with Augustine, for whom the history of mankind from the Incarnation to the *Parousia* was, by design, homogeneous, opaque to any efforts to read stages in salvation history,[39] William, according to my hypothesis, went even further, presenting the advent of 1000 as inaugurating an ecclesiastical millennium in which the renewed Church brought the saving grace of God to earth, transforming it from a world of war and injustice to one of peace and prosperity.[40] At long last the world saw a generation whose populace flocked eagerly to churches and whose kings listened to the admonishments of its priests and abbots. William conceived of and executed the elaborate embodiment of this ideology in which the light of the heavenly kingdom becomes incarnate in the stones of the Church's basilica at Dijon (1001–18), especially the *oculus* at the top of the eastwork whose light penetrated down into the crypt.[41] In a sense, St Bénigne represents a precocious attempt at just what Suger did so spectacularly with his basilica at St Denis. The stones of the earthly Church gave shape to light of the heavenly.

The millesimal year, Anno Domini 1000, then, represents the point when the Church at last delivered the wondrous promises of the Lord. Now, under the inspired, wise, and faithful guidance of the Church, secular society could at last transform itself into the millennial kingdom: 'The spear rejoices to become a scythe, the sword to become a ploughshare. Peace brings riches to the lowly and impoverishes the mighty.'[42] Of course, such an eschatological reading of this reform programme violated Augustine's radical asceticism about millennial fantasizing.[43] There will be no 'earthly millennium' of peace and justice, he insisted, and no one should dare announce its advent. No one may read the present as a fulfilment of millennial, even apocalyptic, prophecies, especially not the Book of Revelation.[44] Even someone who argued something as conservative and hierarchical as the notion that the Church's dominion marked the completion of the earthly process, as Eusebius had previously argued for the Christian Roman Empire, failed to understand.[45] Everyone and every institution, even the earthly Church, is a *corpus permixtum* of good and evil. To attach so extensive a messianic role to the historical Church of the millesimal cusp of 1000 years from Jesus' life was an act of great boldness which only the pro-ecclesiastical bias of the error saved from heresy.

And, as Augustine would have predicted, William was wrong. Human history continued to play out with good and evil, with corruption and integrity among both leaders and followers. The earthly Church of 1000, far from solely playing the role of beneficent peacemaker, found itself forced to purify this recalcitrant world of its evil—to persecute heretics and Jews as apocalyptic enemies.[46] By the time Glaber died, it had been through several waves of reform and failure. In retrospect, life was clearly more complicated and disappointing than millennial enthusiasm imagined.

But in millennial studies, 'wrong' hardly means inconsequential. Just because William may have overestimated the Church's ability to bring the heavenly Jerusalem to earth, hardly means that he and his fellow *christicolae* of this millennial generation, from the greatest abbots and popes and pious kings to the simplest peasants striving to live the apostolic life, might not have conceived of their religious activities in just such a manner. And whatever we want to call the unintended results, they are best studied and understood as the product of a millennial project to create the kingdom of heaven on earth.[47]

Pax Dei and Church Building

Here I would like to consider the role of church building in this larger process. But first, let us begin with the activity that Glaber's text specifically related to the church building in the wake of 1000, the discovery of relics:

> When the whole world was, as we have said, clothed in a white mantle of new churches, a little later, in the eighth year after the millennium of the Saviour's Incarnation, the relics of many saints were revealed by various signs where they had long lain hidden. It was as

> though they had been waiting for a brilliant resurrection and were now by God's permission revealed to the gaze of the faithful; certainly they brought much comfort to men's minds.[48]

This 'brilliant resurrection' resembles nothing in social, as opposed to artistic or ecclesiastical, terms so clearly as the Peace of God, another of Glaber's—but not William's—most passionate and millennial themes. Indeed, in the decade before the millesimal year of the Incarnation, the Peace councils of the southern regions had produced the unprecedented phenomenon of masses of people, following relics often in statuesque majesty, to vast open-air assemblies.[49] There a scarcely domesticated warrior elite, made recently more aggressive and oppressive with the spread of castles, was temporarily brought to heel by saints' miracles and the enthusiastic *vox populi* these healings unleashed. The historian of the Peace as well as that of the architecture of the period needs to remember that before and during the development of the 'white mantle of churches' the middling aristocracy had covered France with a grey mantle of castles, from behind whose safety these men and their *milites* had sallied forth to plunder the countryside.[50]

Indeed no movement before, and few after, the *Pax Dei* so closely resembles the classic millennial vision that Jacques Le Goff depicted over a generation ago: from the terrifying catastrophes of the birth pangs, through vast and passionate acts of collective penitence and forgiveness, to the joys of the new world.[51] These are precisely the dynamics of the great council of 994 outside Limoges, and again those of Glaber's description of the wave of councils at the millennium of the Passion in 1033.[52]

If William's supposed ecclesiastical millennium already flirted with heterodoxy, the *Pax Dei* went still further and, not surprisingly, provoked violent denunciations from the more traditional and conservative bishops of imperial bent, men like Adalbero of Laon and Gerard of Cambrai.[53] It is probably not an accident, then, that in the part of Glaber's *Historiarum* commissioned by William—the first three books—the Peace never gets a mention, despite both its spectacular beginnings in the 990s and Cluny's active role in that early phase.[54] William had gone far enough with his own musings and kept his distance from even more subversively millennial activities. But Glaber, who apparently clashed with William over precisely how 'millennial' to get in interpreting the year 1000,[55] embraced the *Pax Dei* as the central event of the second millesimal year, 1033, in his own part of the work.[56]

In this sense, Glaber may ultimately have reflected Odilo's more demotic, Cluniac vision that embraced the Peace of God rather than William's more aristocratic and authoritarian approach. Indeed, Cluny's sponsorship of the Truce of God, especially in 1041, retained an astonishing millennial component. Here concern shifted from the Peace's protection of certain groups, namely the unarmed, at all times, to the banning of fighting entirely at certain key times: no fighting every week for four days, Thursday through Sunday, in commemoration of the Passion of the Lord. This legislation sought to prune back the excesses of the warrior class by imparting to the secular world the blessings and the spiritual rhythms of monastic communities, those islands of 'realized eschatology' in a fallen world.[57] Not until the demotic kingships of the thirteenth century would one find so ambitious a project for reforming the *saeculum*.[58] One should not underestimate the enthusiasm that a demotic Church movement elicited in the population of heretofore indifferent, if not hostile, commoners.[59] As one hagiographer described the crowds flowing to an open-air Peace assembly: 'To see them was as if to see a new Israel, having left the servitude of Egypt, and following Moses into the promised land.'[60]

Relics, Peace assemblies, popular enthusiasm for a demotic Christianity, and devotion to a clergy willing publicly to embrace its own, biblical, values of peace and the spiritual dignity of all—these are socio-religious foundations of the campaigns of church building that appear to have marked the turn of the millennium.[61] In a sense the Romantic's intuition had sensed the dynamic without quite understanding it. It was not a simple hydraulic model of paralyzing fear followed by invigorated relief that built the churches of the new millennium. We would do better rather to consider how expectation of God's judgment—often the catastrophic scenario that breeds anxiety (the official, Augustinian one) transformed into an active working to bring God's justice and mercy to earth on the fields of Peace assemblies.

The range and intensity of popular enthusiasm represents the new element in the picture the documents convey of 'medieval' 'Christendom'. These suggest a different social response to the advent of a great apocalyptic 'date' from the earlier western experiences with the advent of 6000 *Annus Mundi* (500 and 801 CE). There an imperial, top-down vision of how the heavenly Jerusalem descended towards earth emphasized hierarchy and sought to reform and conserve existing institutions of power, especially the Church and the monarchy. In the best documented case, that of Charlemagne, crowned emperor at the opening of the year 6000 *Annus Mundi II*, it combined a denial of the date with a hierarchical reform programme. On the one hand, the Carolingians, following Bede, dated AD, rather than the apocalyptic AM II (6000 = AD 801).[62] They could thus officially insist that the year of the coronation had no millennial significance despite both the longstanding tradition, recorded as early as the second century CE, that the messianic millennium would come at the end of the sixth millennium since the creation of the world, and the Merovingian proclivity for calculating the number of years remaining 'ut istud milliarium impleatur' ('so that this millennium might be fulfilled').[63] In Bede's newly popular chronology, the year 6000 AM II was 'merely' 801, a year like any other. At the same time, just in case some might not find so elegant a solution to dismissing apocalyptic hopes and fears compelling, Carolingian elites sought to repress popular forms of religious expression[64] and emit from above a unified message, via a reformed clergy, promising a society run on principles of fairness and judicial honesty.[65]

To a section of the population that believes it stands on the edge of apocalyptic redemption, and punishment, and knows not what God asks of his faithful at the final hour, who view aristocrats as greedy and violent rather than beneficent and public-minded, a promise of reformed honesty among those in power must have seemed quite attractive, and may have drawn people away from indulging more violent apocalyptic fantasies. At one level, it could work as reassurance: it could claim that the chaotic apocalyptic collapse was not at hand—hence proponents used *non*-apocalyptic dating systems; the reforms also permitted them to argue that the ship of state had a steady hand at the helm, and people of sounder mind (*sanioris animi*[66]) looked forward to a long and prosperous future. Modern historians who dismiss the role of apocalyptic expectations privilege these men's writings without considering the larger context in which they may have appeared.

At another level, however, reforming promises could connect with more millennial fantasies, ones that saw the new regime inaugurating not a restoration of the 'good old days', but rather a new, messianic age.[67] 'Last Emperors' who should have presided over the advent of the heavenly kingdom on earth, like Constantine, Charlemagne, Otto III, and Frederick I and II, inaugurated many of the great imperial projects of Christianity in its first two millennia.[68] Thus, if 1000 were an apocalyptic date that loomed in the future for generations beforehand, one could expect at its approach to find the leaders of the society making extensive efforts to reform both Church and state 'top-down', a trend we can safely expect the documents produced by their scribes to reflect. And sure enough, such efforts found striking and ardent proponents in the millesimal year of the Incarnation—in particular that remarkable alliance between Emperor Otto III, born to the purple, and Pope Sylvester II, born an Auvergnat commoner—with the grand Ottonian project of *renovatio imperii*. The only surprise is with what passionate, indeed pathological, intensity Otto pursued the project, which may have driven him to a youthful and childless death in 1002 of fever while on campaign in Italy.[69] Charlemagne and Otto III stand out as the most striking illustrations of such *pre*-apocalyptic top-down reforming activity, the former with the *translatio imperii* of the year 6000 *Annus Mundi*, the latter with the *renovatio imperii* of the year 1000 Anno Domini.

Such top-down reforming drives have several motives and several major manifestations, but they all share a rhetorical emphasis on the hierarchical and a deep hostility to the forces of social disorder. They conceive of the ultimate struggle as one between the good forces of order and the evil forces of chaos, and look forward to the triumph of their own good order. Bottom-up forces are, accordingly, viewed as threats, as symptoms of disorder, as sources of danger and evil.

It is in this framework that one might understand a good deal of the church building that occurs both before and after the millennial date of 1033. Top-down projects, conceived and financed by powerful and wealthy figures, serving at once a political and a hierarchical religious end, fit nicely into such strategies. Church building served to enhance the royal majesty as well as his privileged relationship with the Church, in particular with the monastic revivals of the tenth century.[70] More broadly speaking, there is no more potent and concrete a symbol of hierarchical power and effectiveness than massive stone monuments. Thus one might expect any reforming movement—royal, episcopal, monastic—to use great architecture to demonstrate its grandeur, and all the more, movements whose audiences are at once troubled and excited by the most fundamental and enduring Christian promise—the apocalyptic *Parousia* of Christ.

But the way in which men of such times represented their reform activity orally to those whom they wished to recruit in the effort may have had more explicit apocalyptic referents than the blander literary discourse which closely adhered to the Augustinian strictures with which every clerical writer had been trained.[71] Granted very few made open allusions to the apocalyptic and millennial significance of 1000 in writing. Did no one emphasizing the reforms that preceded and, hopefully, survived such a date mention it orally either? We cannot know. But it is a fair guess to venture that oral discourse stretched farther into forbidden terrain and took more varied forms than our laconic and retrospectively sifted sources tell us. In broad terms, we can suggest as a working hypothesis that oral discourse went from the denial of the date, so prominent in writing, to an embrace of its eschatological meaning, found explicitly only in Glaber.

What was the mix? Each such reforming drive, obviously, differed, and surely differed from place to place, region to region. The gambit of denial—both of an apocalyptic date and of any millennial possibilities at the *Parousia*—clearly dominated in the more disciplined ecclesiastical circles. Augustine's theological orthodoxy here demanded denial,[72] a strategy whose value at the approach of an apocalyptic date drew to its position virtually anyone responsible enough to realize the dangers involved in discussing millennial dates in front of the non-initiated. Hence possibly young Abbo's outrage at the cleric in Paris still—as late as 970—preaching to the crowd about the coming of the *Parousia* in 1000.[73] This was, of course, an old story by 1000 CE. At the advent of each of the two earlier 'great dates' of the sabbatical millennium—500 CE and 801 CE—the dating systems that identified them as the apocalyptic date of 6000 became the object of dispute, with some counting down the years to the advent of the millennium, and others insisting on a corrected chronology that put off the apocalyptic date. The latter school won on both occasions and the apocalyptic chronology disappeared from literate discourse. Thus at the approach of the year 6000 AM I, responsible clerics, taking their signals from Augustine/Orosius (5917 AM I), identified that date (500 CE) as 5699 in their 'new' chronology (AM II); and the year 6000 AM II, Carolingian computists, taking their signals from Bede (5902 AM II), identified that date (801 CE) as Anno Domini 801 and 4753 AM III.[74] Very rarely have texts that dated those years as 6000 *Annus Mundi* survived.

Thus Abbo is actually in good company here. He represents a group of clerics who, over the course of the final century, before a great apocalyptic date, went from being an embattled minority, initially, as in the case of Eusebius and Bede, of one,[75] to dominating the literary output of the—no longer—millennial year.[76] The master of this Augustinian discourse in 1000 was Gerbert, who eschewed every opportunity to connect his astounding ascension to the papacy in 999 with the advent of the millennial year.[77] Such figures obviously appeal to modern scholars since they show a level-headedness about the date that clearly, retrospectively, showed foresight.[78]

But it seems safe to conjecture that reforms fly with great difficulty on the wings of denial and sobriety alone, and one can hear in the urgent voices of the reformers, even filtered by the heavy retrospective hand of the scribes, passions that surely found greater voice in an oral discourse we can only imagine for lack of documentation.[79] Here, where people of every kind engaged in discourse, where rude rustics clamoured to know how many years remained[80] and undisciplined clerics promised them the fulfilment of apocalyptic promises at the coming date,[81] where imperial troops panicked at the advent of an eclipse before battle because they feared it signalled the end of the world,[82] the apocalyptic year held a greater place. In such circles, whether the Church or any of its representatives were able to cleave to denial, possibly like Gerbert, or ended up embracing the advent of an apocalyptic date, possibly like

William of Volpiano, the independent variable lay among a lay population who had been fed on promises and threats of Jesus's return since the first day of their introduction to Christianity.[83] And if some of these other Christians—the laity, the commoners—thought such a date approached, then at the anticipated moment the Church certainly wanted people, both lay and clerical, to identify her with the woman clothed in the sun (Rev. 12), not the whore of Babylon (Rev. 17). Written denial made eminent sense; denial in oral discourse could backfire.

Thus we need to allow the possibility of others among the elite who may have flirted with more radical notions, who linked the coming millennial date positively to the reform. These might argue that the successful accomplishment of the reform was part of the divine plan for the millennium, that the reform worked towards building the kingdom of God on earth. This last option, of course, represents a heretical embrace of millennialism so vigorously denied by Augustine, what Arquillère called 'augustinisme politique'.[84] Here Charlemagne appears as the Last Emperor of the Sabbatical Millennium. Obviously such rhetoric, however popular at the time, would not find favour among those who recorded the ideas of their generation *sub specie aeternitatis*, all the more so among subsequent generations of scribes and record keepers who could see only too painfully how far short of such dreams reality had fallen. Such readings therefore rarely made their way, verbatim, into the texts.[85]

And yet, we cannot forget that this less official tendency would have had its attractions at the time, that is, before the date had passed, before neither the earthly millennium nor the Last Judgment had disproved expectations. Apocalyptic rhetoric ranks among the most powerful motivators, and one does not easily pass up the opportunity to use it, especially when one believes that one's reforming efforts are an integral part of a vast drama of cosmic salvation.[86] We can, in the rare cases when an exceptionally rich documentation survives, confirm the existence of people, like Ademar of Chabannes, who in official writings maintained an adherence to the official Augustinian line of denial while, at the same time, indulging in some fairly creative, and not always sober, flights of apocalyptic 'reform' fancy.[87] And so we should take seriously William of Volpiano's *amanuensis* Glaber when he tells us in so many words that William thought that he and his colleagues, like Odilo of Cluny, were inaugurating the ecclesiastical millennium—that is, to paraphrase Arquillère, they were 'guilty' of *augustinisme ecclésiastique*. Granted it sounds outrageous. That could explain why it so rarely found expression in writing. But as bad as it may have sounded to later, and wiser, generations, it would have sounded terribly exciting to an aroused generation that believed it lived at the great and final turning point in sacred history. Should we dismiss Glaber as an unreliable gossip, an individual piece of apocalyptic flotsam and jetsam,[88] or view him as the tip of a broad iceberg of belief that dominated the discourse—lay and clerical—of his day but remains largely hidden from us beneath the surface of the written record?

It is in the context of such a battle between—retrospectively correct—Augustinian orthodoxy and a heretical millennialism even in clerical circles that I would interpret both the monastic and imperial reform and the historiographical endeavours of the millennial generations (960s to 1000, 1000 to 1030s). Here, in Germany/Italy, Otto III sat on the Aventine hill in Rome, with his compulsive search for the detailed protocols of the *renovatio imperii*, the embodiment of a top-down, authoritarian response to a looming apocalyptic date.[89] There, in Francia, bishops waved 'letters from heaven' calling for an end to feuding and absolute peace, and gathered vast crowds around wonder-working relics in a revivalist atmosphere as a way to bring down God's peace upon his new chosen people, a new approach to such dates, one anticipating the great Allelulia of the Joachite century.[90] And in between, indeed around 1000, literally at the hinge of these two tendencies, among the wide range of reforming movements, we find Cluny's extraordinary importance—reformers of monasteries, advisors to rulers, and sponsors of the Peace of God.[91]

Conclusion

A millennial 'iceberg' reading of 1000 would suggest that the exceptional success of Cluny at this time lies in its exceptional ability to combine both demotic and hierarchical elements of Christianity, to give a constructive and ecclesiastically approved venue for popular millennial enthusiasm. In this context we can read both its immense monastic success, to the point of creating a mutation in monastic movements around 1000,[92] and its support for so many popular enthusiasms—pilgrimage, public penitential processions, *Pax* and *Treuga Dei*—as expressions of its ability to address and channel the hopes and fears of an apocalyptic age successfully. The revolutionary popularity of the new monastic ideology, which called for a demotic kingship that the humiliated Robert II filled admirably well, outraged some of the more conservative thinkers of the age.[93] And yet, for a long and powerful moment, Cluny under Odilo sat astride the revitalized world of Latin Christendom in the millennial generations (990s–1040s). That the vision was unstable and produced dangerous tendencies towards violence,[94] or that the trends so prominent at the time receded in the succeeding generation,[95] should surprise no serious reader of history. But that it 'therefore' never played its hours on the world stage nor had consequences, intended and unintended, seems a dubious conjecture.[96]

One might even venture a generalization, surely subject to many qualifications. Before the advent of 1000, most monastic reform and church building could have represented the same kind of top-down efforts of elites to retain and extend control over an increasingly restive population that marked the Carolingian approach to the advent of 6000 AM II. The first crack in this model came with the first wave of popular Peace assemblies (985–95), which made significant concessions to popular enthusiasm. It briefly empowered commoners to a degree unprecedented in the history of the Christian West.[97] This loosening of standards,[98] and unprecedented receptiveness of ecclesiastical structures to popular enthusiasm and demotic ideologies,[99] became one of the most striking features of the age. Indeed, at the approach of the second millennial date of 1033, a second wave of Peace assemblies proved still more widespread, namely in southern and northern France.[100] 'Bottom-up' forces swelled the mass of pilgrims with their *rustica cantilena* (rustic songs) and dances around the relics of the saints, as well as their panics and terrors. And such popular passions appear to have played an unusual role in the building of churches in this period.[101]

The link, moreover, seems multiple: great basilicas for the great relics that pilgrims came in vast numbers to see, and smaller local churches that allowed a congregation to worship and organize their lives together. This may well be what Glaber indicated with his remarks about smaller places, even places that already had good structures but wanted to enlarge them. In this sense, the 'white mantle of churches' may well represent the Church's response, via the Peace movement, to the grey mantle of castles that had just spread its ominous grip across the land. It is the Europe not only of the great cathedrals and monastic basilicas, but also of a host of congregational churches, where a newly interested commoner laity began to imbibe a newly articulated Christianity.

Readers should not take such remarks as identifying a wide-ranging shift that transformed everything of a sudden. The overwhelming weight of medieval high culture adhered to the top-down model of authoritarian societies like the Roman Empire. Church building continued to derive from the decisions and the symbolic statements of the few; and most of the churches in the period between 950 and 1050, as the contributors to this volume have shown, contain strong and common elements of continuity. Looking at this larger picture of what Grodecki called *le siècle de l'an mil*, one can consider the 'white mantle' that Glaber, and arguably William, trumpeted so triumphantly in the mid-1020s as either a flash in the pan, or even the fantasy of some semiotically aroused rhetorician. But one might also consider this literary passage as reflecting on an early and brilliant expression of energies that by mid-century had settled into a more constrained core of trends—popular relic worship, pilgrimage, the drive for high stone arches defining vast indoor spaces, a building culture of constant technological innovation—that worked their way, with varying speeds, out from France to places like Norman England and Reconquista Spain.

To look to 1000 for clear examples of forms that later Romanesque and Gothic wrought is like looking for signs of modern science in the origins of printing. Printing triggered vast changes that took generations to take form and register on the public culture that historians notice.[102] Similarly, one might read the wave of church building that Glaber describes while still William's *amanuensis* as an indicator of a rare and privileged moment of institutional enthusiasm, an ideal briefly glimpsed and briefly carried out that, precisely because it was so fruitful, had most of its immediate efforts overcome by still larger and more substantial structures in centuries to come. Looking at the eleventh-century nave of Tournus, however, one sees plainly the excited determination not only of the conceivers but also of the labourers who carried out such daring work, to soar as high in stone as possible. Well before the technology permitted, we see the desire for the great structures of the thirteenth century.

Thus, one might read the year 1003, or the period after 1000, as the launching of this new, 'popular' Christianity, which rode on ideologies of social peace, apostolic virtues, and the freedoms of the pilgrim and tradesman to travel to and venerate the relics or sell the goods of their choice. Building churches not only emanated from orders, funds, and symbolic programmes generated from high in the hierarchy—the norm in medieval culture—but also, anomalously, from forces working their way up from below, from the desires and demands of a religiously aroused populace. Indeed, as historians have pointed out repeatedly, the eleventh century marks the beginning of public opinion as a major factor in European history, a public opinion aroused and channelled by the Church into Peace assemblies, ecclesiastical reform of the priesthood, and crusades.[103] William of Volpiano, the Italian aristocrat working in the demotic regions of western Francia, serves as the exception that illuminates the—new—trend. He may have wanted to emphasize the hierarchical elements of his vision of reform, not only because he was an aristocrat by birth and personality and a major political actor in the courts of powerful rulers, but also because he was flirting with such exceptionally heterodox notions as an open embrace of the millennial date and an *augustinisme ecclésiastique*. Thus, his basilica reflected the aristocratic layout of Carolingian churches, with the separate, lower nave for lay commoners, reserving the mystical stones of the rotunda, modelled on the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and illumined by the *oculus*, for the initiate. But, like his authoritarian Carolingian colleagues, William left a brittle and short-lived legacy. 'Top-down' imperial millennial reforms tend to splinter and collapse soon after an apocalyptic date—the collapse of Charlemagne's empire (by 6040 AM II), the collapse of the *renovatio imperii* following Gerbert and Otto III's deaths (1002–03), and the disappearance of William of Volpiano's own 'empire' of reformed monasteries soon after his death in 1031.[104]

The new trends in architecture that had a prosperous future welcomed the commoners, levelling the floor and allowing pilgrims to walk all around the church. St Bénigne of Dijon was extraordinary and impressive, but an architectural dead end—no one copied its floor plan, nor drew on its innovative eastwork in the generations to come. St Martial of Limoges and St Martin of Tours, on the other hand, with their level floor plan and ambulatories for droves of pilgrims circulating all the way through the church from west to east end and back, represented the wave of the future. These pilgrim churches led, over the course of a century and a half of technological advances, to a new kind of stone-embodied light-mysticism accessible not merely to the initiate few, but to all who entered the basilica. Similarly those organizations that embraced the social currents of the *Pax Dei*, like Cluny and those bishops who encouraged merchants and tradesmen, even Jews, to gather in their *sauvetés* (protected zones), made room for the commoner and contributed to a slow but massive change in the rules of European society. In so doing, they were inspired by and encouraged the awakening energies of Europe, seen in communes, forest clearance, social creativity, and apostolic religiosity, that gave birth to an economic and technological expansion few cultures have ever witnessed, and which continued to wax unabated for over three centuries.[105] This would explain how the 'backward' and chaotic world of western Francia could, in the course of the eleventh century, so dramatically outdistance the cultured and ordered world of eastern Francia, with its brilliant 'Ottonian' renaissance of intellectual and artistic schools.

This, then, is the general picture that might emerge from a 'millennial' reading of Glaber's passage on the 'white mantle of churches'. Conjectural, unable to offer proof, such a reading cannot impose itself on historians. It is easy to reject (especially for those unfamiliar with the workings of so strange a phenomenon as millennialism), harder to understand and explore, but also far richer and connected to a wide range of phenomena. The argument that either nothing very important has happened or that, whatever did happen, millennialism played no role of any importance, treats most phenomena as discrete entities with little connection, for example, between heresy and church building, between pilgrimage and apocalyptic fears. What historians of all kinds—art, culture, religion, technology, economics, politics—make of such an approach would be interesting to discover.[106]

NOTES

1. Rodulf Glaber, *Historiarum*, 3.4, in Rodulfus Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories*, ed. and trans. by John France (Oxford, 1989), pp. 114–16. On the nineteenth-century uses of the 'terrors of the year 1000', see Christian Amalvi, 'L'historiographie française face à l'avènement d'Hugues Capet et aux terreurs de l'an mil: 1799–1987', in *De l'art et la manière d'accommoder les héros de l'histoire de France: Essais de mythologie nationale*, ed. by Amalvi (Paris, 1988), pp. 115–45.

2. For a full bibliography and analysis of this school, see R. Landes, 'The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Historiography, Medieval and Modern', *Speculum*, 75 (2000), 97–146, esp. pp. 97–101. The quotation comes from David Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought* (Baltimore, 1962), p. 79. Similar sentiments flourished at the approach of 2000, especially in the 'popular' press, including Jean Delumeau's frustrated appeal to wring the legend's neck ('La grande peur de l'an 2000? L'angoisse du vide', *Le nouvel observateur*, 1282 (1–7 June 1989), 38; same hostility from Jacques Le Goff, 'Faut-il avoir peur de l'an 2000?' *Télérama*, 2086 (3 January 1990), 8–10, and Bernard McGinn, quoted by Patricia Bernstein, 'Terror in A.D. 1000', *Smithsonian*, 30 (1999), 119.

3. Ferdinand Lot, 'Le mythe des "Terreurs de l'an mille"', *Mercure de France*, 300 (1947), 646; reprinted, *Recueil des travaux historiques de Ferdinand Lot* (Geneva, 1970), III, 405.

4. 'Il ne faut pas attendre 1003 comme le disait Raoul Glaber pour que l'Occident "se couvre d'un blanc manteau d'églises". Cette phrase, qui a connu tant de succès, mais qui a fait aussi tant de ravages [apparently *historiographical* ravages], ne rend pas compte de la réalité [...]': Pierre Riché, *Les grandeurs de l'an mille* (Paris, 1999), p. 230; see also idem, *Histoire du Christianisme*, vol. IV (Paris, 1993), p. 838.

5. 'Ce moine, infiniment curieux, crédule, instable, gyrovague, psychopathe, qui vit dans la familiarité du diable [...]' Robert-Henri Bautier, 'L'Hérésie d'Orléans et le mouvement intellectuel au début du XI^e^ siècle: documents et hypothèses', *Actes du 95e Congrès national des sociétés savantes, Section de philologie et d'histoire jusqu'à 1610* (Paris, 1975) p. 67.

6. See, e.g., Lot, 'Le mythe'.

7. I use millennial here loosely to designate a wide range of material that includes both apocalyptic expectations (sense of the imminence of the *Parousia* or return of Christ), chronological eschatology (dating the end, as in the cases of 6000 *Annus Mundi*, or Anno Domini 1000, 1260, 1533, 1843, etc.), and full fledged millennialism (expectation of God's kingdom *on earth*). By contrast I use millesimal to refer specifically to the year 1000 as a date, regardless of whether it carries eschatological freight or not, in this I echo Glaber's usage of the term which traditionally has a different connotation in English. For more detailed definitions and a discussion of the remarkably enduring effort to 'put off' the end of the world until the end of the millennium from *c.* 100 to *c.* 1100, see Landes, 'The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000', pp. 110–18; on the issue of 6000 AM, which fell twice in the early medieval period (500 and 801), see below, notes 11, 62. For a discussion of the methodological issues in dealing with the documentary record of millennial phenomena, see R. Landes, 'On Owls, Roosters, and Apocalyptic Time: A Historical Method for Reading a Refractory Documentation', *Union Seminary Quarterly Review*, 49 (1996), 165–85.

8. 'Les terreurs [...] n'ont pas existé, ou bien que si elles se sont produites chez certains esprits, elles ont été le fait d'une très faible minorité, car nulle trace n'en est demeurée dans les textes': Lot, 'Le mythe', p. 407; see Landes, 'The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000', pp. 104–10.

9. Augustine played a key role in articulating a profoundly anti-millennial and anti-apocalyptic theology, insisting (1) that the 'thousand years' of messianic peace do not lie in the future but already began with the Church, (2) that this millennium already in progress does not bring peace on earth because it is visible only in the heavenly city, (3) that mankind awaits therefore only the Last Judgment, and (4) that both history and current events are so radically opaque that no one can 'read' the signs of the end. See Landes, 'The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000', pp. 104–06; Robert Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of Saint Augustine* (Cambridge, 1970), and Paula Fredriksen, 'Tyconius and Augustine on *Revelation*', in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. by R. Emmerson and B. McGinn (Ithaca, 1992), pp. 20–37. The belief that Augustine put an end to this-worldly millennial beliefs because his position dominated exegetical work on the Book of Revelation for the next 700 years has become the standard position of most modern historians on the subject of millennialism, from Gibbon in 1776 (*The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. 15, Modern Library Edition (New York, [n.d.]), I, 303–05) to the present generation of specialists (e.g. Robert Lerner, 'The Medieval Return of the Thousand-Year Sabbbath', in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Emmerson and McGinn, pp. 51–58). See below, at note 44. On Joachim, who first reintroduced into legitimate theological circles the expectation of a coming, earthly millennium, see below, note 36.

10. See a more elaborate explanation of these remarks in Landes, 'On Owls, Roosters, and Apocalyptic Time'.

11. See below on 6000, R. Landes, '*Millenarismus absconditus*: L'historiographie augustinienne et l'An Mil', *Le Moyen Age*, 98.3–4 (1992), 355–77; and idem, 'Lest the Millennium Be Fulfilled: Apocalyptic Expectations and the Pattern of Western Chronography, 100–800 C.E.', in *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, ed. by W. D. F. Verbeke, D. Verhelst, and A. Welkenhysen, Medievalia Lovaniensia ser. 1, studia 15 (Louvain, 1988), pp. 137–211.

12. For the most recent expressions of the 'flotsam and jetsam' readings of the anti-terrors school, see Dominique Barthélemy, *L'an mil et la paix de Dieu: La France chrétienne et féodale 980–1060* (Paris, 1999), pp. 139–50; and Sylvain Gougueneheim, *Les fausses terreurs de l'an mille: Attente de la fin du monde ou approfondissement de la foi?* (Paris, 1999), pp. 56–63.

13. William of Volpiano (962–1031) was one of the most exceptional monastic reformers of the period, eclipsed only by Odilo—and that, only retrospectively, since in 1000, William was much older and more experienced than the newly appointed abbot of Cluny. See Glaber's *Vita sancti Guillelmi abbatis Divionensis*, ed. by Neithard Bulst, trans. by John France and Paul Reynolds, in *The Five Books*, pp. 254–99; see also Niethard Bulst, *Untersuchungen zu den Klosterreformen Wilhelms von Dijon (962–1031)* (Bonn, 1973).

14. Barthélemy, *L'an mil et la paix*, pp. 159–60.

15. 'Ipsius namque imperio maxima iam ex parte eventuum ac prodigiorum, que circa et infra Incarnati Salvatoris annnum contigere millesimum, descripseram.' *Vita Guillelmi*, 13; *The Five Books*, pp. 294–95.

16. 'Non secius ergo quae dicuntur, quin solito multiplicius circa millesimum humanati Christi Salvatoris contigerunt annum.' *Historiarum*, 1.1; *The Five Books*, pp. 2–3.

17. Christopher Brooke noted that 'our period [tenth–twelfth centuries] then, was one of rapid change. But to the men who lived through it, change came as a thief in the night. They saw too little of it, we are in danger of seeing too much' (*Europe in the Central Middle Ages, 962–1154* (London, 1964), p. 3). Glaber's text suggests that around 1000, the changes Brooke describes took shape at so phenomenal a pace that even contemporaries noticed them and felt them a central characteristic of the age.

18. For a more extended analysis of the millennial historiography here, see Richard Landes, 'Rodulfus Glaber and the Dawn of the New Millennium: Eschatology, Historiography and the Year 1000', *Revue Mabillon*, n.s., 7 [= o.s. 68] (1996), 57–77.

19. For an analysis of this incident, see Landes, 'Rodulfus Glaber and the Dawn', pp. 72–73. A reading of *Historiarum* 3.16 suggests the self-promotion of William which Glaber subtly criticizes in his concluding remark.

20. *The Five Books*, pp. xliv–xlv; but cf. G. Cavallo and G. Orlandi, *Rodolfo il Glabro, Cronache dell'anno Mille* (Milan, 1989), pp. ix–xxii.

21. See text, above note 15. The 'majority' refers explicitly to the 'events and prodigies', but since these are the main topic, and laid out by books and chapters, I take the remark to refer as well to the 'majority of the work'. One could argue that this means he had written specifically most of the events around 1000 (i.e. most of book 3). I think the urgency of William's request to finish the work and the fact that the passages that glorify William appear early in book 3, suggest that this 'last' book had not yet been composed, and that the parting of ways that William's vision sought to repair concerned Glaber's egregious defiance of Augustinian norms found at the end of book 2.

22. On the unusual nature of this request, overlooked by most historians, see below, note 24.

23. Glaber reports on experiences late in the 1020s in William's company (e.g. *Historiarum* 4.3.7; *The Five Books*, pp. 182–85).

24. Dedication to Odilo and not William (book 1). In his *Life of 'Saint' William*, Rodulf spoke of his promise to William to write the book and then added the following revealing aside: 'Quae etiam causa [promise to William] ad presens opus [*Vita Guillelmi*] me compulit inflectere articulum. Iccirco omnes pariter oro ne propter hoc preiudicium de me fiat' (*Vita Guillelmi*, 13; *The Five Books*, pp. 294–96): 'And this same promise forces me to write the current work, and on that account I implore everyone not to hold it against me' (my translation).

25. I have argued that Glaber's reference at the end of book 2 to the events of 1000 fulfilling the prophecy of the Book of Revelation about Antichrist provoked the altercation with William that had Rodulf flee to another monastery, interrupting his work ('Rodulfus Glaber and the Dawn', pp. 72–73). 'Quod praesagium [the heresies of 1000] Iohannis prophetie congruit, quia dixit Sathanam solvendum, expletis mille annis' (Rev. 20: 2–3), *Historiarum*, 2.23; *The Five Books*, pp. 92–93. For comment on this passage, which defies the historiographical norms established by Augustine and inviolate at least among all the surviving historical texts up to and well beyond Glaber's day, as well as the problems it has posed to the anti-terrors school, see Landes, 'The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000', p. 140 and n. 187. The anti-terrors school hastens to note that Glaber, despite promising to follow up on this comment in book 3 ('de quibus in tercio iam libello prolixius tractabimus'), does not do so, suggesting that the issue was unimportant to him (e.g. Gouguenheim, *Les fausses terreurs*, pp. 168–70). Given the dangerous nature of the topic, such apathy makes no sense. More likely, he had transgressed a line that even William, despite his focus on 1000, would not tolerate. This suggests still more that the rest of book 3, and especially the sections about William, reflected William's perspective—a crucial year 1000, but a reforming, renovating one, not an apocalyptic one. The historiographical rendition of 1000 Anno Domini in the *Historiarum* thus represented William's millennium. 1000 *anno passionis* (1033), with its considerably greater imagery of apocalyptic (three years of famine) and millennial (Peace of God, pilgrimage to Jerusalem) themes would be Glaber's own reading of this chronological milestone.

26. This is precisely what Glaber admonished William for in revealing that he wrote his life as a promise to the 'saint', and begged that he, Glaber, not suffer for so doing (above, note 24).

27. For more detailed reflections on the more difficult case of Ademar of Chabannes, a failed and isolated mythomaniac, in which the purely personal has become a major element, see Richard Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989–1034* (Cambridge, MA, 1995), pp. 285–87. In our current case, where William was one of the most powerful and widely travelled men of his day, *a fortiori* I would argue for a significant degree of overlap between his personal concerns and the larger currents of the age.

28. I propose this as a working hypothesis, for which additional support may arise in the course of further research and analysis. My subsequent analysis does not depend on the accuracy of the full hypothesis (i.e. that in several passages of books 1–3, especially those relating directly to 1000, Glaber was taking down William's dictation), just that these passages represented a vision that William wanted to articulate. Cf. Malone in this volume, Chapter 9, n. 3.

29. See Jean Leclercq and Jean-Paul Bonnes, *Un maître de la vie spirituelle au XI^{e} siècle, Jean de Fécamp* (Paris, 1946).

30. For some reflections on the difficulty of doing history after Augustine, see Markus, *Saeculum*, pp. 187–96, Theodore Mommsen, 'Orosius and Augustine', in his *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (New York, 1959), pp. 325–48, and Walter Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History* (Princeton, 1986).

31. See the exceptional beginning in the article by Carolyn Malone in this volume, Chapter 9.

32. The term was coined by F. Hugenholtz, '*Les terreurs de l'an mil*: Enkele hypothesen', in *Varia Historica aangeboden an Professor Doctor A. W. Byvanck* (Assen, 1954); for greater discussion see Landes, *Relics*, part IV: 'The Millennial Generation', pp. 285–327.

33. For a discussion of this topos and its remarkable transformation in the millennial generation, see Landes, *Relics*, pp. 207–14, 243–46, 265–68, 316–17.

34. For the topos of *senectus mundi*, see Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (Berkeley, 1967), ch. 25. E. R. Curtius unfortunately falls prey to the mutually exclusive analysis that views the innumerable phrases about the world's 'old age' and 'impending end' drawn from older literature (e.g. I Cor. 10. 11) as somehow not also 'a self-expression of the Middle Ages': *European Literature in the Latin Middle Ages* (New York, 1953), p. 28.

35. Thietmar speaks of a 'new dawn illuminating the world', *Chronicon* 6. 1, ed. by Werner Trillmich (Darmstadt, 1957), p. 243. As with Glaber's text, historians have tried to underplay the broader significance of his remark by pointing out that this was 'merely' a reference to local events (e.g. Gouguenheim, *Les fausses terreurs*, pp. 134–35), and that it was taken from the Roman author Persius although the cited passage in question has little in common with Thietmar's. As with William, the point here is not whether it is parochial (particularly since that may well reflect a modern judgment and not a self-perception by the author), but why people chose to characterize their behaviour in such unusual and striking terms, and how much their own activity reflects a *Zeitgeist*.

36. On Joachim and the coming of a new age, see Marjorie Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future* (London, 1976), esp. ch. 2, 'New Spiritual Men'; on the issue of the [good] 'new' vs. the [bad] 'old' at the turn of the millennium, see Landes, *Relics*, pp. 265–68, 316–17.

37. One might even make the argument that Glaber marks the dawn of a sense of European exceptionalism that will characterize the succeeding millennium and so dominate the global culture of our own day. See especially his explanation for the exceptional position of Europe at the turn of the first Christian millennium (*Historiarum*, 1. 5. 24; *The Five Books*, pp. 40–43).

38. Landes, 'Rodulfus Glaber and the Dawn', pp. 70–73.

39. Markus, *Saeculum*.

40. Landes, 'Rodulfus Glaber and the Dawn', pp. 72–73, and idem, *Relics*, pp. 226–28.

41. See Carolyn Malone's essay in this volume.

42. Fulbert of Chartres, *Pre gaudio pacis*, in *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. and trans. by Frederick Behrends (Oxford, 1976), p. 262, lines 13–14.

43. Perhaps this explains why William might have reacted so violently to Glaber's comments on the Book of Revelation. He was already in trouble with the Augustinians.

44. See above note 9.

45. Mommsen, 'Orosius and Augustine'.

46. R. Landes, 'The Massacres of 1010: On the Origins of Popular Anti-Jewish Violence in Western Europe', in *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, ed. by Jeremy Cohen, Wolfenbuttler Mittelalterlichen-Studien (Wolfenbuttel, 1997), pp. 79–112.

47. In modern terminology, the term here is normally designated 'post-millennialism' (i.e. Jesus returns after the millennium has been brought about by the work of his faithful); I prefer to call it active (human agency), transformational (gradual and non-violent change), apocalyptic (transitional stage): see my *While God Tarried: Demotic Millennialism from Jesus to the Peace of God, 33–1033*, ch. 1 (in preparation).

48. *Historiarum* 3. 19; *The Five Books*, pp. 126–27.

49. For a description of how these relic 'majesties' arriving at peace assemblies might appear like the advent of the 'reign of the saints', see Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, 'Peace from the Mountains: The Auvergnat Origins of the Peace of God', in *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around 1000*, ed. by T. Head and R. Landes (Ithaca, 1992), pp. 125–27; more generally, Ilene Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton, 1972).

50. See esp. André Debord, 'The Castellan Revolution and the Peace of God in Aquitaine', in *The Peace of God*, ed. by Head and Landes, pp. 135–64.

51. Jacques Le Goff, *La civilisation de l'Occident médiévale* (Paris, 1964), pp. 280–89, esp. p. 289.

52. Glaber, *Historiarum*, 4. 5; *The Five Books*, pp. 194–99; on the 994 council, see Landes, *Relics*, pp. 29–31, with references to the descriptions in Ademar of Chabannes' sermons, and most recently, Michael Frassetto, 'The Writings of Ademar of Chabannes, the Peace of 994, and the "Terrors of the Year 1000"', *Journal of Medieval History*, 27 (2001), 241–55.

53. See Georges Duby, *Les trois ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme* (Paris, 1978), pp. 35–82.

54. William, very much a high, aristocratic figure who moved comfortably in the halls of power, including those of King Robert II, may have viewed the southern Peace with some suspicion, whereas Rodulf, the commoner-monk seems to have embraced its later (more widespread) manifestations in 1033 with near-millennial enthusiasm. One finds a similar split in Ademar of Chabannes's work. In his historical writing, which was addressed to a 'political' audience, Ademar scarcely mentioned Peace assemblies (brief mention of the council of 994 in his *Historia* 3. 35 (*Ademari Cabannensis Chronicon*, ed. by Pascal Bourgain, Corpus Christianorum, continuatio medievalis, 129 (Turnhout, 1999), pp. 156–57), no mention of assemblies at Charroux, 989, and Poitiers, c. 1000, whose canonical decisions he had read in a codex at the Cathedral of Angoulême (Vatican, reg. lat. 1127 f. 161)); in his sermons, however, addressed in principle to large assemblies of lay folk celebrating anniversaries of Peace assemblies (and possibly entirely his own fantasy), he lavished attention on the councils and their crowds, especially those of 994 and 1031 (Landes, *Relics*, pp. 28–37).

55. *Historiarum*, 2. 11–12; *The Five Books*, pp. 89–93; see below.

56. *Historiarum*, 4. 5; *The Five Books*, pp. 194–99.

57. See the extraordinary importance that the Cluniac monks give to their lifestyle as key players in the apocalyptic drama that the Book of Revelation lays out: by their chastity and discipline, they have become the 'martyrs' of Revelation (7. 9–17); see Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Agni immaculati: Recherches sur les sources hagiographiques relatives à saint Maieul de Cluny (954–994)* (Paris, 1988).

58. See, e.g., the comparison of Louis IX with Josias the reformer, Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis* (Paris, 1996), pp. 396–401.

59. For the most recent and systematic effort to minimize the popular dimension of the Peace of God, see Barthelemy, *L'an mil et la paix*, note in particular the untenable blanket assertions of the silence of the populace, p. 370, a reading based on an invented account by Ademar, someone who had only recently been humiliated by the popular voice (see Landes, *Relics*, pp. 241–46).

60. *Chartes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Charroux*, ed. by P. Monsabert, Archives historiques du Poitou, 39 (Poitiers, 1910), no. 11, pp. 36–39. Note that the Peace lacked a Moses to lead it through the difficult period of the Wilderness (the space where the movement confronts millennial disappointment, i.e., as opposed to the initial expectation of going straight to the Promised Land). The only relic that Glaber cites in his passage on relic discovery (which might have mentioned the spectacular discovery of John the Baptist's head in Aquitaine, see Landes, *Relics*, pp. 47–49) is the 'staff of Moses', symbol of the lacking guidance of the millennial generation (*Historiarum*, 3. 6. 19; *The Five Books*, pp. 126–27).

61. This formulation may strike some readers as highly questionable. The eleventh century is, after all, the era when ecclesiastical reform sought to delineate a rigid divide between the clergy and the laity. These tendencies, certainly more visible in the latter half of the century and intimately linked to attempts to fulfil the ascetic demands of their spiritual leadership (no sex, no money, no weapons), are nevertheless closely linked to the more inclusive and demotic dimensions of the Peace; see Amy Remensnyder, 'Pollution, Purity and Peace: An Aspect of Social Reform between the Late Tenth Century and 1076', in *The Peace of God*, ed. by Head and Landes, pp. 280–307. Indeed one can make the argument that it was precisely the lay piety that the peace movement had elicited that prompted the clergy both to reform and to try and distinguish itself from lay piety which it labelled as dissident 'heresies'; see Michael Frassetto, 'Heresy, Celibacy, and Reform in the Sermons of Ademar of Chabannes', in *Medieval Purity and Piety: Essays on Medieval Celibacy and Religious Reform*, ed. by M. Frassetto (New York, 1998), pp. 131–48.

62. There were two major 'dates' for the year 6000 *Annus Mundi* in early Christianity: AD 500 (= 6000 AM I) and 801 (= 6000 AM II), each date with small variants around it. For more on these dating shifts and their significance, see Landes, 'Lest the Millennium Be Fulfilled'.

63. Ibid., pp. 168–71.

64. See, for example, the attack on 'letters from heaven' that should be burned and the fear of 'false priests' and 'false teachers' who lead the people into damnation, Capitulary of 789 (*Admonitio generalis*), canons 78, 82; Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum Sectio, 1, ed. by G. Pertz (Hannover, 1835), pp. 60–62; one could not ask for more explicit evidence of a desire to destroy dangerous popular texts and leave only an 'orthodox' record behind. For analysis, see Landes, 'Lest the Millenium Be Fulfilled', p. 192; Wolfram Brandes, 'Tempora periculosa sunt: Eschatologisches im Vorfeld der Kaiserkrönung Karls des Grossen', in *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794: Kirstallisationspunkt Karolingischer Kultur* (Mainz, 1997), pp. 63–67; and, for the impact of such heavenly letters *c.* 1000, see David Van Meter, 'The Peace of Amiens-Corbie and Gerard of Cambrai's Oration on the Three Functional Orders: The Date, the Context, the Rhetoric', *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 74 (1996), 633–57.

65. The Carolingian capitularies, for example, repeatedly enjoin the royal agents (counts and judges) to protect the *impotentes* from the *potentes*; see, e.g., Heinrich Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire* (New York, 1957), pp. 144–76; J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 258–63.

66. See Landes, *Relics*, pp. 45, 97–98, 143–46, 212–13, 324–25.

67. For the association, from the earliest Christian period, between millennialism and reform, see Gerhard Ladner, *The Idea of Reform* (New York, 1959), pp. 27–31; for a treatment of apocalyptic reform at the turn of the millennium, see Johannes Fried, 'Endzeiterwartungen um die Jarhtausendwende', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 45 (1989), 438–70. This is precisely what Gouguenheim does not grasp, as exemplified by the false dichotomy in his subtitle: *Attente de la fin du monde ou approfondissement de la foi?* One might just as readily ask, 'Dawn: end of the night, or beginning of the day?'

68. Constantine is the model for all Latin and Greek traditions; Charlemagne, the western model.

69. See Fried, 'Endzeiterwartungen', pp. 428–33.

70. John W. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany: c. 936–1075* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 50, and Nigel Hiscock, Chapter 1, and Richard Plant, Chapter 2, in this volume.

71. On the Augustinian 'effect' on Ademar, see below, note 87. On Gerbert, see below, note 77.

72. See above, notes 9 and 27.

73. See below, note 81.

74. Landes, 'Lest the Millennium Be Fulfilled'.

75. Bede's embattlement at the royal court (he was accused of heresy for his new calculations) is striking and represents, emotionally, the most trying point in his recorded career. See discussion in Landes, 'Lest the Millennium Be Fulfilled', pp. 174–78, and Faith Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time* (Liverpool, 1999), pp. 353–66; see below, note 80.

76. The victory of Bede's approach to dating among the Carolingians represents the standard model: imperial organization and denial of millennial dating.

77. Most scholars consider Gerbert's silence on 1000 as the most telling argument against an apocalyptic year 1000, but Gerbert, despite his origins, is arguably one of the more conservative social thinkers of the day (*vox populi* does not equal *vox dei*, since the *vox populi* called for Jesus' crucifixion). That he would be silent on 1000, and that he might be rewarded with promotions for his silence, makes eminent sense. That he would not have linked his own unprecedented ascension from the sheepfolds of Auvergne to the papal see with the advent of the year 1000—apocalyptic or not—suggests a man far less lively and independent of spirit than Gerbert (see Landes, *Relics*, pp. 309–13).

78. Focillon distinguished a kind of moral geology in which the enlightened leaders of society and 'builders of the West' were 'only slightly affected by the errors of the masses [. . .]' (*The Year 1000*, trans. by Fred D. Wieck (New York, 1969), pp. 71–72). Augustine's popularity in Christian circles owes something to the fact that he alone, of his contemporaries, prepared a theology so comforting to apocalyptic disappointment.

79. Charlemagne's interventions in the code of 802 (= 6001), Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum Sectio, 1, pp. 91–96; see comments by Robert Folz, *Le couronnement impérial de Charlemagne* (Paris, 1964), pp. 183–93.

80. Bede complained to a correspondent in 708/5907: 'I confess I am quite grieved and often irritated to the limit of what is permissible or even beyond, when every day I am asked by rustics how many years are left in the final millennium of the world, or learn from them that they know

that the final millennium is in progress [. . .]': *Epistula ad Plegwinum*, 15, trans. by Wallis, *Bede*, p. 413.

81. Abbo's opponent in Paris, *c.* late 960s; see the analysis of Abbo's remarks at the end of his *Epistola ad Hugonem et Rotbertum reges* in Landes, 'The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000', pp. 123–30; cf. Gouguenheim, *Les fausses terreurs*, pp. 130–33.

82. According to the *Acts of the Bishops of Liège*, this happened to Otto I's army in Calabria in 968: '[. . .] incredibili pavor exterriti, nichil aliud quam diem iuditii putant imminere [. . .]': *Gesta episcoporum leodiensium*, ed. by G. Pertz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, 7 (Hannover, 1885), p. 202.

83. Note how prominent themes of Last Judgment are in the earliest text of 'talking points' with rustics: Martin of Braga, *De correctione rusticorum*, in *Martini episcopi bracarensis opera omnia*, ed. by C. W. Barlow (New Haven, CT, 1950), pp. 159–203; see esp. nos. 14, 18, 19.

84. See F. X. Arquillère, *Augustinisme politique* (Paris, 1934).

85. Notably, for contrast's sake, the clerics of Charlemagne's day were able to control discussion of the millennial year in writing far better—no explicit mentions, only two contemporary allusions—than Otto, whose own death in 1002 prompted one of the great 'apparitions' of the year 1000, the dragon with blue feet (Gesta epp. Cameracensium (composed 1020s), bk 1, c. 114; ed. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, 7, p. 451; Sigebert of Gembloux (composed 1112), ad an. 1000; ed. by G. Pertz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, 6 (Hannover, 1844), pp. 353–54). It was clearly easier to insist it was really AD 801 rather than 6000 AM, than to claim that 1000 meant nothing. See Landes, 'On Owls, Roosters, and Apocalyptic Time'.

86. See Stephen O'Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse: A Theory of Millennial Rhetoric* (Oxford, 1994).

87. Landes, *Relics*, esp. ch. 6, on Augustinian historiography and the first draft of the *Historia*, and ch. 15 on the apocalyptic breakdown of his final years.

88. See Claude and Huguette Carozzi's defence of Glaber's 'orthodoxy' in *La fin des temps* (Paris, 2000), pp. 45–49.

89. Knut Görich, *Otto III. Romanus Saxonus et Italicus* (Thorbecke, 1995), Benjamin Arnold, 'Eschatological Imagination and the Program of Roman Imperial and Ecclesiastical Renewal at the End of the Tenth Century', in *The Apocalyptic Year One Thousand*, ed. by R. Landes, A. Gow, and D. Van Meter (Oxford, 2003).

90. Van Meter, 'The Peace of Amiens-Corbie', on the Great Allelulia, see Augustine Thompson, *Revival Preachers and Politics in Thirteenth-Century Italy: The Great Devotion of 1233* (Oxford, 1992).

91. On the unusual strength of the reforming impulse at Cluny *c.* 1000 see Jean-François Lemarignier, 'Monastic and Political Structures in France at the End of the Tenth and beginning of the Eleventh Century', in *Lordship and Community in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Fredrick Cheyette (New York, 1968), pp. 100–127; and Iogna-Prat, *Agni Immaculati*.

92. Lemarignier, 'Monastic and Political Structures'.

93. On King Robert (988–1031), see Helgaud's *Epitome vita Regis Rotberti Pii* (ed. by R.-H. Bautier and G. Labory, Sources d'Histoire Médiévales (Paris, 1965)), in which the king's humility, especially around his 'Davidic' repentance and renunciation of his 'incestuous' marriage with Bertha. On the episcopal hostility to Cluny's monastic ascendance and the tyranny of 'King Odilo', see Adalbero's poem of protest to Robert, ed. by Claude Carozzi, *Adalbéron de Laon: Poème au Roi Robert* (Paris, 1979); analyzed by Duby, *Les trois ordres*, part 1, ch. 3.

94. See my analysis of the relationship between the Peace movement and popular heresy in 'Between Aristocracy and Heresy: Popular Participation in the Limousin Peace of God, 994–1033', in *The Peace of God*, ed. by Head and Landes, pp. 184–218, and between the apostolic enthusiasms of the day and the first outbreaks of anti-Jewish pogroms in 'The Massacres of 1010'.

95. For an analysis of the opening for commoners see Pierre Bonnassie, 'Les paysans du royaume franc au temps d'Hugues Capet et de Robert le Pieux (987–1031)', in *Les sociétés de l'an mil: Un monde entre deux ages* (Brussels, 2001), pp. 221–48.

96. For an insistence that the similarities between the mid-eleventh and the mid-tenth centuries suggest no intervening changes of significance, see Dominique Barthélemy, *La mutation de l'an mil a-t-elle eu lieu? Servage et chevalerie dans la France des X^{e} et XI^{e} siècles* (Paris, 1997).

97. At no other time since the break up of the tribal structures described by Caesar had commoners been massed in such numbers and in only partially scripted venues where their voice could be heard. This dimension of popular voice is characteristically minimized by historians who want to play down any novelty and certainly any subversive apocalyptic activity around 1000 (see, e.g., Lot, Barthélemy, Riché, Gouguenheim). See, on the other hand, the comments of Adriaan Bredero, 'The Bishop's Peace of God: A Turning Point in Medieval Society?' in *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages: The Relations between Religion, Church, and Society*, trans. by Reinder Bruinsma (Grand Rapids, MI, 1987), pp. 105–29.

98. The peace assemblies threw to the winds all the restraints of Carolingian legislation on relic movement and lay access.

99. See a more elaborate argument made in my forthcoming *While God Tarried*.

100. For the most recent and novel approach to the wave of 1033, see Van Meter, 'The Peace of Amiens-Corbie'.

101. One of the most telling cases concerns the basilica built for the false relics of 'Saint Just': see Glaber, *Historiarum*, 4. 3. 7; *The Five Books*, pp. 182–85; for an analysis of this incident and the overall phenomenon of 'bottom-up' activity, see, Landes, *Relics*, pp. 37–74. For the role of a panic and trampling with fifty-two pilgrim fatalities in the reconstruction of St Martial, see Landes, *Relics*, pp. 67–69.

102. See the arguments of Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge, 1979), ch. 5.

103. Loren MacKinney, 'The People and Public Opinion in the Eleventh Century Peace Movement', *Speculum*, 5 (1930), 181–206; R. I. Moore, 'Family, Community and Cult on the Eve of the Gregorian Reform', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 30 (1979), 46–69; more broadly on popular religiosity in this period, see Landes, *Relics*, pp. 25–74. On the importance of public opinion in the development of modern civil society, see David Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture: Printing, Petitions, and the Public Sphere in Early-Modern England* (Princeton, 2000), pp. 21–43.

104. For a broader discussion of this tendency, see Garth Fowden, *From Empire to Commonwealth: Consequences of Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, 1993).

105. Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe* (Oxford, 1994); David S. Landes, *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations* (New York, 1998), ch. 3; Robert I. Moore, *The First European Revolution c.970–1215* (Oxford, 2000).

106. See remarks introducing the collected volume edited by Landes, Gow, and Van Meter, *The Apocalyptic Year One Thousand*.

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